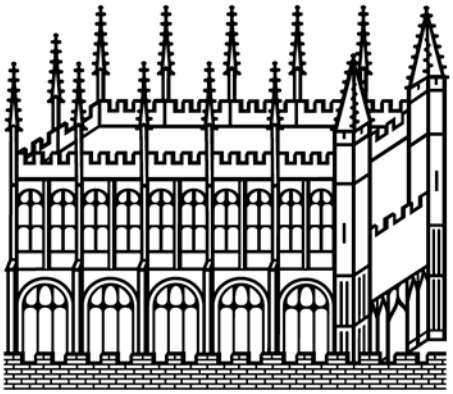


Bodleian Libraries

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

This book is part of the collection held by the Bodleian Libraries and scanned by Google, Inc. for the Google Books Library Project.

For more information see:

http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dbooks



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 2.0 UK: England & Wales (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0) licence.

☞ *Subscribers, who wish to do so, can receive the* HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT *of the Encyclopædia without the other Departments.*

CABINET EDITION.

ENCYCLOPÆDIA METROPOLITANA,

OR,

System of Universal Knowledge.

HISTORICAL DIVISION.

A good work on General History has long been a great desideratum in our literature. The summaries of Tytler and Russell are too brief, and the Universal History, independently of the heavy manner in which it is written, is too long. It is presumed that the Historical Department of the ENCYCLOPÆDIA METROPOLITANA will be found to meet this want in an efficient manner. The articles are written by men of the highest attainments in different classes of historical knowledge. They exhibit the history of the world, at first in a series of Biographical sketches, and then in a continuous History of each remarkable country, combined with an Ecclesiastical History remarkably full and rich in the most interesting epochs of the Christian Church. Dissertations of great importance in a philosophical point of view, such as those on Ancient Philosophy and Literature, on the Crusades, the Feudal System, and the Scholastic System, are introduced at the most convenient periods, for the illustration of the respective subjects.

In preparing this department of the Encyclopædia for publication in the CABINET EDITION, the greatest care will be taken to render every section of it as complete as the present state of historical knowledge will permit. Every Treatise will be compared with the recent works of eminent Historians, Geographers, and Archæologists; additions will be made where necessary, and new Histories, of particular Countries or on special subjects, will be introduced when required to complete the plan that is sketched in this Prospectus.

It is intended also to enrich the Cabinet Edition with AN EXTENSIVE SERIES of ILLUSTRATIONS, consisting of Portraits and Statues of Eminent Persons, Pictures of celebrated Events, Views of Remarkable Places and Buildings, Coins, Medals, and other subjects of archæological interest—taken from the most authentic sources, and Drawn and Engraved on Wood by Eminent Artists.

PLAN OF THE UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

The Volumes to which a Price is affixed are Published.

INTRODUCTORY VOLUMES.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY. Two Dissertations: I. On the Uses of History as a Study. II. On the Separation of the Early Facts of History from Fable. By Sir JOHN STODDART, Knt., LL.D. Second Edition, Re-written. *5s.* cloth.

CHRONOLOGY AND HIEROGLYPHICS. By the Rev. THOMAS HARTWELL HORNE, B.D., St. John's College, Cambridge, Prebendary of St. Paul's, &c., the Rev. G. C. RENOUARD, B.D., Fellow of Sydney-Sussex College, Cam., and other Contributors.

TABLES OF UNIVERSAL CHRONOLOGY, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time; so arranged as to show the Contemporaneous Events in all Countries at one view, with an extensive Alphabetical and Classified Index, one large Volume, closely printed. *Nearly Ready.*

ARCHÆOLOGY. ETHNOLOGY. With numerous Illustrations.

ANCIENT HISTORY.

SACRED HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY, from the Antediluvian Period to the Time of the Prophet Malachi, A.M. 1 to A.M. 3607, B.C. 397. By the Rev. F. A. Cox, D.D., LL.D., JOHN MASON GOOD, M.D., and others. Second Edition, Revised. 6s.

HISTORY OF THE JEWS, from the Time of Alexander the Great to the Destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans under Titus, A.M. 3595, B.C. 409 to A.D. 70. By the Ven. Archdeacon WM. HALE HALE, M.A., Master of the Charter-house. 2s. 6d.

BIBLICAL ANTIQUITIES, including a Synoptic View of the Jewish Economy. By the Rev. F. A. COX, D.D., LL.D. New Edition, greatly enlarged, and illustrated by Maps and numerous Engravings. 7s. 6d.

EARLY ORIENTAL HISTORY, comprehending EGYPT, ASSYRIA, PERSIA, &c. By the Rev. Professor EADIE, D.D., LL.D Illustrated by Engravings, exhibiting the Discoveries of Wilkinson, Botta, Layard, &c. 8s.

HISTORY OF GREECE, from the Earliest Records to the Close of the Peloponnesian War, including a Sketch of the Geography of Greece, and Dissertations on Greek Mythology, on the Heroic Ages, on the Early Painters and Sculptors of Greece, and on the Social Condition of the Greek People. By E. POCOCKE, Esq.; Sir THOMAS NOON TALFOURD, D.C.L.; the late J. T. RUTT, Esq.; and the Rev. J. B. OTTLEY, M.A., late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. One large Volume. Illustrated by One Hundred and Forty Engravings. 9s.

GREECE AND MACEDONIA—History of Greece from the Age of Xenophon to the absorption of Greece in the Roman Empire, including the History of Macedonia and Syria, under Alexander the Great and his Successors. By WILLIAM ROE LYALL, D.D., Dean of Canterbury; the Rev. J. H. B. MOUNTAIN, D.D.; the Rev. G. C. RENOUARD, B.D., Fellow of Sydney-Sussex College, Cambridge; and the Right Rev. Bishop RUSSELL, LL.D., D.C.L. Illustrated by numerous Wood Engravings, 8s.

HISTORY OF GREEK LITERATURE. By Sir THOMAS NOON TALFOURD, D.C.L., the Right Rev. CHARLES JAMES BLOMFIELD, D.D., Lord Bishop of London; E. POCOCKE, Esq.; the Rev. J. B. OTTLEY, M.A., late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford; and the Rev. HENRY THOMPSON, M.A., St. John's College, Cambridge. Second Edition. Revised and greatly enlarged. 7s. 6d.

HISTORY OF ROME, from the Foundation of the City of Rome to the Extinction of the Western Empire. By the Rev. THOMAS ARNOLD, D.D., late Head Master of Rugby School; the Rev. J. A. JEREMIE, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge; Sir THOMAS NOON TALFOURD, D.C.L., the Rev. J. H. B. MOUNTAIN, D.D., Trinity College, Cambridge; the Rev. G. CECIL RENOUARD, B.D., Fellow of Sydney-Sussex College, Cambridge; the Rev. J. B. OTTLEY, M.A., late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford; E. POCOCKE, Esq.; and the Right Rev. Bishop RUSSELL, LL.D., D.C.L. Illustrated by numerous Engravings, in Three Volumes.

1. THE ROMAN REPUBLIC, 8s. 6d.
2. THE ROMAN EMPIRE, 10s. 6d.
3. THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN POWER, 12s. 6d.

HISTORY OF ROMAN LITERATURE. By the Rev. THOMAS ARNOLD, D.D., late Head Master of Rugby School; the Rev. HENRY THOMPSON, M.A., late Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge; the Rev. JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, B.D., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford; the Rev. J. B. OTTLEY, M.A., late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford; and the Rev. J. MASON NEALE, Warden of Sackville College, 10s. 6d.

HISTORY OF GREEK, ROMAN, AND ORIENTAL PHILOSOPHY. By the Right Rev. CHAS. JAMES BLOMFIELD, D.D., Lord Bishop of London; W. LOWNDES, Esq. M.A., Q.C.; the Rev. J. W. BLAKESLEY, M.A., Vicar of Ware, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; Sir JOHN STODDART, Knt., LL.D.; the late J. RUTT, Esq.; the Rev. JAMES A. JEREMIE, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge; the Rev. EDW. SMEDLEY, M.A., late Fellow of Sydney College, Cambridge; the Rev. G. C. RENOUARD, B.D., Fellow of Sydney-Sussex College, Cambridge; and the Rev WM. WHEWELL, D.D., F.R.S., Master of Trinity Coll., Cam. *Nearly Ready.*

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES. By WILLIAM RAMSAY, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, Professor of Humanity in the University of Glasgow. With numerous Engravings. 8s. 6d.

DICTIONARY OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITIES AND BIOGRAPHY.

399 e. 265
26

January, 1853.

NEW WORKS

In Science and General Literature,

PUBLISHED BY

JOHN J. GRIFFIN AND COMPANY,

53 BAKER-STREET, PORTMAN SQUARE, LONDON;

AND

RICHARD GRIFFIN AND COMPANY, GLASGOW.

Classified Index.

Agriculture, Botany, and Natural History.

Balfour's Manual of Botany, - - - - Page 2
Book of Nature, - - - - - - - - 2
Davy's Agricultural Chemistry, - - - - 3
Encyclopædia of Natural History, - - - - 7
Illustrations of Zoology, - - - - - - 8
Ramsay's Geology of Arran, - - - - - 7
White's Natural History of Selborne, - - - 8

Arts and Manufactures.

Book of Trades, - - - - - - - - 2
Encyclopædia of Fine Arts, - - - - - 3
——————— Manufactures, - - - - - 6
——————— Useful Arts, - - - - - 8
Graham's Compositor's Guide, - - - - 3
Kerr on the Manufacture of Sugar, - - - 6
Napier's Manual of Dyeing, - - - - - 7
——— Electro Metallurgy, - - - - - 7
Phillips's Metallurgy, - - - - - - 7
——— Treatise on Gold-Mining, - - - 7
Shier's Directions for Testing Cane-Juice, - - 8

Biography.

Child's (Mrs.) Good Wives, - - - - - 2
Cyclopædia of Modern Religious Biography, - - 5
Smyth's Worthies of England, - - - - 8

History and Antiquities.

Campbell's Naval History, - - - - - 2
Chronological Tables, - - - - - - 2
Cox's Biblical Antiquities, - - - - - 2
——Sacred History, - - - - - - 2
Eadie's Oriental History, - - - - - 3
Ecclesiastical History—Early Christianity, - - 3
Ferguson's Roman Republic, - - - - - 3
Hale's History of the Jews, - - - - - 5
Hinds's Early Christianity, - - - - - 5
History of Greece, - - - - - - 5
History of Greece and Macedonia, - - - 5
History of the Jews, - - - - - - 6
History of Rome, - - - - - - 7
Jeremie's Church History, - - - - - 5
Pococke's India in Greece, - - - - - 7
Potter's Grecian Antiquities, - - - - 7
Ramsay's Roman Antiquities, - - - - 7
Stoddart's Introduction to History, - - - - 8
Universal History, - - - - - - - 8

Language and Metaphysics.

Coleridge on Method, - - - - - - 2
D'Orsey's Spelling by Dictation, - - - - 3
Encyclopædia of Mental Philosophy, - - - 6
History of Greek Literature, - - - - - 5
——————— Roman Literature, - - - - - 7
Importance of Literature to Men of Business, - 6
Maurice's Moral Philosophy, - - - - - 6
Mental Science, - - - - - - - 6
Stoddart's Universal Grammar, - - - - 8
——————— Glossology, - - - - - - 8
Whately's Logic, - - - - - - - 8
——————— Rhetoric, - - - - - - - 8

Medical.

Encyclopædia of the Medical Sciences, - - Page 6
Hooper's Medical Dictionary, - - - - - - 6
Spooner's Veterinary Art, - - - - - - 8

Mercantile.

Gilmer's Interest Tables, - - - - - - 4
Morrison's Book-Keeping, - - - - - - 6
Reehorst's Commercial Dictionary, - - - - 7
——————— Marine Dictionary, - - - - - 7

Miscellaneous.

Encyclopædia Metropolitana, Library Edition, - 4
Ditto, new octavo edition, - - - 4
Griffin's Juvenile Library, - - - - - 5
——————— Popular Library, - - - - - - 7
Marriage Offering, - - - - - - - 6
Mitchison's Scottish Song, - - - - - 6
Polson's Law of Nations, - - - - - 7
Pope's Poetical Works and Translations, - - 7
Senior's Political Economy, - - - - - 8

Religious and Moral.

Abbott's Works, - - - - - - - - 2
Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, - - - - - 2
Cox's Biblical Antiquities, - - - - - 2
——— Geography and Natural History of Palestine, 2
——— Manners and Customs of the Israelites, - 2
Cyclopædia of Religious Anecdotes, - - - 2
——————— Religious Biography, - - - 2
——————— Religious Denominations, - - 7
Cruden's Concordance, - - - - - - 3
Eadie's Biblical Cyclopædia, - - - - - 3
——— Biblical Dictionary, - - - - - 3
Kingsley's National Sermons, - - - - - 6
Sacred Lyre, - - - - - - - - 7
Todd's Works, - - - - - - - - 8

The Sciences and Mathematics.

Airy's Contributions to Encyclopædia Metropolitana, 2
Book of Nature, - - - - - - - - 2
Davy's Agricultural Chemistry, - - - - 3
Encyclopædia of Astronomy, - - - - - 2
——————— Experimental Philosophy, - - 3
——————— Mathematics, - - - - - 6
——————— Mechanical Philosophy, - - 6
Griffin's Chemical Recreations, - - - - 5
——————— Crystallography, - - - - - 5
——————— Scientific Catalogue, - - - - 6
——————— Scientific Miscellany, - - - - 5
Herschel's Contributions to Encyclop. Metropolitana, 5
Hunt's Photography, - - - - - - - 5
Schoedler and Medlock's Scientific Treatises, - 8
Von Kobell's Mineralogy, - - - - - - 8

ABBOTT.—MORAL AND EDUCATIONAL WORKS:

Comprising the Young Christian, Teacher, Way to do Good, &c. 8vo, 7s. cloth.

AIRY.—CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA METROPOLITANA:

viz. Trigonometry, Figure of the Earth, and Tides and Waves. One Volume, 4to, 14s. cloth.

ANECDOTES—CYCLOPÆDIA OF RELIGIOUS ANECDOTES;

A vast Collection of Facts, Narratives, and Examples, with Copious Index, Condensed and Revised from the Work of Rev. K. Arvine. With Introductory Essay by the Rev. Dr. CHEEVER. Third Edition, Crown 8vo, 4s. 6d. cloth.

ASTRONOMY.

THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF ASTRONOMY.—Plane Astronomy, (Professor BARLOW,) Nautical Astronomy, (Captain KATER.) Physical Astronomy, (Sir J. HERSCHEL.) Figure of the Earth, (Professor AIRY,) Tides and Waves, (Professor AIRY.) With 21 Plates, 4to, 21s. half russia.

BALFOUR.—A MANUAL OF BOTANY;

An Introduction to the Study of the Structure, Physiology, and Classification of Plants. By JOHN H. BALFOUR, F.R.S.E., Professor of Botany in the University of Edinburgh. Numerous Illustrations, Second Edition, crown 8vo, 12s. 6d. cloth.

BOOK OF NATURE:

THE BOOK OF NATURE; a COMPREHENSIVE INTRODUCTION to the NATURAL and PHYSICAL SCIENCES. From the German of Professor SCHOEDLER, with numerous Additions, by HENRY MEDLOCK, F.C.S., Senior Assistant in the Royal College of Chemistry, Assistant Secretary of the Chemical Society. With Copious Index, and illustrated by above 500 Engravings, post 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

FIRST DIVISION—Comprehending PHYSICS, ASTRONOMY, and CHEMISTRY. With above Two Hundred Engravings, post 8vo, cloth, 5s.

SECOND DIVISION—Comprehending MINERALOGY, GEOLOGY, BOTANY, PHYSIOLOGY, and ZOOLOGY. With above 300 Engravings, post 8vo, cloth, 5s. 6d.

BOOK OF TRADES;

Or, Circle of the Useful Arts. Illustrated by Engravings and Woodcuts, Tenth Edition, 16mo, 4s. 6d. cloth.

BUNYAN.—THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS;

New and beautiful Edition. With numerous Engravings by Harvey, Martin, and Corbould, post 8vo, 8s. extra binding.

CAMPBELL.—BRITISH NAVAL HISTORY.

Lives of the British Admirals and Naval History of Great Britain from the Days of Cæsar to the Present Time. New Edition, with numerous engravings, foolscap 8vo, 3s. 6d. cloth, or 4s. extra gilt.

CHILD (MRS.)—BIOGRAPHIES OF GOOD WIVES.

By the Author of the Mother's Book. Foolscap 8vo, 4s. cloth, richly gilt.

CHRONOLOGY.

TABLES OF UNIVERSAL CHRONOLOGY, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time; so arranged as to show the Contemporaneous Events in all Countries at one View, with an extensive Alphabetical and Classified Index. One large Volume, crown 8vo, closely printed. *Nearly ready.*

COLERIDGE.—A TREATISE ON METHOD.

Introductory Dissertation to the Encyclopædia Metropolitana on the Science of Method, with a Synopsis. By SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE. Crown 8vo, 2s. cloth.

COX.—BIBLICAL ANTIQUITIES.

BIBLICAL ANTIQUITIES, OR ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES. By the Rev. F. A. Cox, D.D. LL.D. With Maps and nearly 200 Illustrations, crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. cloth.

COX.—PALESTINE.

THE GEOGRAPHY AND NATURAL HISTORY OF PALESTINE. By F. A. Cox, D.D., LL.D. Numerous Engravings, crown 8vo, 2s. 6d. cloth gilt.

COX.—SACRED HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY,

From the Antediluvian Period to the Time of the Prophet Malachi. Edited by Rev. F. A. Cox, D.D., LL.D. Crown 8vo, 6s. cloth.

COX.—THE ISRAELITES.

THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE ISRAELITES in relation to their Religion, Civil Polity, and Occupations. By F. A. Cox, D.D., LL.D. Numerous Engravings, crown 8vo, 2s. 6d., cloth gilt.

CRUDEN.—A COMPLETE CONCORDANCE

To the Holy Scriptures. Condensed and Revised from the larger Work of Cruden. By the Rev. Professor EADIE, D.D., LL.D. Thirteenth edition, 8vo, 5s. cloth.

DAVY.—AGRICULTURAL CHEMISTRY.

ELEMENTS OF AGRICULTURAL CHEMISTRY. By Sir H. DAVY, Bart, P.R.S., &c. New edition, thoroughly Revised, by JOHN SHIER, A.M., LL.D., Agricultural Chemist to the Colony of British Guiana. Engravings, 8vo, 5s. cloth.

D'ORSEY.—SPELLING BY DICTATION;

A Series of Progressive Exercises in English Orthography, Illustrated by 1500 Quotations. By Rev. A. J. D. D'ORSEY, High School, Glasgow. Fourth edition, 18mo, 1s. cloth.

EADIE.—A BIBLICAL CYCLOPÆDIA;

Or, Dictionary of Eastern Antiquities, Geography, Natural History, Sacred Annals and Biography, Theology, and Biblical Literature. By the Rev. Professor EADIE, D.D., LL.D. With Maps and numerous Pictorial Illustrations, third edition, 8vo, 10s. 6d. cloth.

EADIE.—A DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE,

For the Use of Young Persons. By the Rev. Professor EADIE, D.D., LL.D. With 120 Illustrations, second edition, 18mo, 3s. 6d. cloth.

EADIE.—EARLY ORIENTAL HISTORY;

Comprising the History of Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Media, Phrygia, and Phœnicia. By Rev. Prof. EADIE, D.D., LL.D. Numerous Illustrations, crown 8vo, 8s. cloth.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.—FIRST DIVISION.

RISE AND EARLY PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY. By the Right Rev. SAMUEL HINDS, D.D., Bishop of Norwich, to which is added a Dissertation on Miracles, by Rev. J. H. NEWMAN, D.D. Crown 8vo, 6s. cloth.

EXPERIMENTAL SCIENCE.

THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF EXPERIMENTAL PHILOSOPHY.—Magnetism, Electro-Magnetism, Electricity, Galvanism, Heat, Chemistry, Meteorology, By Professor BARLOW, Rev. F. LUNN, Dr. P. M. ROGET, and G. HARVEY, Esq. With 39 Plates, 4to, £1 11s. 6d. half russia.

FERGUSON.—HISTORY OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

HISTORY OF THE PROGRESS AND TERMINATION OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC. By ADAM FERGUSON, LL.D. 8vo, 3s. 6d. cloth.

FINE ARTS.

THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF THE FINE ARTS.—Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Heraldry, Numismatics, Poetry, Music, and Engraving. By NARRIEN, WESTMACOTT, Bishop JAMES, GREEN, HUGHES, GWILT, and LINDSAY. With 55 Engravings, 4to, £1 11s. 6d. half russia.

GRAHAM.—COMPOSITOR'S GUIDE.

THE COMPOSITOR'S TEXT BOOK; or, Instructions in the Art of Printing. With Essay on Punctuation. By JOHN GRAHAM. 12mo, 2s. 6d. cloth.

GREECE.—HISTORY OF.

HISTORY OF GREECE from the Earliest Period to the Close of the Peloponnesian War. By E. POCOCKE, Esq., Rev. J. B. OTTLEY, M.A., Sir THOMAS N. TALFOURD, D.C.L., and the late J. T. RUTT, Esq. With One Hundred and Fifty Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 9s. cloth.

GREECE AND MACEDONIA—HISTORY OF.

History of Greece from the Age of Xenophon to the absorption of Greece in the Roman Empire, including the Age of Alexander the Great. By WILLIAM ROE LYALL, D.D., Rev. J. H. B. MOUNTAIN, D.D., Rev. G. C. RENOUARD, B.D., and others. Illustrated by numerous Wood Engravings. Crown 8vo, 8s. cloth.

GILMER.—INTEREST TABLES.

Tables for the Calculation of Interest on any Sum for any Number of Days at all Rates, from ¼ to 6 per Cent. By ROBERT GILMER. Third Edition, Corrected and Enlarged, royal 18mo, 5s. bound.

GREEK LITERATURE.—TALFOURD, &c.

A HISTORY OF GREEK LITERATURE. By Sir T. N. TALFOURD, Right Rev. Dr. BLOMFIELD, E. POCOCKE, Esq., Rev. H. THOMPSON, M.A., and other Contributors. With Chronological Tables and Index. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. cloth.

GRIFFIN.—THE SCIENTIFIC MISCELLANY;

A Collection of Treatises relating to the Experimental Sciences. Edited by JOHN JOSEPH GRIFFIN, F.C.S. With Engravings, 8vo, 12s. cloth.

ENCYCLOPÆDIA METROPOLITANA, NEW AND REVISED EDITION.

The Second Edition of the Encyclopædia Metropolitana will be handsomely printed in a Series of Cabinet Volumes, in Long Primer type, in crown 8vo. The work will be thoroughly revised, many new Treatises added, the Articles all provided with comprehensive Indexes, or Analytical Tables of Contents, and abundantly illustrated by Maps, Wood-cuts, and Engravings. It will be published in Volumes, each containing a Complete Treatise.

Vol. 1.—COLERIDGE'S (S. T.) DISSERTATION ON THE SCIENCE OF METHOD, revised. With a Synopsis, 2s.

2.—STODDART'S (SIR JOHN) UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR, or the Pure Science of Language, competely Re-written, 5s.

3.—WHATELY'S (ARCHBISHOP) LOGIC. With a New Synopsis and Index, 3s.

4.—WHATELY'S (ARCHBISHOP) RHETORIC. With a New Synopsis and Index, 3s. 6d.

5.—HINDS'S (BISHOP) HISTORY OF EARLY CHRISTIANTY. Revised, to which is added, NEWMAN'S DISSERTATION ON MIRACLES, 6s.

6.—SENIOR'S (NASSAU W.) POLITICAL ECONOMY, 4s.

7.—HALE'S (ARCHDEACON) HISTORY OF THE JEWS. From the Time of Alexander the Great to the Destruction of Jerusalem, revised, 2s. 6d.

8.—SACRED HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY. From the Antediluvian Period to the Time of the Prophet Malachi. Edited and partly written by the Rev. F. A. Cox, D.D., LL.D., revised, 6s.

9.—HISTORY OF GREEK LITERATURE. By Sir THOMAS N. TALFOURD, Right Rev. DR. BLOMFIELD, Bp. of London, &c. Revised, 7s. 6d.

10.—MORAL AND METAPHYSICAL PHILOSOPHY. By Professor MAURICE. Part First, the Ancient Systems of Philosophy, re-written, 5s.

11.—INTRODUCTION TO UNIVERSAL HISTORY. By Sir JOHN STODDART, LL.D., re-written, 5s.

12.—ROMAN ANTIQUITIES. By WILLIAM RAMSAY, M.A., Professor of Humanity in the University of Glasgow. Numerous Engravings, 8s. 6d.

13.—BOTANY. By JOHN HUTTON BALFOUR, F.R.S.E., Professor of Medicine and Botany in the University of Edinburgh. Numerous Engravings, 12s.6d.

14.—ELECTRO-METALLURGY: Containing an Account of the most Improved Methods of depositing Copper, Silver, Gold, and other metals. With numerous Illustrations. By JAMES NAPIER, F.C.S. 3s. 6d.

15.—HISTORY OF GREECE from the Earliest Periods to the Close of the Peloponnesian War. By Sir THOMAS N. TALFOURD, D.C.L., Rev. J. B. OTTLEY, A.M., E. POCOCKE, Esq., and other Contributors. With One Hundred and Fifty Illustrations, 9s.

16.—PHOTOGRAPHY, embracing Daguerreotype, Calotype, &c. By ROBERT HUNT, Professor of Mechanical Science in the Museum of Practical Geology, London. Third edition, 54 Wood-Engravings, 6s.

17.—VETERINARY ART, by W. C. SPOONER. Fifty-one Engravings, 3s.

18.—EARLY ORIENTAL HISTORY, comprising the History of Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Media, Phrygia, and Phœnicia, by Rev. Professor EADIE, D.D., LL.D. With numerous Illustrations, 8s.

19.—HISTORY OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC. By the Rev. THOMAS ARNOLD, D.D., Sir THOMAS N. TALFOURD, D.C.L., the Rev. Professor JEREMIE, and others. With numerous Illustrations, 8s. 6d.

20.—BIBLICAL ANTIQUITIES AND GEOGRAPHY. By Rev. F. A. Cox, D.D., LL.D. With Maps and numerous Illustrations, 7s. 6d.

21.—METALLURGY. A PRACTICAL TREATISE ON THE CHEMISTRY OF THE METALS; containing an Account of Assaying, Mining, Smelting, &c., by JOHN ARTHUR PHILLIPS, F.C.S., with nearly 200 engravings, 12s. 6d.

22.—HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN THE SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES; including a Biographical and Critical Account of the Ecclesiastical Writers and Heretics of that Period. By JAMES AMIRAUX JEREMIE, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge, 4s.

23.—HISTORY OF GREECE AND MACEDONIA, from the Age of Xenophon to the Absorption of Greece in the Roman Empire. By Dr. LYALL, Dean of Canterbury, Rev. G. C. RENOUARD, B.D., &c., &c.. With numerous Illustrations, 8s.

24.—HISTORY OF ROMAN LITERATURE. By Rev. THOMAS ARNOLD, D.D., Rev. HENRY THOMSON, M.A., Rev. Dr. NEWMAN, Rev. J. B. OTTLEY, M.A., and Rev. J. M. NEALE, Warden of Sackville Coll. 10s. 6d.

25.—HISTORY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. By the Rev. THOMAS ARNOLD, D.D., of Rugby, &c. With numerous Illustrations, 10s. 6d.

26.—HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN POWER. By Bishop RUSSEL, &c., with numerous illustrations, 12s. 6d.

ENCYCLOPÆDIA METROPOLITANA, OR UNIVERSAL DICTIONARY OF KNOWLEDGE. Quarto Library Edition.

Complete Sets of the Encyclopædia Metropolitana, (published at £61 19s. in parts,) bound in 30 Volumes, 4to, half-bound Russia extra, in best London binding, £25.

The Large Paper Edition, with Proof Impressions of the Plates, (Published at £106 4s., in Parts,) in 30 Volumes royal 4to, half-bound Russia, £30.

GRIFFIN.—CHEMICAL RECREATIONS;

A Popular Compendium of Experimental Chemistry for the Use of Beginners. By JOHN J. GRIFFIN, F.C.S. Ninth edition, with 500 Illustra., 18mo, 7s.6d. bound.

GRIFFIN'S JUVENILE LIBRARY, BEAUTIFULLY ILLUSTRATED.

JANE SEATON, or the Cornelian Cross, 18mo, 1s. 6d. cloth.
LIFE OF SIR WILLIAM WALLACE, the Scottish Hero, 18mo, 1s. 6d. cloth.
LADY SANDFORD'S STORIES from the History of Rome, 18mo, 1s. 6d. cloth.
SCRIPTURE SCENES, or Views of the Lands of the Bible, 18mo, 1s. 6d. cloth.
STORIES OF THE SEA, or Narratives of Battle and Peril, 18mo, 1s, 6d. cloth.
BOOK OF WONDERS, 18mo, 1s. 6d. cloth.

GRIFFIN.—SCIENTIFIC CATALOGUE.

Illustrated Catalogue of Chemical and Philosophical Apparatus of every description, Cabinets of Minerals, Rocks, &c. With 1200 Engravings, 8vo, 2s. sewed.

GRIFFIN.—SYSTEM OF CRYSTALLOGRAPHY;

With its Application to Mineralogy. By JOHN J. GRIFFIN, F.C.S. 8vo, 12s. cloth.

HALE.—HISTORY OF THE JEWS,

From the Time of Alexander the Great to the Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. By Archdeacon HALE, Master of the Charter House. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d. cloth.

HERSCHEL.—CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA METROPOLITANA: viz. Physical Astronomy, Light, and Sound. One Volume, 4to, cloth, 21s.

HINDS.—HISTORY OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY.

THE RISE AND EARLY PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY. By Right Rev. Dr. HINDS, Bishop of Norwich. New Edition, Revised, crown 8vo, 6s. cloth.

HOOPER.—A MEDICAL DICTIONARY.

Eighth Edition, Enlarged. By KLEIN GRANT, M.D. 8vo, 30s. cloth.

HUNT.—PHOTOGRAPHY.

A Treatise on the application of the chemical changes produced by Solar Radiation to the production of Pictures from Nature—embracing the Daguerreotype, Calotype, and all the published Photographic processes. By ROBERT HUNT, Esq., Professor of Mechanical Science in the Museum of Practical Geology. Third edition, enlarged. With numerous Engravings, crown 8vo, 6s. cloth.

JAMIESON.—RELIGIOUS BIOGRAPHY.

POPULAR CYCLOPÆDIA OF MODERN RELIGIOUS BIOGRAPHY. By the Rev. ROBERT JAMIESON, D.D. Crown 8vo, 5s., cloth.

JEREMIE.—CHURCH HISTORY.

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN THE SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES; including a Biographical and Critical Account of the Ecclesiastical Writers and Heretics of that Period. By JAMES AMIRAUX JEREMIE, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. Crown 8vo, 4s. cloth.

JEWS—HISTORY OF.

BIOGRAPHICAL ANNALS OF THE HEBREW NATION, from the Earliest Period to the Destruction of Jerusalem under Titus. By the Venerable ARCHDEACON HALE Rev. Dr. COX, Dr. MASON GOOD, and others. With Landscape Illustrations, Crown 8vo, antique cloth binding, 8s.

KERR.—MANUFACTURE OF SUGAR;

A Practical Treatise on the Cultivation of the Sugar Cane and the Manufacture of Sugar. By THOMAS KERR, of Barbadoes. Crown 8vo, 5s. cloth.

KINGSLEY.—NATIONAL SERMONS.

By the Rev. CHARLES KINGSLEY, Canon of Middleham, and Rector of Eversley, author of Yeast, Alton Locke, &c. Foolscap 8vo, 5s. cloth.

LITERARY STUDIES.

THE IMPORTANCE OF LITERATURE TO MEN ENGAGED IN BUSINESS. A Series of Addresses by the Duke of Argyll—Earl of Carlisle—Archbishop Whately—Sir David Brewster—Sir John Herschel—Sir Archibald Alison—Lord Mahon—Charles Knight—Hon. B. D'Israeli, M.P.—Sir T. N. Talfourd, &c. fcap. 8vo. 5s. cloth.

MANUFACTURES AND MACHINERY.

THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF ARTS, MANUFACTURES, AND MACHINERY. By Professor BARLOW. With an Introductory Dissertation, by Professor BABBAGE. New edition, illustrated by 87 Pages of Engravings by Lowry, 4to, 42s. half russia, or emblematical cloth binding.

MATHEMATICS.

THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF PURE MATHEMATICS, comprehending a complete Course of Mathematical Science. By Professors AIRY, BARLOW, DE MORGAN, HALL, HAMILTON, LEVY, MOSELEY, Dr. LARDNER, F.R.S., and Rev. Dr. PEACOCK, Dean of Ely. With 17 Engravings, £1 11s. 6d. half russia.

MARRIAGE OFFERING;

A Compilation of Prose and Poetry. Foolscap 8vo, 4s. cloth, richly gilt.

MAURICE.—MORAL AND METAPHYSICAL PHILOSOPHY:

ANCIENT PHILOSOPHY, comprising the Hebrew, Egyptian, Hindoo, Chinese, Persian, Grecian, Roman and Alexandrian Systems of Philosophy. By Rev. F. D. MAURICE, Chaplain to Lincoln's Inn, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, King's College, London. Crown 8vo, 5s. cloth.

MODERN PHILOSOPHY, comprising the Philosophy of the First Six Centuries, the Middle Ages, and the Modern Systems. Crown 8vo. *In the Press.*

MECHANICAL PHILOSOPHY.

THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF MECHANICAL PHILOSOPHY.—Mechanics, Hydrodynamics, Pneumatics, Sound, Optics, Light, illustrated by 78 Plates. By Professor BARLOW and Sir JOHN HERSCHEL. 4to, 42s. half russia.

MEDICAL SCIENCE.

THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF THE MEDICAL SCIENCES.—Anatomy, by J. F. SOUTH, Esq., F.L.S., and F. LE GROS CLARK, Esq.; Surgery, by W. BOWMAN, Esq., F.R.S.; Materia Medica, by G. JOHNSON, Esq., M.D.; Elementary Principles of Medicine, by R. WILLIAMS, Esq., M.D.; Veterinary Art, by W. C. SPOONER, Esq., with 18 Engravings, 21s. half russia.

MENTAL SCIENCE.

THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF MENTAL PHILOSOPHY, by S. T. COLERIDGE, Sir J. STODDART, LL.D., Archbishop WHATELY, R. JEBB, Esq., A. POLSON, Esq., Professors MAURICE, GRAVES, and CORRIE, and the Rev. Dr. ROSE. 4to, 21s. half russia.

MENTAL SCIENCE.

SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE ON METHOD; ARCHBISHOP WHATELY'S TREATISES ON LOGIC and RHETORIC. In One Volume, forming a Section of the Encyclopedia Metropolitana, crown 8vo, 5s. cloth.

MITCHISON.—HAND-BOOK OF SCOTTISH SONG.

A HAND-BOOK OF THE SONGS OF SCOTLAND, containing the best Songs of Burns, &c. Set to Music. With Notes, and Life of Wilson. By WILLIAM MITCHISON. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d. cloth.

MORRISON.—BOOK-KEEPING;

A Complete System of Practical Book-keeping by Single Entry, Double Entry, and a New Method. By C. MORRISON, Accountant, Glasgow. Eighth edition, 8vo., 8s. half-bound.

NAPIER.—DYEING.

A MANUAL OF DYEING, Practical and Theoretical, by JAMES NAPIER, F.C.S. With Engravings and Samples of Dyed Cloth. Post 8vo, 7s. 6d., cloth.

NAPIER.—ELECTRO-METALLURGY;

Containing an Account of the most Improved Methods of depositing Copper, Silver, Gold, and other metals, with numerous Illustrations. By JAMES NAPIER, F.C.S. Second edition, revised and enlarged Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. cloth.

NATURAL HISTORY.

THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF NATURAL HISTORY.—Botany, Zoology, Physiology, Crystallography, Mineralogy, and Geology. With 131 quarto Plates. By THOMAS EDWARDS, Esq., F.L.S.; GEORGE DON, Esq., F.L.S.; J. H. BROOKE, Esq.; J. F. SOUTH, Esq.; and Profs. PHILLIPS and DAUBENY. 4to, 52s. 6d. hf. russia.

PHILLIPS.—METALLURGY;

A MANUAL OF METALLURGY: being an Account of Assaying, Mining, Smelting, &c., by J. A. PHILLIPS, F.C.S., late Professor of Metallurgy at the College for Civil Engineers. With nearly 200 engravings. Crown 8vo, 12s. 6d. cloth.

PHILLIPS.—GOLD MINING;

A POPULAR TREATISE on GOLD-MINING, and the ASSAYING and VALUATION of NATIVE GOLD, with an Account of the Processes of Gold-Washing, Amalgamation, Cupellation, Parting, Fusion of Gold into Ingots, &c. By J. A. PHILLIPS, F.C.S., late Professor of Metallurgy at the College for Civil Engineers. Numerous Illustrations, foolscap 8vo, 2s. 6d. cloth.

POCOCKE.—INDIA IN GREECE,

Or, TRUTH IN MYTHOLOGY, containing an Account of the Sources of the Hellenic Race, the Colonisation of Egypt and Palestine from India, the Wars of the Grand Lama, and the Bud'histic Propaganda in Greece. By E. POCOCKE, Esq. Illustrated by Maps of India and Greece, post 8vo, 12s. cloth.

POLSON.—PRINCIPLES OF THE LAW OF NATIONS,

With Practical Notes on the Law of Blockade, and on Contraband in War. By ARCHER POLSON, Esq., Lincoln's Inn. To which is added DIPLOMACY. By THOMAS HARTWELL HORNE, B.D. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. cloth.

POPE.—POETICAL WORKS.

COMPLETE POETICAL WORKS and TRANSLATIONS of ALEXANDER POPE. Portrait and Vignette. New Edition, 8vo, 5s. cloth.

POPULAR LIBRARY;

A Miscellany of Amusement and Instruction, illustrated by numerous Engravings. 12mo, 5s. cloth.

POTTER.—GRECIAN ANTIQUITIES:

THE ANTIQUITIES OF GREECE. By JOHN POTTER, D.D., late Archbishop of Canterbury. New edition, edited by Dr. BOYD, High School, Edinburgh, with numerous Illustrations. 12mo, 4s. 6d. cloth.

RAMSAY.—ROMAN ANTIQUITIES;

A MANUAL OF ROMAN ANTIQUITIES. By WILLIAM RAMSAY, M.A., Professor of Humanity in the University of Glasgow, with Map, numerous Engravings, and very copious Index. Second edition, crown 8vo., 8s. 6d. cloth.

RAMSAY.—THE GEOLOGY OF THE ISLAND OF ARRAN,

From Original Survey. By A. C. RAMSAY, F.R.S., F.G.S., Professor of Geology in the Museum of Economic Geology, London. Engravings, 8vo, 2s. 6d. cloth.

REEHORST.—POLYGLOTT COMMERCIAL DICTIONARY,

In Ten Languages. English, Dutch, German, Danish, Swedish, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Russian. With Table of Coins, Weights, Measures, &c. By K. P. TER REEHORST, Oblong 8vo, 3s. cloth.

REEHORST.—POLYGLOTT MARINE DICTIONARY,

In Ten Languages. English, Dutch, German, Danish, Swedish, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Russian. Comprehending upwards of 5000 Technical Terms. By K. P. TER REEHORST. Oblong 8vo, 7s. 6d. cloth.

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS.

A CYCLOPÆDIA OF RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS. An Authentic Account of the various Religions prevailing throughout the World, written by Members of the respective Bodies. Crown 8vo, 5s. cloth.

ROME—HISTORY OF.

HISTORY OF ROME, from the Foundation of the City of Rome to the Extinction of the Western Empire. By the Rev. THOMAS ARNOLD, D.D., the Rev. J. A. JEREMIE, D.D., SIR THOMAS NOON TALFOURD, D.C.L., and others. Illustrated by numerous Engravings. To be completed in Three Volumes, £1 11s. 6d.

1. THE ROMAN REPUBLIC, 150 Engravings, 8s. 6d. cloth.
2. THE ROMAN EMPIRE, 10s. 6d. cloth.
3. THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN POWER, 12s. 6d. cloth.

ROMAN LITERATURE.—ARNOLD, THOMPSON, &c.

A HISTORY OF ROMAN LITERATURE. By the late Dr. ARNOLD. Rev. HENRY THOMPSON, M.A., Rev. J. H. NEWMAN, D.D., the Rev. J. M. NEALE, and other Contributors. Crown 8vo, 10s. 6d. cloth.

SACRED LYRE;

Comprising Poems Devotional, Moral, and Preceptive, including many Original Pieces. Fifth edition, medium 32mo, 1s. 6d. cloth, gilt.

SENIOR.—POLITICAL ECONOMY;

The Science which Treats of the Nature, Production, and Distribution of Wealth, forming part of the Encyclopædia Metropolitana. By NASSAU W. SENIOR, late Professor of Political Economy, Oxford. Crown 8vo, 4s. cloth.

SCHOEDLER AND MEDLOCK'S SCIENTIFIC TREATISES,

Crown 8vo, cloth.

ASTRONOMY. With 51 Engravings. 1s. 6d.
BOTANY. With 121 Engravings. 1s. 6d.
CHEMISTRY. With 50 Engravings. 2s.
MINERALOGY and GEOLOGY. With 128 Engravings. 2s. 6d.
NATURAL PHILOSOPHY. With 135 Engravings. 2s. 6d.
ZOOLOGY and PHYSIOLOGY. With 84 Engravings. 2s.

SHIER—MANUFACTURE OF SUGAR.

Directions for Testing Cane Juice, with Practical Instructions for conducting the process of Clarification. By JOHN SHIER, LL.D., Agricultural Chemist to the Colony of British Guiana. Twenty-seven Cuts, crown 8vo, 3s. cloth.

SMYTH.—WORTHIES OF ENGLAND;

Or, Memoirs of Eminent Men, whose actions have shed a lustre on the History of their Country. By GEORGE LOUIS SMYTH. Portraits, medium 8vo, 5s. cloth.

SPOONER.—VETERINARY ART.

A Practical Treatise on the Diseases of the Horse. By W. C. SPOONER, Esq. With 50 Engravings, forming part of the Encyclopædia Metropolitana, crown 8vo, 3s. cloth.

STODDART.—INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY;

Two Dissertations—FIRST: On the Uses of History as a Study. SECOND: On the Separation of the Early Facts of History from Fable. By Sir JOHN STODDART, LL.D. Crown 8vo, 5s. cloth.

STODDART.—UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR,

Or, the Pure Science of Language. By Sir JOHN STODDART, LL.D. Second edition, crown 8vo, 5s. cloth.

STODDART.—GLOSSOLOGY,

Or, the Historical Relations of Languages. By Sir JOHN STODDART, LL.D. Crown 8vo, cloth. *Nearly ready.*

TODD.—COMPLETE WORKS;

Comprising the Sabbath School Teacher, Student's Manual, &c. 8vo, 7s. cloth.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

Ancient and Modern, from the Earliest Periods of Mankind to the Peace of 1818. By upwards of Forty Contributors, comprising the most Eminent Men of the day. Illustrated by Maps, 5 vols. 4to, £5. 5s. half russia.

USEFUL ARTS.

THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF THE USEFUL ARTS.—Agriculture, Horticulture, Commerce, Political Economy, Carpentry, Fortification, and Naval Architecture. By GEORGE DON, Esq., F.L.S., JOSEPH LOW, Esq., NASSAU WILLIAM SENIOR, Esq., &c., with 19 plates, 4to, 21s. half russia.

VON KOBELL.—MINERALOGY:

Instructions for the Discrimination of Minerals by Simple Chemical Experiments. By FRANZ VON KOBELL, Professor of Mineralogy in the University of Munich. Translated by R. C. Campbell, 8vo, 2s. sewed.

WHATELY.—LOGIC.

Original Edition, complete, forming part of the Encyclopædia Metropolitana. With Synopsis and Index. Crown 8vo, 3s. cloth.

WHATELY.—RHETORIC.

Original Edition, complete, forming part of the Encyclopædia Metropolitana. With Synopsis and Index. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. cloth.

WHITE.—THE NATURAL HISTORY OF SELBORNE.

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF SELBORNE, with Observations on various parts of Nature, and the Naturalist's Calendar. By Rev. GILBERT WHITE, A.M. New edition, greatly enlarged by Captain THOMAS BROWN, F.L.S., &c. With coloured Illustrations, foolscap 8vo, cloth, 3s. 6d., or richly gilt, 4s.

ZOOLOGY—ILLUSTRATIONS OF.

A Series of Ninety Engravings, comprehending about a Thousand Figures of Quadrupeds, Birds, Fish, Reptiles, Mollusca, Insects, Crustacea, Polyps, &c., engraved by J. W. Lowry and Thomas Landseer, after Sowerby, Charles Landseer, and others. The Descriptions, selected from articles contributed to the Encyclopædia Metropolitana, by JOHN FLINT SOUTH, Esq., F.L.S., J. E. GRAY, Esq., F.L.S., J. F. STEPHENS, Esq., F.L.S., F.Z.S., and others. Imperial 4to, 31s. 6d. cloth, gilt edges, or 42s. half-morocco, gilt edges.

HISTORY OF ROME.

Third Division.

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

ENCYCLOPÆDIA METROPOLITANA;

OR,

System of Universal Knowledge:

ON A METHODICAL PLAN

PROJECTED BY SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED.

Third Division. History and Biography.

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.



LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY JOHN JOSEPH GRIFFIN AND CO.
53 BAKER-STREET, PORTMAN-SQUARE;
AND RICHARD GRIFFIN AND CO., GLASGOW.
1853.

(221. f. 21.)

LONDON: PRINTED BY W. CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD-STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

THE HISTORY

OF

THE ROMAN EMPIRE,

FROM THE TIME OF VESPASIAN TO THE EXTINCTION OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

BY

THE LATE THOMAS ARNOLD, D.D.

HEAD MASTER OF RUGBY SCHOOL;

JAMES AMIRAUX JEREMIE, D.D.

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY, CAMBRIDGE;

MAJOR A. S. H. MOUNTAIN;

THE REV. J. B. OTTLEY, M.A.

LATE FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD;

AND

THE LATE MICHAEL RUSSELL, D.D., D.C.L.

BISHOP OF THE SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

SECOND EDITION.

EDITED BY E. POCOCKE, Esq.

PREFACE.

THE details of the vicissitudes of Imperial Rome, in her decadence and her fall, will be found embodied in this last volume of her eventful history, drawn from the most trustworthy sources of antiquity. Whilst, on the one hand, the authorities are not of that obscure character which must naturally tend to confound the researches of the historian and baffle his scrutiny, yet, on the other, they are singularly wanting in chronological regularity. Intervals of several years occur, in which there is a lamentable deficiency good chronological authorities. Such omissions can with difficulty be filled up by an inductive evidence, which, in itself, is not always of the most decisive character.

The moral presented by the history of the Lower Empire is deeply impressive. The annals of Rome in her decrepitude open a ghastly view of the corruptions of society, and the slender safeguards presented against tyranny and cruelty by the highest civilization and the most dignified philosophy. Military power, dominant over the institutes of social life, completes the long history of Roman degradation. Penetrated with distress, the human mind would turn away from such horrors in hopeless despair, but for that ray of increasing light which begins to shine amid the gloom of the social horizon. Christianity, though often degraded from its noble mission, presented the only hope of universal regeneration.

It is, however, with regret, that we watch its setting rays fading in the night of barbarian gloom, where superstitious reverence for external forms and sumptuous parade usurp the place of Christian simplicity. The Romans, long accustomed to associate with the

gorgeous insignia of political power their own ideas of religion, still continued to lean towards a system that gratified the eye, but too often left the heart unaffected.

In the Lower Empire, the most casual observer will be struck with the rapid succession of regal shadows, rather than substantial existences, that flit across the dark curtain of Rome's gloomy pageant; but while the Briton will gaze with horror at the foulness of her inner life, he will contemplate with Christian gratitude the securities for political and religious freedom guaranteed by the constitution of his native land.

London, January 1, 1853.



NAMES OF CONTRIBUTORS.

THE LATE THOMAS ARNOLD, D.D.

CHAPTER V.—M. Ulpius Trajanus Crinitus.

JAMES AMIRAUX JEREMIE, D.D.

CHAPTER XV.—Constantine the Great.
XVI.—Constantinus II., Constans, and Constantius.
XVII.—Julianus.

MAJOR A. S. H. MOUNTAIN.

CHAPTER VI.—Ælianus Hadrianus.

THE REV. J. B. OTTLEY, M.A.

CHAPTER VII.—Titus Aurelius Fulvius Boionius Antoninus Pius.
VIII.—Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Philosophus.
IX.—Commodus Antoninus and Publius Helvius Pertinax.

THE LATE BISHOP RUSSELL.

CHAPTER I.—Titus Flavius Vespasianus, from A. D. 69 to A. D. 79.
II.—Titus Flavius Vespasianus, from A. D. 79 to A. D. 81.
III.—Titus Flavius Domitianus, from A. D. 81 to A. D. 96.
IV.—Nerva.
X.—Lucius Septimius Severus.
XI.—Caracalla, Macrinus, and Heliogabalus.
XII.—Marcus Aurelius Alexander Severus.
XIII.—Roman Emperors, from Maximinus to Tacitus Augustus.

THE LATE BISHOP RUSSELL.

CHAPTER XIV.—Roman Emperors, from Probus to Licinius.

XVIII.—Roman History, from the Accession of Jovian to the Final Division of the Empire under Arcadius and Honorius.

XIX.—From the Final Division of the Empire to the Sack of Rome by the Goths.

XX.—From the Sack of Rome by the Goths to its Sack by the Vandals.

XXI.—From the Sack of Rome by the Vandals to the Extinction of the Western Empire.



CONTENTS.

Page

CHAPTER I.—TITUS FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS, from A. D. 69 to A. D. 79 . 1

CHAPTER II.—TITUS FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS, from A. D. 79 to A. D. 81 29

CHAPTER III.—TITUS FLAVIUS DOMITIANUS, from A. D. 81 to A. D. 96 41

CHAPTER IV.—NERVA, from A. D. 96 to A. D. 98 59

CHAPTER V.—M. ULPIUS TRAJANUS CRINITUS, from A.D. 98 to A.D. 117 69

CHAPTER VI.—ÆLIANUS HADRIANUS, from A. D. 117 to A. D. 138 . 105

CHAPTER VII.—TITUS AURELIUS FULVIUS BOIONIUS ANTONINUS PIUS, from A. D. 138 to A. D. 161 137

CHAPTER VIII.—MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS PHILOSOPHUS, from A. D. 161 to A. D. 180 146

CHAPTER IX.—COMMODUS AND PERTINAX, from A. D. 180 to A. D. 192 155

SECTION 1. Commodus Antoninus 155

2. Publius Helvius Pertinax 158

CHAPTER X.—LUCIUS SEPTIMUS SEVERUS, from A. D. 193 to A. D. 211 161

CHAPTER XI.—CARACALLA, MACRINUS, AND HELIOGABALUS, from A. D. 211 to A. D. 222 194

SECTION 1. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Caracalla . . . 194

2. Marcus Opilius Macrinus 208

3. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Heliogabalus . . . 218

CHAPTER XII.—MARCUS AURELIUS ALEXANDER SEVERUS, from A. D. 222 to A. D. 235 226

CHAPTER XIII.—ROMAN EMPERORS FROM MAXIMINUS TO TACITUS AUGUSTUS, from A. D. 235 to A. D. 276 . . 240

SECTION 1. Caius Julius Verus Maximinus 240

2. Gordianus 246

3. Marcus Claudius Papienus Maximus 249

4. Decimus Cœlius Balbinus 250

Page

SECTION 5. Marcus Antoninus Gordianus III. 253
6. Marcus Julius Philippus Augustus 257
7. Caius Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius Augustus . . 261
8. Caius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus Augustus . . . 263
9. Caius Julius Æmilianus Augustus 264
10. Caius Publius Licinius Valerianus Augustus . . 265
11. Publius Licinius Gallienus Augustus 272
12. Marcus Aurelius Claudius II. Augustus . . . 278
13. Lucius Domitius Aurelianus Augustus . . . 281
14. Marcus Claudius Tacitus Augustus 291

CHAPTER XIV.—ROMAN EMPERORS FROM PROBUS TO LICINIUS, from A. D. 276 to A.D. 323 294

SECTION 1. Marcus Aurelius Probus Augustus 294
2. M. Aurelius Carus Augustus 303
3. M. Aurelius Carinus Augustus 303
4. M. Aurelius Numerianus Augustus 303
5. Caius Valerianus Diocletianus Augustus . . . 309
6. Constantinus Chlorus Augustus 330
7. Galerius, Maximianus, Maxentius, Maximinus, Licinius, Constantinus 334

CHAPTER XV.—CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, from A. D. 323 to A. D. 337 346

CHAPTER XVI.—CONSTANTINUS II., CONSTANS, AND CONSTANTIUS, from A. D. 337 to A. D. 361 355

CHAPTER XVII.—JULIANUS, from A. D. 361 to A. D. 363 . . . 398

CHAPTER XVIII.—ROMAN HISTORY FROM THE SUCCESSION OF JOVIAN TO THE FINAL DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE UNDER ARCADIUS AND HONORIUS, from A. D. 363 to A. D. 395 437

CHAPTER XIX.—FROM THE FINAL DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE TO THE SACK OF ROME BY THE GOTHS, from A. D. 395 to A. D. 410 491

CHAPTER XX.—FROM THE SACK OF ROME BY THE GOTHS TO ITS SACK BY THE VANDALS, from A. D. 410 to A. D. 455 . 517

CHAPTER XXI.—FROM THE SACK OF ROME BY THE VANDALS TO THE EXTINCTION OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE, from A. D. 455 to A. D. 476 546

CHRONOLOGY OF ROME, FROM A. D. 69 TO A. D. 477 . . . 561

INDEX 581

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

Page

VIGNETTE. *Museum Florentinum* viii

VASE. *Real Museo Borbonico* x

ETRUSCAN CANDELABRUM xvi

VESPASIANUS. *Museum Florentinum* 1

COIN, COMMEMORATING THE RESTORATION OF THE CAPITOL BY VESPASIANUS 6

TRIUMPH OF VESPASIAN AND TITUS. *G. F. Sargent, after a picture by Julio Romano* 17

JEWISH TEMPLE ORNAMENTS. *From the Arch of Titus* . . . 19

COLUMN OF PEACE, from the Ruins of Vespasian's Temple of Peace. *Overbeke, Les Restes de l'Ancienne Rome* 19

TEMPLE OF PEACE. *Venuti, Antichità di Roma* 21

THE COLISÆUM, External View of the Ruins. *Piranesi* . . . 24

THE COLISÆUM: Five Views of the Interior, showing the Cyclopian Architecture and the Apartments within the walls of the building. *Overbeke, Les Restes de l'Ancienne Rome* 25

INTERIOR OF THE COLISÆUM. *Piranesi* 28

TITUS FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS. *Museum Florentinum* 29

REMAINS OF THE BATHS OF TITUS. *Venuti, Antichità di Roma* . . 30

TRIUMPHAL ARCH OF TITUS 30

MARTIAL, the Poet. *From an antique gem* 40

TITUS FLAVIUS DOMITIANUS. *Museum Florentinum* 41

TEMPLE OF JUPITER CAPITOLINUS: Coin 46

TACITUS, the Historian. *From an antique gem* 51

TEMPLE OF MINERVA. *Overbeke, Les Restes de l'Ancienne Rome* . . 53

COLUMN MILLIARE. *Overbeke, Les Restes de l'Ancienne Rome* . . 58

NERVA. *Visconti, Iconographie Romaine* 59

BASILICA OF NERVA. *Overbeke, Les Restes de l'Ancienne Rome* . . 64

FORUM OF NERVA. *Venuti, Antichità di Roma* 68

TRAJAN. *Visconti, Iconographie Romaine* 69

FORUM TRAJANUM: Coin 74

DACIAN HORSEMAN. *From the Column of Trajan* 75

COLUMN OF TRAJAN 85

Page

ROMAN AUTHOR READING HIS WORK 92
PLINY THE YOUNGER. *From a marble bust* 101
HADRIANUS. *Rossi, Raccolta di Statue Antiche* 105
HADRIANUS. *Visconti, Iconographie Romaine* 107
SABINA. *Museum Florentinum* 109
MAUSOLEUM OF HADRIANUS, now the Castle of St. Angelo, Rome . . 120
TEMPLE OF VENUS AND OF ROME. *Overbeke, Les Restes de l'Ancienne Rome* 129
PLOTINA. *Visconti, Iconographie Romaine* 131
DACIAN AND ROMAN SOLDIERS. *Montfaucon, l'Antiquité Expliquée* . 136
ANTONINUS PIUS: Coin 137
GALEN. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* 138
ANTONINUS PIUS. *Rossi, Raccolta di Statue Antiche* 140
COIN OF ANTONINUS PIUS 142
FAUSTINA. *Museum Florentinum* 144
REVERSE OF A COIN OF FAUSTINA. *Visconti, Iconographie Romaine* . 144
PLAN OF THE ROMAN WALL ACROSS SCOTLAND 145
TRIUMPH OF MARCUS AURELIUS. *Bartolo, Admiranda Romanorum Antiquitatum* 146
MARCUS AURELIUS. *From an antique bust* 147
COLUMN OF MARCUS AURELIUS. *Overbeke, Les Restes de l'Ancienne Rome* 151
COMMODUS AND CRISPINA. *Museum Florentinum* 155
PERTINAX AND HIS FAMILY. *Visconti, Iconographie Romaine* . . 158
ROMAN LEGIONARY. *Montfaucon, l'Antiquité Expliquée* . . . 160
SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND HIS FAMILY. *Visconti, Iconographie Romaine*. 161
PESCENNIUS NIGER. *Visconti, Iconographie Romaine* 165
DIDIUS JULIANUS. *Visconti, Iconographie Romaine* 171
ARCUS ARGENTARIUS 182
ARCH OF SEVERUS 186
PORTA FONTINALIS. *Overbeke, Les Restes de l'Ancienne Rome* . . 193
ARCH OF NERO AND AQUEDUCT OF CARACALLA. *Venuti, Antichità di Roma* 194
CARACALLA. *Visconti, Iconographie Romaine* 197
CIRCUS OF CARACALLA. *Venuti, Antichità di Roma* 207
MARCUS OPILIUS MACRINUS. *Museum Florentinum* 208
HELIOGABALUS, or ELAGABALUS. *Visconti, Iconographie Romaine* . 218
ROMAN BANQUET. *Bartolo, Admiranda Romanorum Antiquitatum* . 225
ALEXANDER SEVERUS. *Visconti, Iconographie Romaine* . . . 226
ROMAN SOLDIERS: from the Arch of Septimus Severus. *Montfaucon, l'Antiquité Expliquée* 239

Page

ARCH OF JANUS QUADRIFRONS 240

CAIUS JULIUS VERUS MAXIMINUS. *Visconti, Iconographie Romaine* . 241

GORDIANUS. *Visconti, Iconographie Romaine* 247

GORDIANUS PIUS. *Visconti, Iconographie Romaine* 254

BATHS OF PHILIP. *Overbeke, Les Restes de l'Ancienne Rome* . . 259

VALERIANUS. *Visconti, Iconographie Romaine* 266

SAPOR, KING OF PERSIA. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* . . . 270

ARCH OF GALLIENUS. *Venuti, Antichità di Roma* 272

AURELIANUS. *Visconti, Iconographie Romaine* 272

ZENOBIA, QUEEN OF PALMYRA. *Visconti, Iconographie Romaine* . . 287

RUINS OF PALMYRA 293

TEMPLE OF JUNO. *Venuti, Antichità di Roma* 294

PROBUS AND HIS WIFE. *Visconti, Iconographie Romaine* . . . 295

M. AURELIUS CARUS AUGUSTUS. *Museum Florentinum* . . . 304

M. AURELIUS NUMERIANUS AUGUSTUS. *Visconti, Iconographie Romaine* 306

CAIUS VALERIUS DIOCLETIANUS AUGUSTUS 309

BATHS OF ST. HELENA. *Venuti, Antichità di Roma* 315

REMAINS OF THE BATHS OF DIOCLETIAN. *Venuti, Antichità di Roma* . 319

EQUESTRIAN FIGURE OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. *Rossi, Raccolta di Statue Antiche* 332

ARCH OF CONSTANTINE 341

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* . . 346

CONSTANTINUS II. *Visconti, Iconographie Romaine* 355

CONSTANTIUS. *G. F. Sargent, from a coin* 360

JULIANUS. *Visconti, Iconographie Romaine* 371

OBELISK OF CONSTANTIUS. *Overbeke, Les Restes de l'Ancienne Rome* . 374

ARCH OF CONSTANTINE. *Overbeke, Les Restes de l'Ancienne Rome* . 397

JULIAN AND HELENA SACRIFICING TO ISIS. *Museum Florentinum* . 398

ROMAN MILITARY LABOURS. *Montfaucon, l'Antiquité Expliquée* . . 419

SARCOPHAGUS 436

THE EAST AND THE WEST. *G. F. Sargent, from Montfaucon, l'Antiquité Expliquée* 437

JOVIANUS. *Encyclopædie Méthodique* 439

VALENTINIANUS. *Banduri, Numis. Imp. Rom.* 457

ROMAN FORTIFICATIONS. *Montfaucon, l'Antiquité Expliquée* . . 462

ROMAN GENERAL AND DACIAN ENGAGED. *Montfaucon, l'Antiquité Expliquée* 473

ROMAN HORSE-SOLDIER. *Montfaucon, l'Antiquité Expliquée* . . 474

EQUESTRIAN FIGURES OF THEODOSIUS, GRATIANUS, &c. *Montfaucon, l'Antiquité Expliquée* 476

Page

ARMS OF THE BARBARIANS. *From the Arch of Trajan* . . . 485
THEODOSIUS. *Banduri, Numis. Imp. Rom.* 489
ARCADIUS AND HONORIUS. *Encyclopædie Méthodique* . . . 491
DACIANS ATTACKING A ROMAN FORT. *Montfaucon, l'Antiquité Expliquée* 498
THE LATIN GATE, ROME. *Overbeke, Les Restes de l'Ancienne Rome* . 516
IMPERIAL COSTUME, TIME OF HELENA, WIFE OF CONSTANTINE. *Montfaucon, l'Antiquité Expliquée* 517
PULCHERIA. *Banduri, Numis. Imp. Rom.* 528
ATTILA REPULSED BY ST. LEON. *G. F. Sargent, after a picture by Raphael* 545
GOTHIC CHIEF. *Montfaucon, l'Antiquité Expliquée* 546
AVITUS. *Banduri, Numis. Imp. Rom.* 549
THE RUINS OF ROME 559
ROMAN HELMET 588





Vespasianus.

HISTORY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

TITUS FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS.

FROM A. D. 69 TO 79.

THE name of Vespasian did not derive much lustre from the wealth or power of his ancestors. His grandfather, Titus Flavius Petro, after fighting in the cause of Pompey at the battle of Pharsalia, retired from the army to pursue in his native town the humble occupation of a banker's agent. Nor was his immediate progenitor of higher rank, or employed in a more dignified office. Titus Flavius Sabinus, the father of Vespasianus, discharged the duties of a subordinate collector of taxes in Asia; in fulfilling which appointment he displayed so much lenity and justice, that his memory was long afterwards preserved in the principal towns by means of tablets and statues, which the gratitude of the people erected to his honour.

Vespasianus proclaimed emperor at Alexandria, July A. D. 69.

[R. H.]

A. D. 69. Sabinus married a daughter of Vespasianus Pollio, the representative of an ancient and honourable race, and he thereby laid the foundation of that eminence to which his family was destined to rise in the affairs of the commonwealth. Vespasia Polla gave two sons to Sabinus; the elder of these, who inherited the name of his father, became præfect of the city under Nero, Otho, and Vitellius; the younger, who derived his surname from his maternal lineage, enjoyed a still higher fortune, and placed himself at the head of the Roman government.[1]

His mild disposition and simplicity.

It is asserted by Seutonius that Vespasianus had originally no ambition in his nature, and that he showed an early preference of the peaceful retirement of a country life to the agitation and fatigues of a military or a political career. His mother assailed him with the bitterest reproaches; and at length, says the biographer, more by abuse than by entreaty or authority, she compelled the youth to seek for distinction in the camp, as well as among the candidates for civic and senatorial promotion. He served first in Thrace, in quality of a military tribune, and afterwards obtained the appointment of quæstor in Crete and Cyrene. In competing for the office of ædile he sustained several repulses; but his success was more immediate and gratifying when he aspired to the prætorship in the reign of Caligula.[2]

His character changes under Caligula.

His subserviency at the court of the emperor was not very honourable either to his virtue or to the dignity of his sentiments. He desired permission to entertain the people with feasts and games, to celebrate the imaginary victory which that prince thought proper to claim over German armies whose ranks he had never seen; and, again, when the conspiracy of Lepidus was discovered, Vespasianus allowed himself to enter so far into the vindictive policy of Caligula as to propose that the guilty should not only be put to death, but that their bodies should be deprived of the accustomed honour of funeral rites. In his marriage, too, which took place about the same period, he made a choice more suitable to the obscurity of his birth than to the rank which he had already attained. He espoused Domitia, the discarded mistress of a Roman knight, and the daughter of a slave, by whom he had two sons, Titus and Domitianus, who successively swayed the sceptre of Augustus, and who became respectively the objects of the most intense love and hatred that the people of Italy ever directed towards the throne.

His military reputation.

In the reign of Claudius, the son of Sabinus was raised to the command of a legion, at the head of which he served with great distinction, first beyond the Rhine, and afterwards in Britain; and his merits were rewarded, through the influence of the favourite Narcissus, with the honours of a triumph, and with the power of the consulate. When Nero ascended the throne, the suspicions of

[1] Suet. Vesp. i. ii. [2] Ibid. *ubi supra*; Tacit. Hist. lib. i. c. l.

Agrippina kept Vespasianus back from the scenes of business and of intrigue. He was sent as proconsul into Africa, where his administration was neither so prudent nor so pure as to allow him to retire without reproach, or even without encountering the shame and terror of an insurrection. He afterwards accompanied the emperor in his foolish expedition into Greece; but being incapable of admiring the fine voice on which his imperial master placed his greatest glory, and having repeatedly either fallen asleep or walked out of the room while the former was exercising his transcendent talent, he was banished from court, and peremptorily forbidden to enter into the presence of his sovereign. But Vespasianus had scarcely time to weigh the pressure of the disgrace which had fallen upon him, when he received a commission to proceed into the east, as the emperor's lieutenant, and to undertake the management of the war which had been recently renewed against the Jews.[1] A. D. 69.

His fame not spotless.

We have already stated, under the reign of Vitellius, the leading events which paved the way for the accession of Vespasianus to the throne of the Cæsars. His high military talents, as well as his character for moderation, pointed him out to the distracted senate, and to the great body of the army, as the fittest person to consolidate the government, and to restore to all orders of the people that peace and confidence to which, owing to the weakness of their late rulers, they had for some time been entire strangers. The fame of Vespasianus, indeed, was not altogether spotless. In his transactions with certain individuals who put confidence in his integrity, he incurred the suspicion of mercenary motives, and even of gross injustice; and Tacitus, after telling us that the reputation of the general was ambiguous before he came to the empire, makes the remarkable observation that he was the first instance of a prince becoming a better man upon obtaining the possession of supreme power. But as a soldier he was not surpassed by any commander of his age. He was ever active and vigilant, marching on foot at the head of his legions, and giving instructions suitable to all emergencies. The night as well as the day was devoted to the duties of his charge, either in council or the more laborious exertions of the field. His food and dress were not superior to those of the common men; and, in short, says the historian, had he not been addicted to avarice, he would have proved himself equal to the greatest generals of antiquity.[2]

Excesses of the victors at Rome.

The success of his arms under Mucianus and Antonius Primus secured the throne for Vespasianus while he was yet at Alexandria, preparing means for prosecuting the war, which, he apprehended, might prove more tedious than his adherents at Rome had calculated. But the death of Vitellius put an end to all systematic oppo-

[1] Suet. Vesp. iv.

[2] Tacit. Hist. lib. ii. c. v.

A. D. 69. sition; though, as the annalist expresses it, that event rather brought hostilities to a close than established peace. The victors pursued their advantage with a degree of cruelty which disgraced the cause in which they had taken up arms; following the vanquished Germans into private houses, and even into the temples of the gods, and polluting the hearths and altars with the blood of unresisting captives. Domitianus, who had concealed himself during the conflict between the contending armies, now came forth from his retreat to assume the reigns of government in the name of his father; but his youth and the softness of his manners were not fitted to make an impression on the obstinate ferocity of the soldiers, who did not desist from their work of destruction till they were satiated with plunder or ashamed of their excesses.[1]

Jealousy of Mucianus and Primus.

The victorious generals were jealous of each other's influence in the capital. Mucianus joined to his ambition a deep knowledge of human nature, and a complete command over his own passions. Primus was ardent and impetuous, a lover of power, but also a lover of his country; and he perceived that the ascendency which he had gained over the troops, by the successful issue of his enterprise, gave dissatisfaction to his rival, and thereby endangered his own safety. But he could not insist upon keeping his legions at Rome at a moment when some of the provinces were threatened with war; and, accordingly, upon finding that the best of his soldiers were ordered to serve upon the Rhine, he ceased to contend with his more powerful antagonist for the credit of directing the course of the new government.[2]

Sedition among the military.

A more serious cause of disquietude soon showed itself in the seditious spirit of the legions which were encamped in the neighbourhood of the city. The prætorians, whom Vitellius had disbanded, and who had resumed their arms in favour of Vespasianus, insisted upon being restored to their former privileges as a part of the imperial guard. It required all the skill of Mucianus and the liberal condescension of Domitianus to appease the clamours of the military on this trying occasion; for the throne being yet unoccupied, the cohorts did not conceal that they had the inclination as well as the power to sell the empire to any adventurer who should comply with their views and gratify their avarice. Domitianus presented them with a liberal gratuity, and promised them an ample allotment of land; but the prætorians refused the latter donation, preferring the service in which they were engaged to the simple life of agriculturists, who could neither give crowns nor take them away. It was not deemed expedient to deny their request. Many of them were soon afterwards dismissed, under pretence that their age required repose, and that their length of service entitled them to an honourable retirement; and in this way the government gained its end, by diminishing gradually

[1] Suet. Vesp. vii. [2] Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. c. xxxix. xl.

a powerful body of armed men, much too formidable to be opposed when combined together.[1] A. D. 69.

Cruelty of Mucianus.

But the zeal of Mucianus was not always directed by views so wise, nor by motives so pure, as those now described. Lucius Piso was about this time proconsul of Africa; and his conduct happening to excite suspicion, an assassin was despatched from Rome to cut him off. It is not denied that there might be some ground for the surmises which Mucianus entertained respecting the designs of Piso, it being admitted that some of the adherents of Vitellius, who had taken refuge in Africa, had tried to shake his allegiance, by representing to him the wavering fidelity of the Gauls, the open revolt of the Germans, and his own danger, which they told him was very great if he remained quiet, but would be altogether removed if he should take up arms. Besides, Africa was known on other grounds to be very ill-affected towards Vespasianus. The supply of corn, too, on which Rome placed great dependence, was this year delayed considerably beyond the usual time of arrival, by a long continuance of contrary winds, an accident which at once created much uneasiness among the people, and gave some degree of plausibility to the rumours of disaffection which were everywhere propagated in relation to the proconsul.

Plan to assassinate L. Piso.

But the plan of assassination projected by Mucianus was made known to the governor of Africa by the activity of a military friend. Crossing the sea in haste, he arrived at Carthage before the centurion who carried the fatal commission, and informed Piso of the design which was entertained against his life, urging him at the same time to revolt, as the only means whereby he could save himself from the machinations of his enemies, who, he assured him, would not rest satisfied until they had accomplished his ruin.

Piso resisted these attacks upon his fidelity, even after he was convinced that his life was in danger. His friend, indeed, had scarcely left his presence when the centurion sent by Mucianus entered the port; and the moment he landed, the perfidious wretch exclaimed that he had brought to Piso tidings of his elevation to the empire, and invited every person whom he met to join with him in making vows for the prosperity of the new reign. The multitude soon assembled, and, without inquiring into the truth of what they heard, rushed in a body to the house of the proconsul, saluting him with tumultuous and reiterated shouts of joy. Piso, aware of the stratagem which the messenger intended to practise against him, made no return to the congratulations of the mob; but calling into his palace this envoy of Mucianus, began to examine him relative to the pleasure of the senate and the occurrences which had lately fallen out at Rome. Detecting the guile of the centurion, he gave orders that he should be instantly executed in public, less with the

[1] Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. c. xlvi.

A. D. 69. view of personal safety, than that he might thereby avenge the cause of justice and honour by the punishment of a bad man, whose hands were already embrued in the blood of a distinguished officer, who, in the reign of Galba, had governed the province of Africa. But the fate of Piso himself was not long protracted. Valerius Festus, who commanded the army under him, lent himself to the designs of Mucianus, and sending a detachment of horse to the residence of the governor, issued the strictest injunctions that he should be put to death, an order which was speedily accomplished.[1]

His death.

The events to which we have thus briefly alluded took place at Rome and in Africa, while Vespasianus remained in Egypt collecting corn for his army in the East as well as the West. Upon learning the death of Vitellius, he shipped the contents of his magazines for the supply of the capital, which, owing to the ravages and confusion of civil war, was already threatened with famine; and adopted other measures for the security and happiness of the Roman people.[2] He issued instructions for repairing the buildings which had been injured or destroyed by the German cohorts, in their last attempt to maintain the government of Vitellius. In particular he gave orders to rebuild the Capitol, the ornament and pride of Rome, intrusting that important work to Lucius Vestinus, an officer whom he had always honoured with his utmost confidence and respect. Tacitus supplies a full account of the ceremonies which were observed in laying the first stone of this sacred building.[3] The sooth-sayers had declared that the plan of the former temple was to be strictly adhered to in the erection of the second, as the gods were determined to have no alteration; and, moreover, that no stone or other material which had been used in any other fabric, should be employed in forming the walls or furnishing the decorations of this national fane. The new Capitol was built a little higher than the old one; the only change that was regarded as not inconsistent with religion, or wanting to complete the magnificence of the former structure.

Rebuilding of the Capitol.



Vespasian restores the Capitol.

The emperor arrives in Italy.

A. D. 70. It was in the early part of the year (A. D. 70) that Vespasianus embarked at Alexandria, in order to proceed to Rome. He sailed in a trading vessel to Rhodes, where, finding a ship more suitable for his purpose, he continued his voyage along the coast of Asia Minor, taking time to visit in his progress the principal cities which lay near the shore, in all of which he was received with the greatest demonstrations of affection and loyalty. From Ionia he proceeded to Greece, and landed at Corcyra, whence he soon afterwards set sail

[1] Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. c. xlix. l. [2] Ibid. c. lii. [3] Ibid. c. liii.

for Brundusium, where he seems to have arrived shortly after mid-summer. The debarkation must have been subsequent to the twenty-first of June, the day on which Helvidius Priscus laid the foundation of the new Capitol. A. D. 70.

We are informed by Josephus that all the road from Brundusium to Rome was lined on either side by an innumerable multitude of people, who saluted the emperor with the most cordial and joyful acclamations; and that, when he approached the city, the houses and streets were almost entirely deserted, through the extraordinary anxiety of the inhabitants to go out and meet that venerable chief, whom they were willing to regard as the protector of their country, and as the only sovereign qualified to occupy the throne of Augustus.[1] Crowds of delighted citizens attended him on his way to the palace, and whilst he there offered up sacrifices and thanksgiving, the whole city feasted and rejoiced. Every one accompanied his libations to the gods with prayers for the welfare of the emperor, beseeching them long to preserve Vespasianus for the public good, and never to allow the sceptre to depart from the hands of his family. He proceeds to Rome.

The most important events in the reign of Vespasianus are those connected with the Jewish war, and the political changes that sprang out of the insurrection of the Gauls and Germans excited by Civilis. Nor are the grand architectural designs which distinguished his administration less remarkable. As the former will be given in detail under their proper head, we now resume the narrative, which has been already brought down in the life of Vitellius to the murder of Flaccus, and the revolt of several tribes between the Alps and the Rhine. Jewish war.

Before the demise of Vitellius was known in the camp of the rebels, Civilis found it expedient to abstain from declaring himself an enemy to the Roman name. But no sooner was that event confirmed, than his views assumed a more determined character, and aimed at objects which hitherto he had not had the courage to avow. The legions, too, which served in Germany, were less attached to Vespasianus than to the memory of his predecessor; and finding that a large portion of the empire was about to declare itself independent, they regarded it as a matter of indifference whether they should obey a master on the banks of the Rhine, or on those of the Tiber. Revolt of Civilis.

The Gauls hesitated long before they could be induced to throw off their allegiance to the emperor and senate; nor did they finally decide on joining the standard of revolt, until they were assured that the Sarmatians and Dacians had made an inroad into Pannonia and the neighbouring provinces, and had actually laid siege to the camp of the legions which were stationed along the Danube. The report, indeed, was not altogether groundless; for Fonteius Agrippa, who The Gauls join him.

[1] Joseph. Bell. Jud. vii. 23.

A. D. 70. had been intrusted by Mucianus with the command in Mœsia, was defeated and slain in an engagement with the barbarians. The Romans, it is true, soon recovered their ascendency, and drove the exulting savages across the river into their marshes and forests; but the effect produced by the temporary success of the insurgents upon the wavering minds of the Gauls, enabled the crafty Civilis to gain them entirely over to his seditious designs. The disturbed state of Britain, too, strengthened their resolves in favour of liberty; but nothing convinced them so completely of the impending ruin of the Roman Empire, as the burning of the Capitol by the hands of the German auxiliaries, in their attack upon Sabinus. They knew that their ancestors had taken the city of Rome itself; but on that occasion the temple of the great Jupiter remain uninjured, and the power of the commonwealth, consequently, continued undiminished. The seat and pledge of sovereignty had escaped the ravages of war. But now the wrath of heaven was manifested in giving up to the flames the sacred mansion of their protecting divinity; and it no longer appeared doubtful that it was the pleasure of the gods to transfer the fortune of Romulus to other lands, and to bestow upon a new people the power which had been so long held by the descendants of Æneas.[1]

Defection of the chiefs.

Such were some of the reasons which induced the Gauls to take up arms, immediately after the death of Hordeonius Flaccus. Civilis, finding his views encouraged, entered into a negotiation with Julius Classicus, a native of that country, and commander of an auxiliary regiment of horse, an active and restless spirit, who, claiming a relationship to the ancient princes of Gaul, cherished a deep dislike to the Romans, as the conquerors of his family and nation. He procured the co-operation of two chiefs, who had great influence among their countrymen, Julius Tutor and Julius Sabinus, the latter of whom boasted that he was the descendant of the great Cæsar, the fame of whose military exploits now inflamed the fickle youth with the desire of a similar distinction.[2]

Plans of the insurgents.

The leaders of the confederacy, in the first instance, directed their intrigues against Vocula, who had succeeded Flaccus in the command of the German legions. The chiefs of the Gauls urged him to march towards Vetera, which was still blockaded by Civilis, and to give battle to that traitor, who continued to insult the Roman eagles, shut up within the narrow limits of a camp. He listened to their advice, and fell into the snare which they had prepared for him. Tutor and Sabinus, who were yet in his ranks, left him on his march, under pretence of examining the position of the enemy, and went over to the German insurgents, to whom they had already plighted their faith. The remonstrances and reproaches of Vocula were of no avail; his complaints and menaces were alike disregarded. The rebels were

[1] Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. c. liv. [2] Ibid. c. lv. lvi.

determined to oppose him both by stratagem and force; and so confident were they in their strength and resources, that they pitched their camp in the immediate neighbourhood of the legions, and began to practise on the fidelity of his men. A. D. 70.

Defection of the legions and death of Vocula.

A scene of perfidy ensued which has had no parallel in the history of Rome. By promises and money lavished upon the centurions and soldiers, a Roman army was prevailed on to swear allegiance to a foreign power, or rather to the chiefs of a rebellious province, and to seal that shameful bargain by the death or captivity of its commanders. In this hazardous predicament, the friends of Vocula advised him to provide for his safety by flight; but he, unmoved by the fate with which he was threatened, refused to save his life at the expense of his duty; and, trusting to the remains of honour which still animated a part of his troops, he endeavoured by an eloquent address to recall them to a sense of shame, and to make them defend those standards which they were about to desert. His firmness was not rewarded with the success which it merited. A few transient emotions testified that the patriotism of the soldiers was not quite extinct; but these were not followed by any resolution worthy of the Roman name, or of the ancient character of the legions. Vocula, in these circumstances, attempted to put himself to death, but was prevented, only that he might fall a victim to the malice of Classicus, who, after depriving him of a life which he no longer valued, threw the other two generals, Herennius and Numisius, into close confinement.[1]

They take the oath of allegiance to the Gauls.

Elated by his success, Classicus assumed the dress of a Roman general, and entering the camp, accompanied by lictors and the ensigns of supreme authority, proceeded to exact from the soldiers the customary oath of obedience, whereby they bound themselves to fight courageously and truly for the empire of the Gauls. Having taken this important step, he divided the cares of the province between himself and Tutor, his confederate; upon which the latter immediately advanced to Colonia Agrippinensis, the modern Cologne, and compelled the inhabitants to take the same oath which had been imposed upon the legions. The troops on the Upper Rhine were induced to follow the same example, such officers as refused to comply being either expelled from the service or put to instant death.[2]

The soldiers at Vetera surrender, and take the oath of obedience.

The camp at Vetera had not yet betrayed any symptoms of inconstancy or treason. The soldiers had been for some time reduced to the most painful privations, having devoured their horses and beasts of burden, and even attempted to satisfy the cravings of hunger by eating grass and leaves of trees. Classicus availed himself of their distress, and sending as messengers the most faithless of those officers who had sanctioned the defection of the other legions, he proposed terms of capitulation, threatening that if they did not immediately

[1] Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. c. lviii. lix. [2] Ibid. *ubi supra*, and c. lx. lib. iv.

A. D. 70. surrender, they should be completely destroyed by famine or the sword. The troops hesitated between the horrors of the death with which they were menaced, and the disgrace of forfeiting, by an act of base submission, the honour which they had acquired in former wars, as well as by a brave defence against the arms of Civilis. Before they came to a decision, they sent deputies to that commander, soliciting terms more worthy of Roman soldiers, and begging that their lives might be spared. Civilis, in reply, declared that he would not hear them until they had sworn allegiance to the government of the Gauls, whereupon the unfortunate legionaries submitted to this infamous oath, in the hope that they would be allowed to march out of the camp with their arms, and to reserve themselves for a change of fortune.[1]

The troops massacred by order of Civilis.

But the barbarian, doubtful of their fidelity, and apprehensive that his new allies might avenge their injuries by turning against him in the field, gave orders to the Germans, who were appointed as an escort, to cut them in pieces on their march from the camp. A miserable conflict ensued. The bravest of the Romans were killed on the spot; many ran away and were massacred in their flight, while a few who returned to their fortifications were inhumanly burnt to death under the eyes of Civilis.

It is remarkable that while Civilis insisted on the legionary soldiers taking the oath of allegiance to the Gauls, he himself acknowledged no such supremacy. His policy was to employ the arms and enthusiasm of his confederates, in order to diminish the power of Rome northward of the Alps, and thereby to pave the way for his own independence as a German prince,—a distinction to which his hopes were raised by the obscure predictions of a rude prophetess, who dwelt in the mountains of Helvetia. The success of his arms, too, gave countenance to his ambitious views. Encountering Claudius Labeo on the banks of the Mosa, now called the Maese, he gained a considerable advantage, and at the same time drew to his standards the two nations of the Nervi and Tongri. The only check, indeed, which he sustained at this period, was inflicted upon his confederate

Julius Sabinus defeated.

Julius Sabinus, who had publicly assumed the name of Cæsar, and in that capacity, but with talents very unequal to those of the conqueror of Gaul, advanced against the warlike tribes of the Sequani. These faithful allies of Rome defeated the weak Sabinus with great loss; so that, unable to rally his men or retrieve his affairs, he sought an asylum in a subterranean chamber, where he is said to have passed nine years in the society of a female companion.[2]

Sensation at Rome, and preparations by Mucianus.

These events produced a great degree of surprise, as well as of alarm at Rome. Mucianus, who in the absence of the emperor held in his hands the administration of affairs, lost no time in making arrangements to check the progress of revolt in Germany and Gaul.

[1] Tacit. Hist. *ubi supra.* [2] Dion Cassius, in Vesp. and Tacit. Hist. lib. iv.

He made choice of two distinguished officers, Annius Gallus and Petilius Cerialis, to take the command on the Upper and Lower Rhine; and determined to follow them thither in person, as soon as the condition of affairs in the capital would permit his absence. It was resolved that Domitianus should accompany the general on this expedition; and in the mean time, the latter issued orders to the troops in several provinces to assemble without delay on the confines of Germany. Seven legions proceeded on this destination; four from Italy; two from Spain; and one, the celebrated fourteenth, from the shores of Britain.[1] A. D. 70.

The repulse sustained by Julius Sabinus had already shaken the constancy of many of the rebels, and confirmed in their obedience some towns which were ready to revolt. Civilis alone retained his activity, and kept steadily in view the great object of his insurrection. He continued the pursuit of Labeo, whom he had worsted in battle; stimulated not less by private animosity than by the love of conquest. But the Batavian chief was badly supported. Classicus, intoxicated with the fame of victory, thought of nothing except enjoying its fruits; while Tutor, who had undertaken to guard the passes of the Alps, proved so remiss, or so faithless, as to allow a large body of horse and legionary soldiers to penetrate into Gaul without molestation.[2] **The rebels begin to waver.**

Such was the state of things when Cerialis arrived at Magontiacum, or Mentz, eager to engage the enemy and to reduce the rebellious provinces to submission. Full of confidence himself, he inspired his troops with the assurance of victory, as well as with contempt for the undisciplined Germans, and the fickle Gauls. He dismissed from his ranks all the young men who had been raised in those countries, declaring his resolution to use only the arms of Rome to recover her conquests and punish her revolted tributaries. **Cerialis advances into Gaul,**

He began the campaign by attacking Valentinus, the principal leader of the Treviri, and a determined enemy of the Roman name. This ferocious chief had stained his hands with the blood of the two commanders, Herennius and Numisius, who were delivered up by their respective legions when they went over to the Gauls, and having thereby precluded all possibility of reconciliation with the Romans, he prepared his mind for the worst that could befall him, opposed as he now was to a powerful antagonist. Following the counsel of Civilis, he shut himself up in a fortress on the river Moselle, where he hoped he would be able to resist the arms of Cerialis, until the forces of the confederated Gauls and Batavians could be assembled in the field. But the Roman general, who knew the skill and spirit of his troops, attacked the stronghold with so much fury, that the garrison, and Valentinus their guilty commander, were soon entirely at his mercy. It was not without difficulty that **and defeats Valentinus, a chief of the Treviri.**

[1] Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. c. lxviii. [2] Ibid. c. lxix. lxx.

A. D. 70. he saved Treves, (Trevirorum Civitas,) the capital of the colony, from the just resentment of his victorious army. More desirous of revenge than of booty, they entreated permission to inflict upon the native country of Classicus and Tutor, some of the calamities of a war which they had so traitoriously provoked, and to requite the sufferings and disgrace of their comrades who had been betrayed and massacred at Vetera.[1]

The disaffected legions resume their duty.

This signal advantage gained over one of the most determined of the insurgents, brought back to a sense of duty and repentance the several cohorts which had been seduced from their allegiance, and had plighted their faith to the Gauls. Cerialis, now master of Treves, invited them to join his army in that neighbourhood; a measure which created a very painful emotion on both sides, as the guilty soldiers were now compelled to acknowledge their crime in the presence of their victorious countrymen. Nothing, says Tacitus, could be more moving than their first arrival. Conscious of the shameful act which they had committed, and penetrated with grief and confusion, they stood motionless, and with downcast eyes, before the legions which were drawn up to receive them. They could make no return to the salutation of their brethren; they had not courage to answer the expressions of condolence and affection with which they were greeted; on the contrary, they sought to hide themselves in their tents, and to shun the light of day. It was not the fear of punishment, but a deep feeling of remorse and a sense of guilt which closed their lips, and seemed to confound all the faculties of their souls. Their comrades were so moved at the melancholy sight, that, unable to speak, they interceded for them by the more impressive language of tears and sighs. Cerialis showed his usual good sense and knowledge of human nature, by treating them with mildness; imputing all that had passed to an unhappy fatality which blinded both officers and soldiers, and exposed them at once to the fraud of the enemy and to the intrigues of the demon of dissension. "Regard this day," said he, "on which you return to your duty, as the first day you have entered into the service of your country. Both the emperor and I forget all that has taken place." He then received them into the same camp with his own legions; and strictly enjoined every man never to upbraid his unfortunate comrade either with his disaffection to the commonwealth, or with the humiliation which he had suffered at the hands of a barbarian enemy.[2]

Clemency and wisdom of Cerialis.

Nor was the clemency of Cerialis confined to the penitent cohorts. He displayed the same gentleness and forbearance towards several of the towns and states which had, by their treacherous conduct, excited the resentment of the Roman government. His wisdom and self-denial contrasted strongly with the furious measures and unbridled passions of Tutor and Classicus. All orders of people were made to

[1] Tacit. *ubi supra*, c. lxxii. [2] Ibid.

perceive that their peace and safety depended on the ascendency of the Romans; and meeting with kindness where they had been led to expect a vindictive and inexorable severity, the promises of the general at once raised their courage and gained their hearts. The whole of Gaul, accordingly, was soon detached from the interests of the rebels; and the victorious legions found that they had no other enemy to contend with besides Civilis and his Batavians, assisted by a few German tribes on either side of the Rhine. A. D. 70.

Craft of Civilis,

The Batavian commander was no less a master of guile and intrigue, than of military science and the practice of war. He wrote to Cerialis in his own name, and in that of Classicus, stating, that they knew Vespasianus to be dead, though that event was studiously kept a secret; that Rome and Italy, exhausted by the civil wars, had neither soldiers nor money remaining; that Mucianus and Domitianus were but empty names, which no one either respected or feared; but that if Cerialis would take upon himself the sovereignty of Gaul, they would acknowledge him as their master, and retire to their respective districts as his vassals and dependents. They added, at the same time, that if he preferred to the empire which they were ready to put into his hands the subordinate station he occupied as the lieutenant of Domitianus, they had no objection to meet him in the field, and to abide by the decision of war. To these proposals Cerialis returned no answer; holding it sufficient that he sent the bearer of them as a prisoner to the son of Vespasianus.

and his attempt to gain Cerialis.

The Roman camp attacked and carried;

Civilis, finding himself reduced to the necessity of fighting, made preparations for attacking his adversary. Consulting with his adherents, he found no other ground for doubt except whether he should commence hostilities immediately, or wait for the reinforcements which he expected from beyond the Rhine. In the end it was resolved, that they should without delay make an assault on the Roman camp, which Cerialis, not apprehending any danger, had only slightly fortified; and so sudden and fierce was the onset, that the works were carried, and the legions thrown into confusion, before intelligence could be conveyed to Treves, where that commander passed the night. Repairing to the camp in haste, he found his lines forced, his cavalry routed, and the bridge over the Moselle in the possession of the enemy; all hope of retrieving affairs being lost, except that which he placed in his own intrepidity, and in the discipline of his troops. Forthwith rallying such of the soldiers as were near enough to receive his commands, he rushed at the head of a party of brave men into the thickest body of the Germans, drove them back at the point of the sword, retook the bridge, and stationed a guard to defend it. Then hastening to the camp itself, he discovered that the legions, which he had so lately restored to their eagles, were in a state of terror, and meditating flight. He upbraided them with their cowardice, and reproached them with their

but retaken by Cerialis.

A. D. 70. ingratitude. He compelled them to form a line and present a front to the enemy, great numbers of whom were already within the ramparts. At length the twenty-first legion came to their assistance, when a general charge was made upon the assailants, who gave way on all sides, and left the Romans in possessions of a decided victory. The troops of Civilis, loaded with plunder, could neither fight nor defend themselves from the weapons with which they were borne down. It was in vain for that spirited barbarian to exhort his fugitives to return to the attack, or to secure the advantages which they had already gained. Yielding to the consternation which a nocturnal assault so commonly produces, their retreat could not be checked till they had reached their camp; an asylum which was almost immediately attacked, forced, and demolished by the Roman general.[1]

Mucianus detains Domitianus from the seat of war.

The success which attended these movements on the part of the Romans occasioned great perplexity to Civilis and his followers, who found their resources becoming every day more precarious, and their confederates less worthy of confidence. The plans of Mucianus, on the other hand, were not free from embarrassment. He was accompanied on his march by Domitianus, whose vices, mixed with a depraved ambition, had already begun to excite serious apprehensions, and rendered him a very unfit person to assume the command of an army employed against rebellious subjects. Mucianus, upon receiving tidings of the successful progress of the Roman arms, suggested to the prince that it would be improper for him to place himself at the head of the legions, when there was no longer in the field an enemy whose defeat would afford a triumph worthy of an emperor's son; and, moreover, that to supersede Cerialis when he had already accomplished the main object of the war, could not be held as either generous or just.

Views of Domitianus thwarted.

Domitianus had too much penetration not to understand the specious reasoning of the general, and to detect his real motives. He yielded accordingly to the suggestions of Mucianus, and refrained from going to the seat of war; while he resolved to make a private application to Cerialis, and induce him by promises of favour to resign the command of the legions. Cerialis did not reply to any of his letters; calling his schemes and proposals only childish fancies, and pretending not to comprehend the deeper views which the dissimulation and affected modesty of the prince could not entirely conceal.[2]

Civilis recruits his army, and takes the field.

But the war was, in fact, so far from being finished, that the management of it still required all the experience and courage of the able officer to whose charge it was intrusted. Civilis had recruited his troops beyond the Rhine, and had already occupied a position near Vetera, at the head of a very numerous army. Cerialis followed him thither with a force likewise considerably augmented; having received the addition of three legions, and some considerable bodies

[1] Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. c. lxxvii. lxxviii. [2] Ibid. c. lxxxv. lxxxvi.

of auxiliary horse and foot. Neither of the commanders was inclined A. D. 70.
to delay the action which both saw to be unavoidable; but the marshy nature of the ground by which they were separated, aggravated at that period by the overflowing of the river, prevented them from putting in motion the heavy-armed troops. A skirmish ensued, indeed, provoked by the mutual reproaches of the soldiers, whom the sight of Vetera inspired on the one side with feelings of triumph, and, on the other, with sentiments of the deepest hatred and revenge. The advantage on this occasion was gained by the Germans, whose light armour and knowledge of the ground gave them a decided superiority over the Romans, loaded with their heavy weapons, and ignorant of the country, now almost everywhere covered with water.[1]

Preparation for battle.

The issue of this trifling engagement, however, induced the two commanders, for contrary reasons, to hasten on a general battle. The conqueror was desirous to push his fortune while it was favourable, and Cerialis longed to retrieve his honour, which was somewhat affected by the late tumultuous onset. The Batavians were emboldened by success; the Romans were urged by shame. The former spent the night in shouts of joy and songs of triumph; the latter in meditating and anticipating revenge. Next day both armies drew up for battle, each general forming his line according to the nature of the position which he occupied, and the mode of discipline in which his men had been trained. Cerialis placed his auxiliary cohorts in the first rank, and his horse on the wings; the legions, as usual, composing the second line. Civilis drew up his troops in battalions, pointed after the form of a wedge, and covered on each flank by the marshes and river. The action began on both sides by a discharge of missile weapons; but the Batavians, succeeding at length in their attempt to draw the Romans into the wet ground, renewed the mode of fighting which they had so successfully practised the day before. Cerialis had the mortification to see his light-armed cohorts repulsed; upon which he ordered the legions to advance and support the first line, already on the point of giving way. This movement restored the confidence of his army, and checked the ardour of the Batavians; but the Romans owed the victory which soon fell into their hands to the treachery of a deserter, who offered to conduct their cavalry by a secret path through the morass into the rear of the enemy. Cerialis detached two bodies of horse, who, conducted by the Batavian, wheeled round the enemy's right wing, and attacked them from behind; while the legions, hearing the shouts of their mounted comrades, renewed the assault in front with increased vigour and alacrity. The effect of this combined attack did not remain long doubtful. The Germans were broken, and fled towards the Rhine; and this victory would have

Victory gained by Cerialis.

[1] Tacit. Hist. lib. v. c. xiv.

A. D. 69. put an end to the war, had the Roman fleet, stationed on the river, co-operated with the land forces, or had the condition of the ground allowed the horsemen to pursue the fugitives.

Civilis attempts to retrieve his affairs, but does not succeed.

Civilis, abandoning all the open country, retired into his native district, an island formed by two branches of the Rhine; and immediately proceeded to strengthen his position, by diverting the greater part of the water into the southern channel which divided his territory from that of the Romans. He soon afterwards crossed over into Germany, accompanied by Tutor and a numerous deputation of senators from Treves; where, by lavishing sums of money upon the chiefs, and by appealing to the warlike propensities of the people, he succeeded once more in raising a considerable army. Cerialis, in the meanwhile, did not remain inactive. Availing himself of the absence of his adversary, he invaded the lands of Batavia, took four of the principal fortresses, and, placing in them strong garrisons, determined to keep them as the keys of the whole country. Civilis made a fruitless attempt to recover these strongholds, and to expel the conquerors from his paternal dominions; but his rude Germans disappointed his hopes in every undertaking. Deserted by his allies, and suspected by the chiefs of his own nation, the Batavian at length turned his thoughts to peace. He listened to the proposals of Cerialis, who, by means of secret messengers, gave assurances of pardon, and even of favour, both to him and to his followers; and, confessing that he was tired of struggling against an unkindly fortune, he requested an interview with the Roman general.

He makes his submission to the Romans,

The two commanders advanced to meet each other on the opposite banks of a stream, where the bridge had been purposely broken down; and, after the usual preliminaries, Civilis began to state his reasons for engaging in war against so powerful an enemy, and the motive which induced him to persevere in it, after the severe and repeated disasters which he had sustained. But the speech in which this exposition was made is lost, the valuable history of Tacitus not being preserved to a later date than the conclusion of the Batavian insurrection. We merely find in that author the beginning of the harangue of Civilis, in the course of which he appears to have rested his chief apology on the pretence that he had taken up arms in the cause of Vespasianus, and that he had been intentionally kept in ignorance of the happy change of affairs which succeeded the death of Vitellius. At all events, his submission was received, and peace was forthwith restored to those provinces which had so long been the theatre of sedition and civil war.

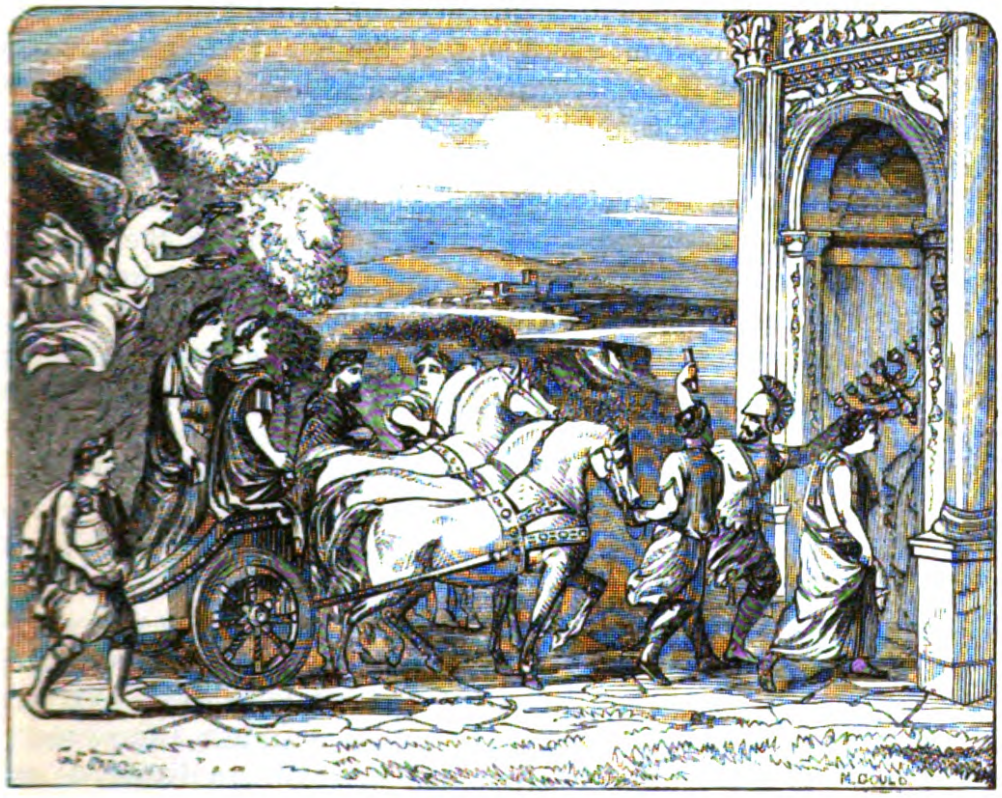
Such were the events that took place in the first year of the reign of Vespasianus, before his return to Rome for the purpose of assuming in person the administration of the government.

History has to bewail the loss of authentic materials for construct-

ing a regular narrative of the public transactions which occupied the attention of the Roman world at the tranquil period during which this monarch occupied the throne. A few notices are supplied by Dion Cassius, Orosius, and Aurelius Victor, which, with the biographical details furnished by Suetonius, constitute the principal sources of information with respect to the foreign and domestic policy of Vespasianus. We find, for example, that in A. D. 71 he enjoyed the honour of a triumph, in company with his son Titus, for the conquest of Judæa and destruction of Jerusalem; that he closed the

A. D. 69.

A. D. 71.



Triumph of Vespasian.

temple of Janus, and erected a magnificent temple to the goddess of Peace. It is also related that, in the following season, suspecting Antiochus, king of Commagena, of holding a guilty correspondence with the Parthians, he directed Cæsennius Pætus, governor of Syria, to attack him and strip him of his dominions. Commagena was reduced into the form of a province; and Antiochus, with his two sons, was invited to Rome, where they lived many years in affluence and repose. In this prince expired the royal race of the Seleucidæ, who had governed a large portion of western Asia since the time of Alexander the Great.

Commagena reduced into a province.

We learn also that, about the same period, Vologeses, the king of Parthia, menaced by the barbarous tribes who dwelt on the borders of the Armenian range, applied, in virtue of an alliance then subsist-

Application from Parthia. A. D. 72.

A. D. 72. ing, to the Roman government for succour, and requested that a body of troops, commanded by one of the emperor's sons, might be sent to reinforce his army. Domitianus, whose views were perhaps consulted in this application, entreated his father to comply with the wishes of the Parthian, and to intrust him with the care of the legions which were to compose the expedition. Vespasianus refused the assistance which was solicited, and gave, at the same time, to his son a lesson full of political wisdom, with regard to the inexpediency of interfering in the concerns of foreign nations, which the honour and interests of Rome were not bound to support.

Greece deprived of liberty.

A. D. 73. In consequence of some disturbances in Greece, the emperor thought proper to deprive that country of the free constitution which had been conferred upon it by Nero; remarking, that the Greeks had forgotten how to enjoy liberty. He subjected them to their wonted tribute, and to the restraint of a Roman governor; treating Rhodes, Samos, and the neighbouring islands in the same manner, forming the latter into an insular province, and placing the seat of proconsular authority at Rhodes. He made similar arrangements for the political administration of Upper Cilicia and Cappadocia, having learned to distrust the fidelity of the petty kings who had long borne sway in those countries, and who seldom proved either steady friends or safe allies.

A census held by the emperor and Titus.

A. D. 74. The following year is only remarkable for a census of the Roman people by the emperor and his son Titus, who exercised jointly the office of censors. Pliny makes some remarks on this enumeration of citizens, which are valuable, inasmuch as they prove that the average length of human life since that period has not in any degree diminished. This naturalist informs his readers that, between the Apennines and the Po, there were found about eighty individuals upwards of a hundred years old, fifty-four of whom had just completed a century; fourteen were a hundred and ten; two, a hundred and twenty-five; four, a hundred and thirty; four, a hundred and thirty-five to thirty-seven; and three, a hundred and forty. Making allowance for inaccuracies and exaggerations, we have no doubt that as many aged persons would be found at the present day, in any rural district of equal population, whether in Great Britain or on the continent of Europe.

Dedication of the Temple of Peace.

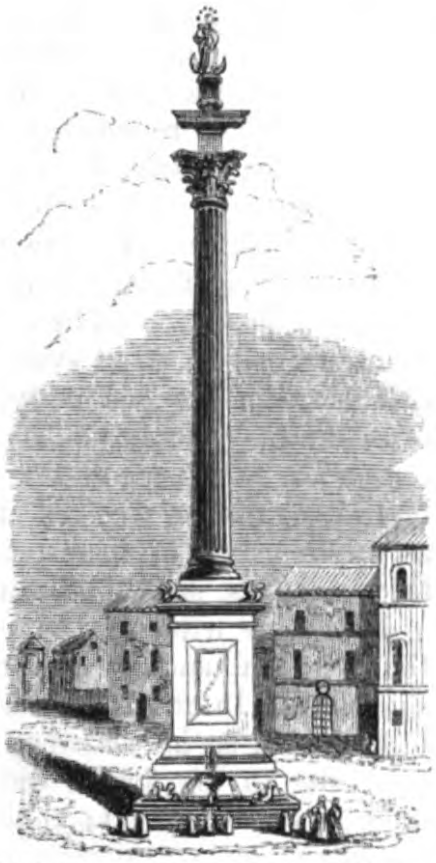
In the fifth year of the government, Vespasianus held a magnificent dedication of the Temple of Peace. It is said that he placed in it the golden vessels which had belonged to the temple of Jerusalem, and a great number of the finest paintings and statues which the wealth, the taste, and the ambition of a Roman emperor could command; rendering this sumptuous fane the repository of all those rare and precious specimens of art which had previously attracted the curiosity of travellers when scattered over different parts of Asia and Europe.

The three succeeding years were not marked by any event of a civil or political nature worthy to arrest the attention of the annalist A. D. 74.



Jewish Temple Ornaments.

or biographer. The island of Cyprus was visited by a dreadful earthquake; while at Rome the ravages of the plague were felt to so dreadful an extent, that ten thousand are reported to have died in one day. The last event of importance which gives any historical interest to the reign of Vespasianus is the conspiracy of Cæcina and Marcellus. This occurrence is mentioned both by Suetonius and Dion Cassius; but the motives of the chief actors, as well as the progress which they had made in their treasonable undertaking, are so faintly and so inaccurately depicted, that we can only find evidence of the death of Cæcina by the command of Titus, who is said to have had in his possession a written address composed by the former, with the design of seducing the army from its allegiance to the imperial family. The sedition was suppressed before it had time to assume an alarming aspect, or to endanger the lives of any besides those of the few individuals with whom it originated. Conspiracy of Cæcina and Marcellus.



Column, from the Ruins of Vespasian's Temple of Peace. The figure of the Virgin was added by Pope Paul V.—*Overbeke, Les Restes de l'Ancienne Rome.*

The cares of Vespasianus were chiefly occupied with matters in which neither military power nor

A. D. 74. Wise and moral enactments of Vespasianus.

the terrors of law are of any avail, when unaccompanied by example. The luxury of the Roman table had already proved itself a great evil, and one which was not to be corrected by the wisest statutes; on which account, the emperor undertook to reform the manners of his subjects, by practising in his own person and domestic establishment the most rigid temperance. The simplicity of his life shamed the most voluptuous of his subjects into some degree of restraint. Private individuals, however wealthy, saw the propriety of limiting their expenses, when the master of the empire set the example of economy and retrenchment. He checked likewise, by the revival of salutary laws, the growing licentiousness of women, many of whom in the highest ranks had begun to hold in contempt the decencies and obligations of the married state. With the same object, he directed against usurers the full penalties of the severest statutes which had been enacted in the better times of the republic for the punishment of such as should lend money to young persons under age. In particular, he disabled them by law from suing for payment, even when their debtors should become their own masters, and be in possession of the estates on the security of which they had accommodated them with loans. By these and similar regulations he improved the spirit of society among the more influential ranks of his people; and by exhibiting simplicity and moderation in the palace, he rendered these virtues fashionable in the houses of senators and consuls, of knights, and of private citizens.[1]

Military reform.

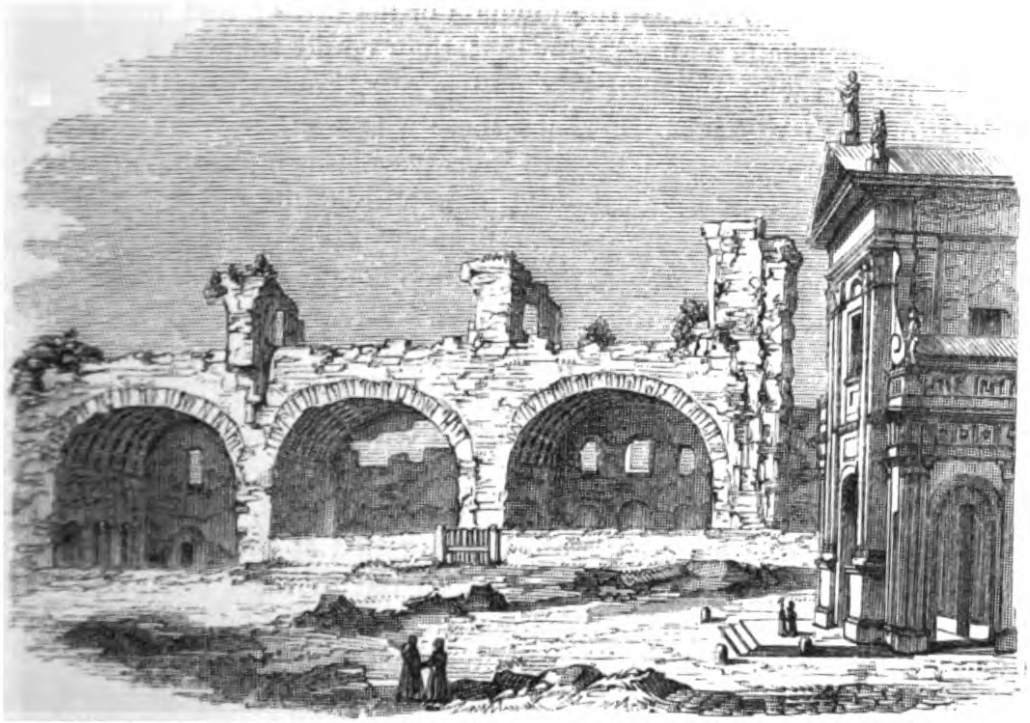
The army presented an extensive and difficult field for reform. The conquerors in the civil war, elated with victory, were become extremely insolent; the vanquished, indulging their resentment, were sullen and intractable. Vespasianus conducted himself towards both with that steadiness and resolution which had uniformly marked his character. By a strict system of discipline, he subdued the noisy turbulence of the one party, and, by confining the attention of the other to their duty, he left them no time for cherishing gloomy reflections or for meditating revenge. Even the troops who raised him to the throne, received at his hands no such marks of gratitude as might create in their ranks a sentiment of superiority to their fellow-soldiers, or lead them to the slightest insubordination.[2]

It became with him an object of primary importance to restore the senatorial and equestrian orders to their ancient dignity and splendour. In quality of censor, he formed a new list of both; and finding that, on his accession to the throne, the number of families belonging to the former did not exceed two hundred, he increased them to two thousand; at the same time expelling from the class of knights all who had disgraced themselves by bad actions, and putting in their place the most distinguished and meritorious persons that he

[1] Suet. Vesp. viii. ix.; Dion Cassius, Epit. Xiph.
[2] Suet. *ubi supra;* Dion Cassius, Epit. Xiph.

could discover in any part of the empire. He likewise created new patricians, three of whom did great honour to his choice—Agricola, the father of the emperor Trajan, Arrius Antoninus, grandfather of the emperor Antoninus, and Annius, progenitor in the same degree of the celebrated Marcus Aurelius. But while he repaired the dignity and renewed the lustre of these important orders, Vespasianus was not regardless of the rights and prosperity of the inferior class of citizens. In giving consequence to the patrician and knight, he meant to create a counterpoise and check to the overwhelming weight of imperial authority; taking care to reserve in the hands of the sovereign such a degree of power as would, at all times, enable him to repress the tyrannical haughtiness of the nobles, so often prejudicial to the liberty of the more humble subject. He stimulated and encouraged the judges to accelerate the business of their departments. The violence and rapacity incidental to civil wars had created many disputes, and given rise to many processes at law; for which reason the emperor instituted a special tribunal for determining all such questions, with power to order restitution of all that had been taken or usurped during the late troubles. Nor did he less distinguish his reign by the political skill with which he turned the attention of the people to the various arts, and more especially by his encouragement of the architectural embellishment of the capital, closing the temple of Janus and erecting the temple of Peace, of which we present another view. In fact, during his whole reign, Vespasianus paid unremitting attention to the due administration of

A. D. 74. Civil and judicial regulations.



Temple of Peace and Church of St. Francesca Romana.—*Venuti, Antichita di Roma.*

A. D. 74. justice; and with this view he frequently attended the courts, assisting by his advice, encouraging the good by his approbation, and deterring from wicked courses by the severity of the looks or by the bitterness of his reproaches.

Social and personal habits of Vespasianus.

We are informed by Dion Cassius that he cultivated a familiar acquaintance with the senators, inviting them to his table, and receiving entertainments at their houses in return; showing himself emperor in no other respect than in his extraordinary care and exertions for the public welfare. For the senate, as a body, he expressed a degree of deference and regard not exceeded by the submissive demeanour and respectful language of Augustus. He constantly attended their meetings, consulted them on all occasions, and if at any time he was prevented by illness from being present at their deliberations, he thought it suitable to their dignity as well as his own to send one of his sons as his representative. Acting on all occasions for the good of his people he dreaded no one as his enemy, but had the most unbounded confidence in every person with whom he was officially connected. Depending on their affection, because he knew he deserved it, he abolished, even during the continuance of the war, the odious practice of searching and examining every individual who was admitted into the emperor's presence. His palace gates were always open, and Dion Cassius asserts that access to the imperial chambers was never impeded by suspicious and insolent guards.

His mildness, moderation, and love of simplicity underwent no change from the beginning of his reign to the time of his death. He never attempted to conceal the lowness of his birth; and when some officious dependents assured him that they could trace his pedigree to the princes who founded his native city, he treated their paltry adulation with ridicule. Perhaps there was a slight taint of affectation in the care which he took to preserve his grandfather's cottage in the exact state in which the old man had left it, and to exhibit in his palace some pieces of antique furniture which had belonged to that rural abode. It admits of doubt too whether he did not occasionally compromise his dignity by answering placards against him posted on the walls in the same way in which he was attacked, returning satire for satire, and jesting for buffoonery. But in all circumstances he preserved command of temper, and great benignity of disposition. When, for example, he was admonished to be on his guard against a certain patrician, whom the planets, it was said, had destined to fill the imperial throne, he laughed at the absurdity; and taking the first opportunity which occurred to raise the suspected officer to the consulship, he remarked that "if ever he is emperor he will remember that I have been his benefactor."[1]

In one instance only did he find himself compelled to deviate from

[1] Suet. Vesp. xii. xiii.; Dion Cassius, Epit. Xiph.

his system of toleration. The Stoics had recently acquired great credit at Rome, and they were foolish enough to employ the influence to which they had risen in declaiming against monarchy and all the principles of regular government. Many weak and hot minds had through their influence become possessed of the most extravagant notions respecting political liberty; and the leaders of the sect, regardless of times and circumstances, persisted in abusing the first persons in the state, and in attempting to undermine that salutary authority which they should have taught the people to cherish and support. Vespasianus was inclined to overlook the absurdity and licentiousness of their conduct, but Mucianus, alarmed at the fatal consequences which threatened to ensue, urged him to impose some restraint on those preachers of sedition, or to banish them from Rome. The emperor adopted the latter alternative, and issued an edict commanding the whole band of Stoics to depart immediately from the capital. Demetrius the Cynic refused to comply, and even affected insolently to throw himself in the way of the emperor, and not to rise to salute him or to show him the smallest token of respect. Vespasianus took no notice of the intended insult at the moment, but contented himself with sending to the rude philosophist the following message, more expressive of contempt than anger: "Thou dost all thou canst to make me take away thy life, but I do not kill dogs merely because they bark."

A. D. 74. Banishment of the Stoics.

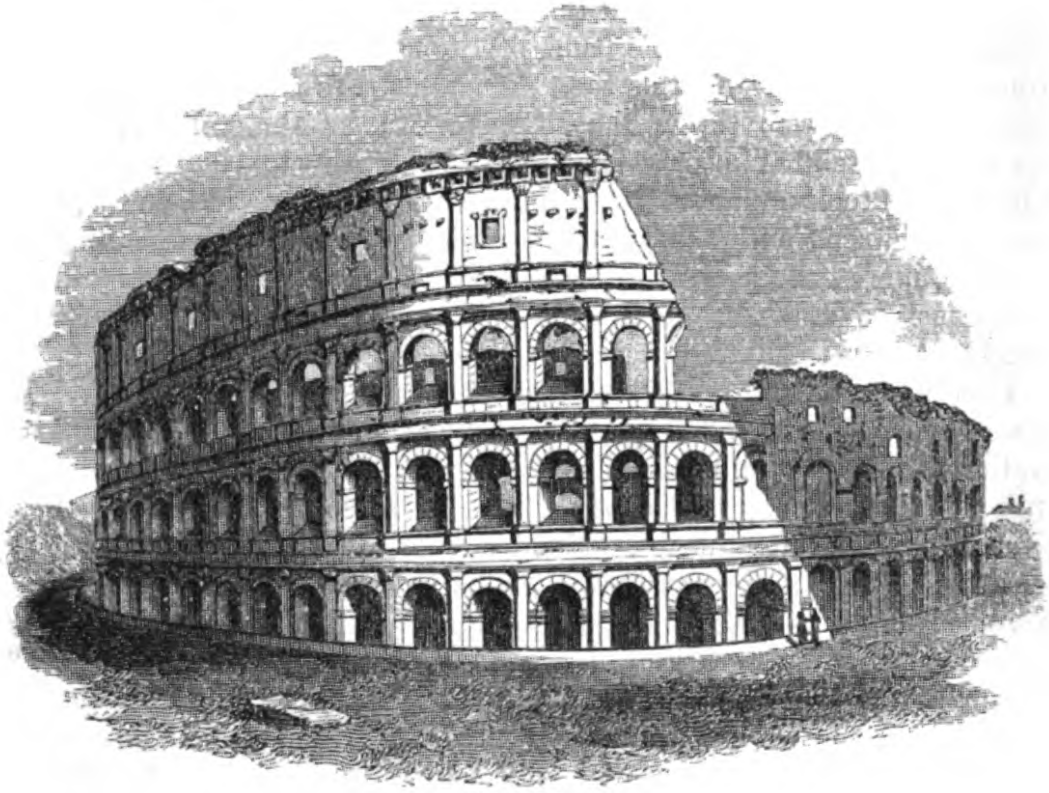
This wise sovereign did not neglect to employ the peace and wealth which blessed his reign, in patronising learning and in adding to the decorations and magnificence of the city. He encouraged authors of merit, and appointed liberal stipends for professors of Grecian and Latin eloquence. But his chief cares were directed to repair the losses sustained by the capital under the government of Nero. Rome was still disfigured by the ruins and void spaces which were occasioned by the dreadful conflagration that continued to dishonour the memory of that weak-minded prince; for which reason Vespasianus held out the greatest encouragement to all who chose to build new houses, or to fit up again such as were damaged. He himself rebuilt several public edifices which had been burned down. He spared no pains to have the Capitol finished in a style worthy of its history and object, and he laid the foundations of the vast and magnificent amphitheatre, called the Colisæum, part of which remains until the present day.

Patronage of letters.

"This was a building," observes Gibbon, "of an elliptic figure, founded on fourscore arches, and rising with four successive orders of architecture, to the height of one hundred and fifty-seven feet.[1] The outside of the edifice was encrusted with marble, and decorated with statues. The slopes of the vast concave which formed the inside, were filled and surrounded with sixty or eighty rows of seats,

[1] The text of Gibbon has "140 feet."

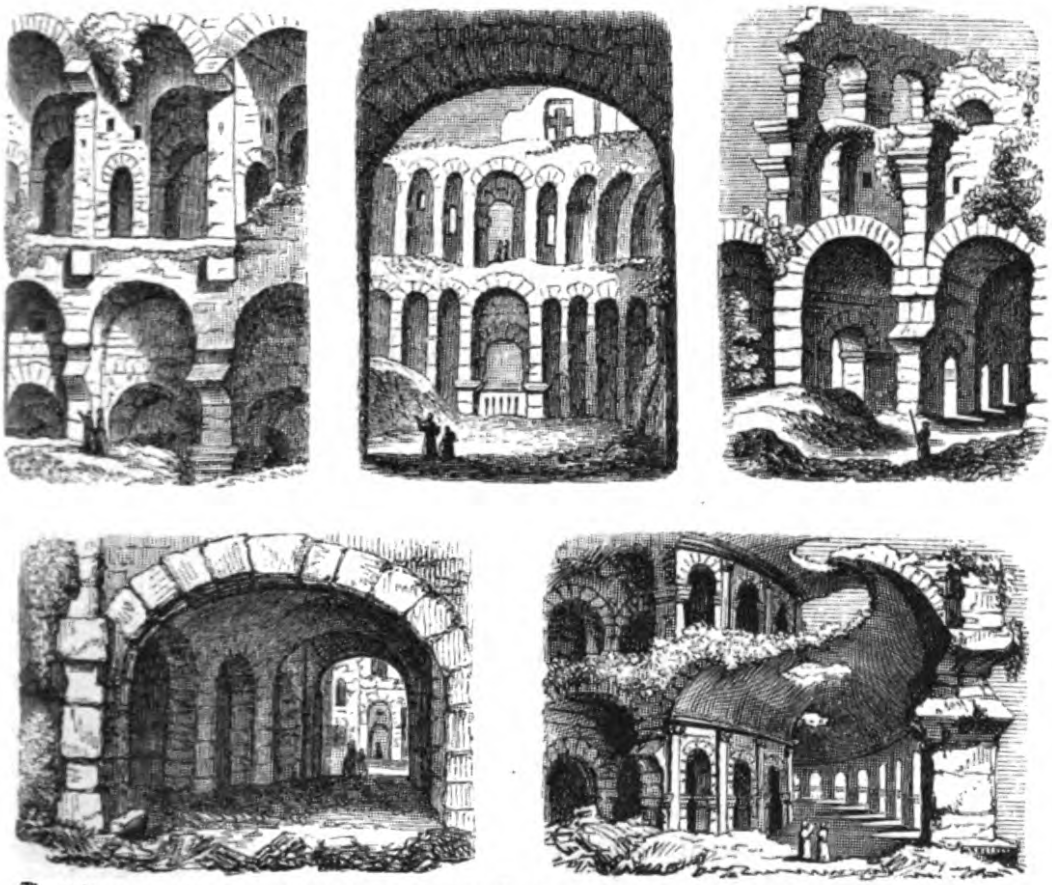
A. D. 74. of marble likewise, covered with cushions, and capable of receiving with ease about eighty thousand spectators. Sixty-four vomitories (for by that name the doors were very aptly distinguished) poured fourth the immense multitude; and the entrances, passages, and staircases, were contrived with such exquisite skill, that each person, whether of the senatorial, the equestrian, or of the plebeian order, arrived at his destined place without trouble or confusion. Nothing was omitted which in any respect could be subservient to the convenience or pleasure of the spectators. They were protected from the sun and rain by an ample canopy, occasionally drawn over their heads. The air was continually refreshed by the playing of fountains, and profusely impregnated by the grateful scent of aromatics.



The Colisæum.

In the centre of the edifice, the arena or stage, was strewed with the finest sand, and successively assumed the most different forms. At one moment it seemed to rise out of the earth, like the garden of Hesperides, and was afterwards broken into the rocks and caverns of Thrace. The subterraneous pipes conveyed an inexhaustible supply of water; and what had just before appeared a level plain, might be suddenly converted into a wide lake covered with armed vessels, and replenished with the monsters of the deep. In the decoration of these scenes, the Roman emperors displayed their wealth and liberality; and we read on various occasions that the whole furniture of the

amphitheatre, consisted either of gold, or of silver, or of amber. The poet who describes the games of Carinus, in the character of a shepherd, attracted to the capital by the fame of their magnificence, affirms that the nets designed as a defence against the wild beasts were of gold wire; that the porticoes were gilded: and that the belt or circle which divided the several ranks of spectators from each other, was studded with a precious mosaic of beautiful stones." A. D. 74.



The Colisæum. Views of the Interior of the Ruins, showing the Cyclopian Architecture.—*Overbeke, Les Restes de l'Ancienne Rome.*

To accomplish these great undertakings, economy was not less necessary than zeal and perseverance. Vespasianus was a lover of money, and the charge of avarice still darkens his reputation on the page of history; but it is admitted by those who are the loudest in condemning this frailty, that he expended his revenue in furtherance of the most beneficial purposes, and returned to the public in the shape of the wisest improvements, all the sums that he drew from the trade or luxuries of his people. He lavished nothing on personal enjoyment nor on official pomp, and he never was profuse in his disbursements except when he studied the ornament or the happiness of his great capital. He supplied the wants of many noble families, whose estates had been diminished by the waste and violence of civil war. He compensated the loss which several cities sustained either

False imputation of avarice.

A. D. 74. by earthquakes or fire; he spent large sums in improving the roads in various parts of Italy, without harassing the inhabitants either by labour or by taxes; and he was never slow to reward those who made inventions or improvements in the useful arts.

His mode of daily life.

He was as great an economist of time as of money, and not less systematic and self-denying in the distribution of it. Rising early in the morning he devoted the first part of the day to public and private business, not permitting even the claims of friendship to interfere with the duties which he owed to his family and country. Afterwards he received the ministers of state and other officers who came to communicate intelligence, or to solicit instructions relative to their several departments. The deliberations of the senate, or the pleadings in the courts of justice, next engaged his leisure; after which he talked or walked, and after partaking of a light refreshment he set apart the remainder of the evening for conversation and amusement in the company of a few select friends.

Vespasianus had nearly completed his seventieth year without having been subject to any other illness than a few slight attacks of the gout, when his life and reign were brought to a close. Finding that a disease with which he was seized in Campania was not yielding to the usual remedies, but rather gaining ground upon his constitution, he jocularly remarked that he would soon be ranked among the divinities, alluding to the apotheosis which he knew would be granted to his memory. His increasing weakness diminished neither his alacrity in business nor his flow of spirits. On the contrary, he omitted none of his customary occupations, but continued to read and write on public affairs as long as he was able to leave his chamber, and when he could no longer rise he gave audiences in bed. At length, feeling that nature had exhausted all her powers, he made an effort to start from his couch, exclaiming that an emperor should die on his feet. He expired on the twenty-fourth of June, after having swayed the sceptre of the Roman empire ten years, and having done more than any ruler after Augustus to restore the institutions, improve the character, and enlarge the happiness of the great nation over which Providence had placed him.[1]

His death. A. D. 79.

Supposed prophesies of his reign.

In compiling the history we have purposely avoided all allusion to the numerous presages and indications of this emperor's elevation which are recorded by Suetonius, and glanced at by the more philosophical Tacitus. Both these authors mention an interpretation in favour of Vespasianus, of a prediction which appears to have been derived from the sacred writings, and which, in that case, must have borne a reference to a more exalted character. It does not appear, however, that either the annalist or the biographer was acquainted with the source whence the expectation arose of a great personage who was to appear in the East, and to assume the government of the

[1] Suet. Vesp. xxiii. xxiv.; Dion Cassius, Epit. Xiph.

nations. The prophecy was applied at random to Vespasianus, A. D. 79. without carrying with it any feeling of importance; for Tacitus remarks, that such predictions were not intelligible until after the event had come to pass, to which they were supposed to invite the attention of the learned.[1]

Miracles imputed to his agency.

Mention is likewise made by the same historians, as well as by Dion Cassius, of some miracles said to have been performed by Vespasianus at Alexandria, just before he set out from that city to take possession of the government at Rome. Two men of the lower class of the people, the one almost blind, and the other having a maimed hand, went to him, pretending that the god Serapis, who presides over medicine among the Egyptians, had revealed to them that the emperor would cure them. Vespasianus, averse to such quackery, laughed at them at first, and rejected the proposal; but finding that they were about to retire greatly disappointed, he ordered them to be examined by physicians. Their report stated that the organs of sight were not destroyed in him who complained of blindness, and that the hand of the other was only dislocated, and might be set right by a strong pressure. Vespasianus, finding that he had a great chance of effecting a cure, desired the patients to be called into his presence; and performing the operations which had been suggested to him by his medical counsellors, his attempt was crowned with the most complete success, and a great multitude of persons who stood by to witness the miracle attested all the circumstances of the case to the people of Alexandria, who doubted not for a moment that the power of the gods had been displayed through the agency of the Roman general.[2] But nothing is more certain than that the two cases, as described by Tacitus, were altogether within the reach of human means; and moreover, that when Vespasianus anointed the eyes in the one instance, and pressed the hand in the other, he neither invoked nor expected supernatural aid. He was not weak enough to imagine that he had procured the intervention of supernatural influence to heal his patients; for it was not until he found the ailments were curable by ordinary means, that he consented to the expedients which were pointed out by the physicians. We need not add that there is the greatest want of candour in such authors as have compared the pretended miracles of Vespasianus to those performed by the Divine Author of Christianity; and the Roman emperor himself would have been the first to declare, that as no miracle was necessary none was either performed or pretended.

On this subject Dr. Newman has admirably remarked in his celebrated treatise on Miracles,[3] "For the same reason, viz., the want

[1] Occultâ lege fati, et ostentis ac responsis destinatum Vespasiano liberisque ejus imperium, *post fortunam credidimus*.—Tacit. Hist. lib. i. c. x.

[2] Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. c. lxxxi.; Suet. Vesp. c. vii.; Dion Cassius, Epit. Xiph.

[3] Essay on Miracles, by John Henry Newman, B.D., Oriel College, Oxford. See vol. v. of this edition of the Encyclopædia Metropolitana.

A. D. 79. Dr. Newman's remarks on miracles.

of a declared object, a prejudice is excited, *when the professed worker is silent or diffident as to his own power;* since our general experience of Providence leads us to suppose that miraculous powers will not be committed to an individual who is not also prepared for his office by secret inspiration. This speaks strongly against the cures ascribed by Tacitus to Vespasianus, and would be an objection to our crediting the prediction uttered by Caiaphas, if separated from its context, or prominently brought forward to rest an argument upon. It is in general a characteristic of the Scripture system that miracles and inspiration go together." Again, under the head of "miracles, which are exceptionable as regards their object," he classes those which have a *political or party object;* as the cures ascribed to Vespasianus, or those attributed to the tomb of the Abbé Paris, and the Eclectic prodigies, all which, viewed in their best light, tend to the mere aggrandizement of a particular sect, and have little or no reference to the good of mankind at large. And again, "these miracles are also suspicious as *having been stopped by human authority*, it being improbable that a divine agent should permit any interference with his plan. And lastly, the same objection applies to the supernatural character of Prince Hohenlohe's cures, which were stopped at Bamberg by an order from authority, that none should be wrought, except in the presence of magistrates and medical practitioners."



Interior of the Colisæum.



Titus.

CHAPTER II.

TITUS FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS.

FROM A. D. 79 TO 81.

THE death of Vespasianus did not create in the public mind any of those painful apprehensions which had accompanied the demise of several of his predecessors. The high character of Titus gave confidence to all ranks of the state. They beheld in him a sovereign worthy of his father's reputation, and not undeserving, as they hoped, of that splendid dignity which the respect of the Roman people had conferred on the Flavian family. His military talents were proved by the successful issue to which he had brought the sanguinary and protracted war which had been waged with the Jews; while his ability in discharging the more peaceful duties which belong to the administration of law and the details of finance, had procured for him, within the walls of Rome, the most endearing impressions of public esteem. A. D. 79. Favourable opinions of Titus.

Suetonius, in his biography of this emperor, traces his progress in early life from the mean dwelling in which he was born, near Septizonium, to the palace of the Cæsars, where he was invited to share the education and the splendour which were bestowed upon the young Britannicus; whose fate, it is added, he very narrowly escaped, when the unfortunate son of Claudius fell a victim to the ambition of Agrippina and the jealousy of Nero.[1] The same writer takes plea- His education and character.

[1] Suet. Tit. c. i.–iii.; Tacit. lib. ii. c. i. ii.

A. D. 79. sure in relating his proficiency in learning, and in describing the fine figure and manly appearance which graced his approach to maturity of age. Titus, we are assured, excelled not less in the arts of peace than in those of war; and the celebrated baths erected by this enlightened prince remain to this day. To the study of literature



Remains of the Baths of Titus.—*Venuti, Antichità di Roma.*

and the embellishments of poetry, he added a remarkable dexterity in the use of arms and in equestrian exercises. He possessed a retentive memory, and the power of a free and elegant declamation; while, in the use of his pen, he had acquired so much facility as to be able not only to keep pace with a rapid speaker, but also to imitate any handwriting with such a degree of exactness as to deceive the most practised eye. On the ground of this qualification, he himself used jocularly to boast that he was fitted to act the part of a consummate forger.[1] His manners, too, were gentle and insinuating. He was courteous, affable, and affectionate; familiar without sacrificing the dignity which belonged to his rank, and merciful without relaxing the obligations of military discipline. So conspicuous, indeed, were the amiable qualities which formed his character, that he obtained from his contemporaries the flattering title of the 'Delight of Mankind;' a complimentary expression which has been transmitted in the page of history even to our own times.

His amiable qualities.

[1] The words of Suetonius (Tit. c. iii.): E pluribus comperi notis quoque excipere velocissimè solitum: imitarique chirographa, quæcunque vidisset, ac sæpe profiteri, se maximum falsarium esse potuisse.

He served his first campaigns in Germany and Britain; where the reputation which he gained was perpetuated by statues and images. During the intervals of war, he appears to have devoted his time to the practice of law and the study of eloquence; the most liberal pursuits of his age, and upon which he entered, says his biographer, more for honour than for profit. A. D. 79. Beginning of public life.

The appointment of Vespasianus to a command in Syria soon called Titus into the East, to participate in the toils and fame of the conquest of Judæa. Under the direction of his father, he reduced the strong towns of Tarichæa and Gamala, and thereby opened a path for accomplishing those still more brilliant achievements which crowned his labours under the walls of Jerusalem. His services in the East.

When Galba had been raised to the imperial throne, Titus was commissioned by the commanders in Syria to carry to Rome a message of congratulation; but as intelligence of the emperor's death met him at Corinth, he relinquished the journey into Italy, and returned without delay to the seat of war. It is said, indeed, that in passing the island of Cyprus he was induced to consult the oracle of the Paphian goddess; whose priest, it is further remarked, sent him away full of hopes, both with regard to the issue of his voyage, and the expectations of sovereignty which had already begun tooccupy his thoughts.[1] Is sent to congratulate Galba.

Upon his arrival in Syria he found his father solicited by the army to assume the empire, and even encouraged by Mucianus, proconsul in that important province. The good offices of Titus soon brought the two generals to a final arrangement. Vespasianus was declared master of Rome, by the titles of Augustus and emperor; and the legions of the east were intrusted to his son, with instructions to prosecute the war against the infatuated and rebellious Jews. Returns to Syria, and assumes the command.

His first cares after the destruction of Jerusalem were diverted to Parthia, that formidable rival of the Roman power on the banks of the Euphrates. He repaired to Zeugma, where he met the ambassadors of Artabanus, and confirmed the peaceful relations which had for some time subsisted between the two countries. Meets the Parthian ambassadors.

After this, his duty as well as his inclination required that he should present himself at Rome. Tacitus, indeed, insinuates that the pleasures of the capital, and impatience to enjoy the honours which awaited him as the conqueror of Palestine, had induced him to press too eagerly the siege of Jerusalem, and to urge with undue haste the fate of the vanquished inhabitants. But there appears not to have been very good ground for this ungenerous charge. On the contrary, we have the authority of Suetonius, Dion Cassius, and even of Josephus, for asserting that it was not until an unseasonable expression of affection on the part of the army for their young commander had alarmed his prudence, and excited the suspicions of his enemies, that Titus resolved to withdraw Leaves the East and proceeds to Rome.

[1] Suet. Tit. c. v.; Tacit. lib. ii. c. i.–iv.

A. D. 79. himself from a scene where his loyalty and honour were exposed to impeachment.[1] The innocent ceremony of wearing a crown at the consecration of the Egyptian Apis, having the warrant of an ancient custom to sanction it, could be misunderstood only by those who were desirous to found a weighty charge on a mere trifle. At all events the suspicions which were propagated respecting his views in the east obliged Titus to hasten his return to Italy.[2]

Anecdote of Apollonius Tyanæus.

We know not what credit is due to the account of Philostratus, who relates that when the prince was at Argos, on his way to Rome, he sent for Apollonius Tyanæus, the noted impostor, to consult him in regard to his future prospects, and the maxims of government which it behoved him to pursue. In reference to the former, the soothsayer intimated to him that he was doomed to be poisoned by his brother Domitianus; a prediction, adds Philostratus, which was given in language so extremely obscure, that Titus was not supposed to comprehend its import. As to the duties of a sovereign, Apollonius did not feel himself compelled to have recourse to mystery. He advised the son of Vespasianus to imitate the wisdom and firmness which appeared in every part of his father's administration; and to submit with respectful silence to the reproofs of Demetrius, the cynical philosopher, who he assured him would make it his business to reprehend the monarch whenever he should be found to act amiss.[3]



Triumphal Arch of Titus.

Triumph at Rome.

The prince was received at Rome by the title of Cæsar, and ad-

[1] Tacit. lib. v. c. xi.; Suet. Tit. c. v.; Dion Cassius, lib. lxvi.
[2] Suet. *ubi supra.* [3] Phil. in vit. Apol. Tyan. lib. vi. c. xiv. xv.

mitted to the honour of a joint triumph with the emperor. He soon became the depositary of all power, and the source of the executive authority in all its branches; discharging the office of censor, which Vespasianus had assumed, and even watching over the duties of the Prætorian præfect, never before administered but by a Roman knight. A. D. 79.

The only stain which was ever attached to the life of Titus belongs to this period of his history, when his situation drew down upon him all the invidiousness of power, without supplying him with the means of securing popular affection. He is accused of having acted in some cases hastily and severely; and even of having gratified his personal resentment by condemning officers of rank to an ignominious death. He is, moreover, charged with avarice and bribery, on the authority of Suetonius, who asserts that those who had causes depending before the emperor, knew how to obtain a favourable hearing, by placing a sum of money in the hands of the Cæsar. He had given offence, too, by an unwise attachment to Berenice, the sister of king Agrippa; a princess who obtained a great ascendency over him when serving in Judæa, and who followed him to Rome upon the close of the war. In a word, so seriously did the people regard these frailties in the character of their prince, that they anticipated in his reign a renewal of the flagitious, tyrannical, and sanguinary deeds which had condemned to everlasting infamy the name and government of Nero.[1] Temporary unpopularity.

But the character of Titus assumed its true lustre when, on the death of Vespasianus, he ascended the throne, and found himself permitted to follow the bent of his natural disposition. Sovereign power, the seducing charms of which have often proved fatal to men who in private life have been objects of love and esteem, improved the good qualities of Titus, and corrected all his failings. Ascends the throne, and shows many good qualities.

He began by showing deference even for the prejudices of his countrymen, who were unwilling that he should marry the sister of Agrippa. He sent her away from Rome, assuring her that his affections had undergone no change, but that he was no longer at liberty to yield to inclinations inconsistent with the welfare and wishes of his subjects. He likewise restricted himself in other indulgences, which, he knew, were likely to awaken the apprehensions of his people. He removed all ground of censure as to the profusion of his entertainments, the quality of his society, and the lateness of his hours. The dissolute companions of his early youth were no longer permitted to frequent his table; for while he wished that gaiety and freedom should reign at his feasts, he insisted that these should also be adorned with moderation and virtue.[2]

[1] Suet. Tit. c. vii.; Tacit. lib. ii. c. ii.; Dion Cassius, lib. lxvi. "Denique," says Suetonius, "propalam alium Neronem et opinabantur et prædicabant."

[2] Suet. c. vii. Amicos elegit, quibus etiam post eum Principes, ut et sibi et Reipublicæ necessariis adquieverunt præcipuèque usi sunt.

A. D. 79. He confirms the donations of his predecessors.

He further signalized the commencement of his reign by issuing an ordinance to relieve all who held lands of the republic from the necessity of having their grants or leases renewed upon every accession to the throne. Ever since the reign of Tiberius it had become a rule, that all territorial possessions conferred upon the servants of the state, should, upon the death of the prince who made the benefaction, relapse into the hands of the new emperor, who was solicited to renew or confirm the deed of his predecessors. Titus, aware of the expense and anxiety attending this regulation, resolved to ratify by one general decree all the gifts made by the imperial government. His example, too, became a law in all future times, which was never infringed by the most tyrannical or avaricious of those worthless adventurers whom intrigue and violence raised to the throne of Augustus.[1]

Generous conduct to two conspirators.

When he entered upon the office of Pontifex Maximus he declared, that he looked upon that sacred dignity as a prohibition imposed upon him, ever to stain his hands with the blood of any citizen; a resolution to which he firmly adhered throughout his whole reign. As a proof of this remarkable clemency it is mentioned, that when two patricians were convicted of having conspired against him, he refused to give orders for their execution; declaring that he would rather die himself than be the occasion of death to any human being. He sent for the conspirators to attend him in the palace; when he embraced the opportunity of remonstrating with them on their undutiful attempt, and exhorted them to desist from such rash projects for the time to come. He reminded them, that the cares of sovereignty were only intrusted to those whom the gods were pleased to select for so arduous a charge; that their machinations could never disturb the decrees of fate; that it was not in his power to bestow upon them the dangerous pre-eminence to which they aspired, but that there was nothing else which his rank as emperor enabled him to grant, which he would deny to their requests. Meantime, as the mother of one of the criminals resided at a considerable distance from Rome, he directed a messenger to proceed to her house with the utmost expedition, to assure her that the life of her son was in no danger. He then invited them both to sup with him; and next day being present at a combat of gladiators, he conducted them to his own seat in the theatre, placed one on each side of him to witness the spectacle, and when the arms of the combatants were, according to custom, brought to him for inspection, he put them into their hands and requested their opinion.[2]

Discourages public informers.

Dion Cassius relates that Titus would neither listen in person nor allow the magistrates to lend a ready ear to the accusations of informers, who, during the suspicious and unsettled times which had recently passed by, were accustomed to construe into treason against

[1] Suet. c. viii.; Dion Cassius, lib. lxvi. [2] Suet. c. ix.

the emperor the most innocent expressions that happened to drop from the lips of individuals in private society. "As for myself," said he, "I disregard entirely the strictures of weak, imprudent men, who speak in ignorance or envy. I am not conscious of any fault, and therefore I cannot be sensible to the reproaches of those who are incapable of appreciating my conduct, and of weighing my motives. With regard to my predecessors, again, I do not feel that I am answerable for their actions, or bound to vindicate their reputation where it is justly assailed. As they are now raised to the rank of gods, let them avenge their own quarrel, if they conceive themselves wronged, and leave us to enjoy repose."[1] A. D. 79. Remarkable sayings.

The benevolence and clemency of this emperor's character formed so striking a contrast to the cruelty of Nero, the severity of Galba, and even the unrelenting discipline of Vespasianus, that the history of his reign and the pages of his biographers present hardly any other topic besides anecdotes of his kindness and illustrations of his mercy and forbearance. The pen of Suetonius, which, unintimidated by the grossest vices and the most appalling scenes of bloodshed and revenge, describes without reserve the darkest incidents of the imperial palace during former reigns, assumes a purer style and a loftier aim while tracing the outlines of the brief government of Titus. There is a vivid satisfaction manifested in the narrative, wherein we are informed that this amiable prince, recollecting one evening at supper that no one had profited by his exertions or his humanity since he had left his bed-chamber in the morning, exclaimed, "My friends, I have lost a day."[2] We detect the same feeling of delight in the apology which the biographer records, for the weakness which Titus displayed in not being able to deny a request. "It is not fitting," said the emperor, "that any one should retire from an audience of his sovereign with a heavy heart."[3]

The beginning of this happy reign was somewhat clouded by the sullen temper and dark designs of Domitianus. This prince, whose ambition had already suggested to him certain plans equally inconsistent with his duty as a subject and with the safety of the commonwealth, complained aloud on the accession of his brother that the testament of the late emperor had been vitiated, it being the intention of his father, he averred, that the two sons should inherit the throne jointly. He next meditated an attempt on the fidelity of the army, by presenting to them a donation double in amount to that which had been bestowed by Titus; and it was not until he discovered the firm hold which the new emperor had obtained upon the affections of the soldiers, as well as of the whole body of the senate, that he consented to desist from his treasonable enterprise. Intrigues of Domitianus.

The intrigues and discontent of Domitianus were not unknown at

[1] Dion Cassius, lib. lxvi. [2] Suet. c. viii. Amici, perdidi diem!
[3] Non oportere quemquam a sermone Principis tristem discedere.

A. D. 79. Forgiving disposition of Titus.

court. Titus, on the contrary, was perfectly acquainted with the secret springs of his brother's conduct, and also with the dangers which thereby threatened his own person and government; but the natural generosity of his mind opposed every expedient which was presented to him for avoiding those evils, if founded on the death or even the restraint of an individual to whom he was placed in so near a relation. He would not listen to any proposal for urging against Domitianus a criminal charge, by which his life might be endangered, or even his personal liberty invaded. He chose rather to lavish on him an increased degree of kindness, and to invest him with still higher honours. He made him his colleague in the consulship, and declared his willingness to admit him to a participation in the government. Suetonius relates that he often conjured him, with tears in his eyes, not to hate a brother whose love to him was sincere and constant, and particularly not to disgrace himself by attempting to obtain, by an unpardonable crime, that power which was destined for him in due time, and which he already possessed almost entire. Historians have blamed this confidence and facility on the part of Titus; and the circumstances which attended the death of this popular prince afford some ground for doubt that the gloomy temper of Domitianus was not materially improved by those repeated tokens of affection and trust.[1]

War in Britain.

While the emperor was busily employed in strengthening the foundations of peace and prosperity at home, and in removing from the minds and fortunes of the Roman people all traces of the civil wars and the successive tyrannies which had followed the death of Claudius, his general, the renowned Agricola, was pursuing a series of conquests in Britain, and planting among the barbarous inhabitants of that island the arts and institutions of Italy and Greece. It belongs to another part of our work to describe the progress of the Roman arms in this remote province, meantime we proceed to give an abridged account of a disastrous event, arising from natural causes, the effects of which remain at the present hour to bear evidence to the extent of a calamity which continues to give a melancholy interest to the first year of Titus's government.[2]

Eruption of Vesuvius. A. D. 79.

It was on the 24th of August, A. D. 79, that the first indications appeared of that memorable eruption of Vesuvius which laid waste the fair fields and some of the most splendid cities of Campania. The younger Pliny, on whose authority the narrative of this occurrence is usually made to rest, was at that time residing with his uncle at Misenum, the principal station of the imperial fleet. An immense cloud of smoke and ashes rose to a great height in the atmosphere, bearing some resemblance to the trunk and branches of a pine-tree; and as it was impossible to ascertain at such a distance the occasion of this unusual sight, the elder Pliny, who commanded at the port, gave

[1] Suet. Tit. c. ix. [2] Dion Cassius, lib. lxvi.; Tacit. Agricol. c. xx.

orders to prepare for sea a swift-sailing ship, on board of which he im- A. D. 79.
mediately embarked, in order to obtain a nearer view of so striking a phenomenon, and to inquire philosophically into its proximate cause.[1]

This celebrated person had scarcely set sail, when everything assumed a most appalling aspect. The earth shook with great violence, and the mountains trembled to their very tops. A noise like thunder was heard underground; the rocks along the shore re-echoed a strange and indescribable sound, which seemed to proceed from the very bowels of the earth; the soil was hot and almost burning; the sea boiled, and the whole firmament appeared on fire. At length the flames burst forth from the torn volcano, when a mass of stones and lava was thrown into the air, which in their descent covered the sides of the mountain as well as the surrounding plain. This eruption was succeeded by a cloud of smoke so dense and murky, that the sun was no longer visible, and the face of day was changed into a night of horror. The inhabitants fled from their tottering houses and sought for safety in the fields, while others were seeking refuge from the solitary desolation of the country in the crowds which covered the highways near the towns. Those who were at sea were impelled by terror to turn their ships towards land, where they were met by thousands equally alarmed, seeking means to intrust their life and fortunes to the waves.

Meanwhile the cloud of smoke and dust carried dismay to the walls of the capital. The darkness which sunk down upon the city terrified the inhabitants of Rome to such a degree, that many of them threw themselves, with their families, into ships bound for Africa and Egypt, imagining that Italy was about to atone for its sins by enduring the uttermost wrath of the gods. But the immediate neighbourhood of Vesuvius presented a scene of still greater destruction and alarm. At Misenum, a distance of nearly twenty miles, the ashes fell in such quantities, that the younger Pliny, who was obliged to sit down in the fields with his mother to avoid the risk of being crushed in pieces by the throng of fugitives who fled in the dark, relates, that had they not used the precaution of constantly shaking the dust off their persons, they would have been smothered in a very short time.

Death of Pliny.

The elder Pliny, having reached Stabiæ, passed the night in the house of a friend. While the philosopher was asleep, the court which surrounded the dwelling was filled with large stones and ashes to such a depth, that it was not without considerable difficulty that any individual of the party made his escape; and in order to guard against the stones which were falling in great quantities everywhere around them, they covered their bodies with cushions and carpets.

The sun was now risen, but his beams could not penetrate the thick cloud which brooded over Stabiæ. Torches were, therefore,

[1] Plin. Epist. lib. vi. ep. 16, 20.

A. D. 79. used in order to find a passage towards the beach, it having been determined to put to sea as the only means of safety, provided the waves were sufficiently allayed to render such a retreat practicable. But the ocean was at that eventful moment more agitated than ever. Pliny threw himself on the ground wrapped in a cloak or blanket, and drank some cold water, which had been seasonably procured for him. Another discharge from the mountain, however, made all their cares prove fruitless. Every one yielded to the impulse of self-preservation and fled, except two slaves, who seemed willing to hazard their lives with the view of saving that of the great naturalist. Pliny made an effort to rise, supported by his faithful attendants; but he almost instantly dropped down again, suffocated, it was supposed, by the increasing heat of the sulphureous atmosphere, and by the cloud of dust which impregnated the air. Two days elapsed before his friends had recovered sufficiently from their terror to search for his body and give it burial,—a duty which was then performed with all the respect due to so great a character, and with those feelings of regret and sorrow which never fail to attend the obsequies of public men who have fallen victims to the love of knowledge or to the exertions of patriotism.[1]

Destruction of Herculaneum and Pompeii.

His nephew has described in very moving language the horrors and anxiety of the dreadful night which succeeded his departure from Misenum. It belongs not to us, however, to follow up the details of this calamity at greater length. Suffice it to remind the reader that it was on this occasion the cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii were buried under that mass of ashes which concealed them from the light of day for more than seventeen hundred years.

Pestilence at Rome.

The miserable events described above were followed by a pestilence at Rome, of which it is said that not fewer than ten thousand people died daily during a considerable period. This malady is ascribed by historians to the pollution which is supposed to have affected the air, in consequence of the volcanic eruptions of Vesuvius; but it is more probable that it originated in the poverty and filth occasioned by the sudden increase made to the population of the capital, when the fugitives from the ruined towns and villages of Campania sought an asylum within its walls.

Titus repairs to Campania.

Such misfortunes deeply wounded the compassionate heart of Titus. He felt, says Suetonius, not only as a prince but as a father for the sufferings of his people, and spared neither labour nor expense to relieve their distress. He set apart proper funds to repair the losses sustained by the people of Campania, intrusting the disbursement of them to two men of consular rank, whose characters afforded an ample security for the wisdom and humanity of their administration. To accelerate his benevolent views, he proceeded thither in person the following year, using his utmost endeavours to console the

[1] Plin. Epist. lib. xvi. ep. 20; Suet. Tit. c. viii.; Dion Cassius, lib. lxvi.

afflicted, and to sow again the seeds of wealth and security in that beautiful division of his empire. A. D. 80.

Fire at Rome.

Before he could return to Rome, that city was again visited with a frightful calamity. A fire broke out which raged three days and nights with the greatest violence, destroying an immense number of buildings, both public and private. Among the former were the Pantheon, the Octavian Library, and the Capitol, which last had been but recently restored, after the demolition which it had sustained at the hands of the infuriated Germans during the reign of Vitellius.

Generosity and self-denial of the emperor.

No sooner had this afflicting event reached the ears of the emperor, than he made known his determination to indemnify out of his own coffers all the losses which had accrued either to the state or to individuals. His country-houses were forthwith denuded of their richest ornaments, to embellish anew the temples of the gods and other public edifices throughout the city, while, with respect to the claims of private sufferers, he appointed certain Roman knights to regulate the amount of compensation due in every particular case, and to superintend the rebuilding of the streets which had been destroyed by the accident. So unwilling was he that any one besides himself should have a share in the honour of retrieving the fortunes of Rome, that he is said to have refused the contributions which were offered by some of his royal allies, by other cities of the empire, and by certain of the richest among the nobility. Titus was a stranger to every kind of avarice, and the rigid economy which he pursued in his personal enjoyments enabled him to command at all times sufficient means not only to meet the demands of the public service, but also to contribute to the embellishment of his capital and the gratification of his subjects.

Finishes the Amphitheatre and celebrates games.

Such was now the constitution of Roman society, that attention to the amusement of the lower class of citizens, in the time of peace, had become no less essential to the tranquillity of the empire than military talents during the pressure of war. With this view Titus proceeded to finish the amphitheatre of which his father had laid the foundation, adding to it baths and other comforts for the gratification of the populace. Upon the dedication of this superb edifice he gave a course of games, not inferior in magnificence to the most splendid spectacles yielded to a discontented mob by the vanity of Claudius, or the profusion of Nero. The sports lasted a hundred days, during which invention was racked to discover new modes of pleasing the eye and of stimulating the passions of the depraved multitude. Five thousand wild beasts were killed on the arena in the space of one day. Mimic fleets and armies represented the combats on sea and shore by which the glory of Rome had been obtained, when her citizens were yet uncorrupted through eastern pomp and imperial donations. Lions and elephants were compelled to minister to the entertainment of the masters of the world, and even the slender crane was taught to engage

A. D. 81. in battle and to tear the flesh of its opponent. But such particulars are unworthy of historical diligence, and the recital of them can only be justified as serving to illustrate the first steps in that progressive and melancholy decline which at length subjected the power of the Cæsars to the arms of barbarian conquerors.

The poet Martial has celebrated the judicious self-denial of Titus, who relinquished for the site of his amphitheatre and baths a part of the imperial gardens enclosed by Nero :—

Reddita Roma sibi est ; et sunt, te præside Cæsar,
Deliciæ Populi quæ fuerant Domini. [1]

Illness and death.

It was observed that on the last day of the games the emperor appeared greatly dejected, and even shed tears. Hoping that his nerves would be strengthened by the purer air of the country, he retired to the neighbourhood of Rietum, whence his family originally sprung, whither, alas, it should seem, he was accompanied by his brother Domitianus. A fever with which he was seized was unduly checked by the use of the bath, to which he had become much addicted ; and it is added by Suetonius, that the symptoms of the disease were greatly aggravated by adopting a suggestion of Domitianus, that the patient should be put into a tub filled with snow. Titus died on the thirteenth day of September, in the same house wherein his father expired, after a pacific and prosperous reign of two years and nearly three months.[2]



Martial.

The character of this prince has been given in the history of his actions, and his name, even at the present day, conveys to the reader all those ideas of justice, clemency, wisdom, and benevolence, which enter into our conception of a good sovereign. His virtues were the object of universal love and esteem, and they were prized still more highly after his death, when contrasted with the violent and ungovernable temper of the prince who succeeded him on the throne.

[1] Rome is again restored to herself: and under thy presidency, Cæsar, the charming pleasures which were once only those of her princes are now her people's.

[2] Suet. Tit, c. x. ; Dion Cassius, lib. lxvi. ; Plut. de Sanitate.



Domitianus.

CHAPTER III.

TITUS FLAVIUS DOMITIANUS.

FROM A. D. 81 TO 96.

DOMITIANUS hurried from the lifeless body of his brother to secure at Rome the title and congratulations of imperial power. The loss of Titus and the painful anticipations connected with the new reign, occupied all the thoughts of the senate and people; and hardly were there found within the walls of the city a sufficient number of unconcerned spectators to salute the son of Vespasianus on his accession to the throne.[1] A. D. 81.

It would have been difficult even for a good prince to transfer to himself all at once the affections which had been so deeply rooted in the public mind for the person of his immediate predecessor. But Domitianus, it has been observed, seemed only to strive by his vices to strike into every heart a more poignant regret for the misfortune which Rome had sustained in the death of his brother, and to render, by the same means, his own government both contemptible and odious. We find, accordingly, that the praises bestowed by historians upon Titus are everywhere contrasted with the execrations which were poured upon the character and administration of his successor; for, if we except the friendly pen of Josephus, there is no writer of those times who does not, by his reproaches, labour to confirm the bad opinion which was entertained of him, as well in Italy as in the remotest provinces. Character of Domitianus.

Dion assures us that his temper was gloomy and unsocial, incapable

[1] Suet. Domit. c. ii.; Dion Cassius, lib. lxvi.

A. D. 81. of the ordinary sentiments of love and attachment. Under his father's rule, he had crouched with the feelings of a slave; and at a later period he repaid the confidence of his brother by hatred and suspicion. His fears rendered him cruel, and his prodigality made him avaricious; and, under the influence of these odious passions, he sacrificed to a great extent the lives and property of the Roman people. Artifice and dissimulation were in him joined to the other vices which constitute a tyrant; for while he was more bloodthirsty and rapacious than Nero, he never showed any symptoms of that generosity, frankness, and love of the arts, which sometimes appeared in contrast with the barbarities and extravagance which have condemned the latter to never-ending infamy.[1]

Early life of Domitianus.

Suetonius reminds the reader that Domitianus was born at Rome when Vespasianus his father was about to enter upon his first consulate; that his early youth was spent in a manner which could give no promise of future eminence or respectability; that he took up arms during the insurrection which terminated the reign of Vitellius; and that when the Capitol was set on fire he made his escape, disguised in the dress of a priest, and took refuge in a mean dwelling beyond the Tiber. When the Flavian family was invested with the purple, Domitianus, who was the only member of the imperial house actually present in Rome, assumed the exercise of power with so high a hand, that no one could fail to perceive in his character the strongest lineaments of despotism and tyranny. In one day he disposed of twenty appointments on his own authority, a circumstance which drew from his father the jocular remark, that he was "amazed the boy had not also provided him with a successor."[2]

His thirst for military glory.

The ambition of this prince, stimulated by the fame of his brother, was occasionally inflamed with the desire of military glory. We have already mentioned his resolution to accompany to the banks of the Rhine the general who commanded the legions against the insurgents in the German provinces; and Suetonius informs us that when Vologesus, the king of Parthia, solicited from the Romans an auxiliary force to join him in prosecuting a war with which he was threatened by a tribe of Scythians, and requested that one of the emperor's sons might be placed at their head, Domitianus used all the arts of intrigue and bribery in order to obtain the honour of conducting the victorious cohorts of Syria into the remoter East. We need scarcely add that the petition of Vologesus was rejected, and that the youthful hope of the empire was constrained to remain at home to renew his acquaintance with the Muses, and to seek the rewards of eloquence.

His retired habits upon coming to the throne.

Soon after he succeeded to the government he indulged in that love of solitude, which pride and fear combined to render in a very short

[1] Tacit. Agricol. c. xlv.; Suet. Domit. c. ii.; Dion Cassius, lib. lxvii. apud Vales.

[2] Suet. Domit. c. i.; Dion Cassius, lib. lxvii.; Tacit. Hist. lib. iii. c. ix.

time the most confirmed of all his habits. In the beginning of his reign, says his biographer, he accustomed himself to spend several hours every day in the strictest privacy, employed frequently in nothing else than in catching flies and piercing them with a sharp instrument. This practice, so unworthy of him who was charged with the prosperity and fame of the greater part of the civilized world, gave rise to the well-known remark which was made to Vibius Crispus, when he asked if there were any one with the emperor, it was replied, "No, not even a fly."[1] A. D. 81.

His fickleness and inconstancy.

This inglorious tranquillity was at that time only varied by occasional fits of activity, which were still more prejudicial to his reputation. He had seduced Domitia, the wife of Ælius Lamia, and, upon the birth of a daughter, he publicly declared his mistress the consort of his throne. But hardly had he elevated her to the splendid station of Augusta, than his jealousy was alarmed, and he immediately drove her from his bed and palace. The ascendency which Domitia had acquired over him was, however, much too strong to be thus suddenly dissolved; her society was become indispensable to the enjoyment of his domestic hours; on which account, says Suetonius, he invited her to return, on pretence that the people were dissatisfied with the divorce. The same author remarks that in matters of state policy he was equally unsteady, mixing severity with occasional gentleness, and parsimony with the greatest profusion, till at length his very virtues assumed the appearance and had all the effects of vice, in private as well as in public life.[2]

It is not our intention to follow minutely the disgusting details of imbecility and crime which compose the annals of the reign of Domitianus. Unfortunately for the peace and dignity of Rome, the history of her affairs from the days of Augustus is almost entirely identified with the personal character of her rulers; but notwithstanding this fact, we question the expediency of filling our pages with a repetition of the cruel deeds and paltry amusements which year after year employed all the cares of the younger son of Vespasianus. The picture drawn by Tacitus, in his 'Life of Agricola,' exhibits in a few strong lines the impression of fear and distrust which was stamped upon the minds of the Roman people. Wisdom, in those evil days, was compelled to put on the appearance of sloth and inaction. The powers of intellect and taste were blighted by the suspicions of tyranny. The freedom of conversation was denied; and we should have lost, says the historian, the power of memory, if forgetfulness had been as much a voluntary act as abstinence from speech. Fifteen years, a large portion of human life, passed away, during which every liberal art was discouraged, and every man of genius and spirit either cut off by a violent death, or driven into obscurity.[3]

Picture of his reign by Tacitus.

[1] Suet. Domit. c. iii.
[2] Ibid. *ubi supra.*
[3] Tacit. in Vita Agricol. c. ii. iii.

A. D. 81.

Singular feast given to the knights and senators.

Dion Cassius has furnished us with a striking anecdote of the refined extravagance which sometimes mingled itself with the cruelty of this prince. On one occasion he invited to an entertainment at the palace the principal members of the senate and of the equestrian order. Upon their arrival they were shown into a large room hung with black cloth from the ceiling to the floor, and furnished with couches and other ornaments, all painted in the same colour. When they took their seats at table each man found before him a small monumental pillar, resembling those which the Romans were accustomed to place on their tombs. Every guest read his own name inscribed on this sepulchral decoration by means of the pale light of a lamp, such as those which were kept burning in the vaults wherein they deposited their dead. No private servant was permitted to attend his master; while, to supply this want, a troop of little boys appeared arrayed in sable garments, with their faces blacked, and taught to imitate the motions and cries of demons. The meat served up displayed the same character. It was that which was usually offered in funeral ceremonies to the ghosts of the departed. The dishes and plate used at table were of the deepest black; and silence as profound as that of the grave reigned throughout the assembly. Domitianus alone opened his mouth; aggravating the fears of his company by telling them tragical stories of bloody deaths, and of massacres perpetrated by treacherous hosts. Every one present concluded that his last hour was come.[1] When he had sufficiently terrified his guests, and gratified his own bad taste, he sent them home with rich gifts, as a reward for the mental sufferings which they had endured.

Administration of justice, and reformation of morals.

Nevertheless, in his personal administrations in the capacity of judge, Domitianus is said to have set an example of great integrity; recommending uprightness to all the inferior officers, and punishing severely any one who dared to receive a bribe. On some occasions he subjected to his own immediate review causes which had been inaccurately determined; and annulled by his supreme authority no small number of decrees, in which favour or mercenary motives had prevailed over the claims of justice. His various attempts for the reformation of manners have likewise been mentioned with approbation. He enacted several laws against women of dissolute morals; discouraged public accusers; and imposed the weight of a very severe penalty upon all who should be found guilty of personal libels and defamation. He moreover relieved from prosecution all who were indebted to the treasury a longer period than five years. He followed the example of Titus in confirming without petition the grants of all former emperors; and in order to remove from the officers under his command all temptation to rapacity, he made a liberal addition to their yearly salaries. For the same reason, as well as to increase their

[1] Dion Cassius, lib. lxvii. apud Vales.

attachment to his person, he raised the pay of the soldiers. He lavished large sums on the Pantheon and Capitol, the ornaments of which were not completed in the former reign; and he showed an equal zeal for the restoration of other public edifices which had been reduced to ruin by the late destructive fire. But these early claims to the gratitude of his country were cancelled by the cruel tyranny which marked his maturer age.[1] A. D. 81.

His desire for military distinction impelled him, in the third year of his reign, to undertake an expedition against the Catti, a German people, whom Tacitus[2] represents as possessing the arts of peace and the knowledge of war in a higher degree than any of the neighbouring tribes. This act of hostility on the part of the Roman emperor does not appear to have been provoked by any ambitious or threatening movements on his frontiers; and not expecting to be attacked, they were not prepared with the means of defence. If we are to believe Frontinus,[3] who has handed down the only particular account of this enterprise that has reached our times, we must bestow upon the imperial leader all the praises which are due to wisdom in councils and vigour in the field. Pretending to have no other object in view besides taking a census of the Gauls, he pushed on his legions to the Rhine before his real intentions were discovered. **His expedition against the Catti.** A. D. 84.

But Frontinus wrote his work on 'Military Stratagems' while Domitianus was yet on the throne, and for that reason found it, perhaps, more convenient to flatter than to give a strict narrative of facts. Other authors have asserted, that the Roman eagles were not seen on this occasion by any enemy whatever, but that the valour of the troops was employed under the eye of their master in plundering the territory of their allies, and in wasting the goods of a friendly tribe. The extermination of the Cherusci, a neighbouring tribe in alliance with Rome, which was soon afterwards effected by the Catti, is a distinct proof that the boasted victories of Domitianus had neither broken their spirit, nor effectually diminished their power. This exploit, however, was neither doubtful nor unimportant in the estimation of Domitianus himself. Upon his return to Rome he looked to the senate for the usual expressions of admiration and gratitude conferred on all commanders whose fortune it had been to extend the boundaries of the state, and to subdue the power of their enemies. The title of Germanicus was forthwith either given or confirmed to the conqueror; for it is uncertain whether he had not already assumed that distinction in honour of his march to Lyons during the war with Civilis. A triumph was likewise decreed, and to supply the want of captives, whom he had neglected to bring from among the vanquished **He obtains a triumph.**

[1] Suet. Domit c. viii.; Dion Cassius, lib. lxvii.
[2] Tacit. de Mor. German. c. xxx.
[3] Frontin. de Strat. lib. i. c. i.; Tacit. Agricol. c. xxxix.; Stat. Sil. lib. i. c. v.; Dion Cassius, lib. lxvii.

A. D. 84. Catti, a sufficient number of slaves was purchased in the neighbouring countries, and dressed in the habits of German warriors, in order to complete the pageant. Medals were struck to perpetuate the memory of an event so brilliant and important; and from this epoch the emperor never appeared in the senate-house without being arrayed in his robe of triumph.[1]

Domitianus institutes games.

A. D. 86. Domitianus distinguished the fifth year of his government by the institution of games similar to those which accompanied the periodical return of the Grecian Olympiads. Being designed in honour of Jupiter Capitolinus, they took their name from this civic attribute of the father of gods and of men; and were, like the more celebrated festival just mentioned, to be repeated every fourth year. They consisted according to Suetonius, of several kinds of athletic exercises and contests, calculated to invigorate the powers of the mind as well as of the body. Women and even girls appeared on the arena to compete for prizes. The magnificence of Rome was exhausted on the splendour of the scene. The emperor presided in person to stimulate and reward the ability of the performers; and the priests of Jupiter vouchsafed their presence, in order to give the solemnity of a religious service to the amusements of the prince. It is, perhaps, worthy of remark, that the last celebration of the Capitoline Games took place in the year 238, and that they appear to have been finally abolished soon after the conversion of the first Christian emperor.[2]



Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

Dacian war.

A. D. 87. The tranquillity of Rome was disturbed in the sixth year of Domitianus by intelligence that the chiefs of Dacia had risen in arms, attacked several garrisons, and even defeated some large bodies of legionary troops. Tacitus, in his 'Life of Agricola,' makes an allusion to the Dacian war, when he reminds his reader of the armies which perished in that country and in Mœsia, owing to the cowardice or incapacity of the commanders; adding, that the empire was in danger not only of losing both sides of the Danube, but even whole provinces on its southern shore, and the stationary camps of the legions along its banks. Agricola had just returned from his successful campaigns in Britain; and every one wished to see that renowned general placed at the head of the troops which were destined to recover the honour of Rome, and to repel the inroad of barbarians, now become formidable by their skill in arms, and the talents of their king.

The right of sovereignty, we are told, belonged at that period to

[1] Suet. Domit. c. vi.; Dion Cassius, lib. lxvii.; Tacit. Agricol. c. xxxix.
[2] Tillemont, Histoire des Empéreurs, vol. ii.

Dura, the lineal descendant of the Dacian princes. But feeling himself unequal to the duties of his high station, he resigned the crown to Decebalus, a chief of great enterprise, courage, and patriotism. The commencement of the war was signalized by a rapid movement into Mœsia, where the Dacians, encountering the legions under Oppius Sabinus, gained a complete victory, and slew the Roman general. The news of this defeat roused Domitianus, who immediately left his capital, and proceeded towards the Danube at the head of a powerful army. Decebalus, meantime willing to secure the advantages which had attended his first operations in the field, made proposals to the emperor to terminate hostilities; but finding soon afterwards that the command of the fresh legions was intrusted to Cornelius Fuscus,[1] a hotheaded ignorant soldier, without either experience or caution, he added to the terms of the projected peace the insulting condition, that every Roman in the camp should pay, in the name of tribute or as the price of safety, two pieces of money to the victorious Dacians. A. D. 87. Decebalus raised to the throne.

Fuscus, in order to avenge the disgrace which was thus offered to the majesty of Rome, crossed the Danube in search of the barbarian army. A bloody engagement ensued, in which the troops of Domitianus were again routed with great slaughter. Their general was killed, their arms and baggage fell into the power of the enemy, an eagle was taken, and a great number of legionary soldiers was carried into captivity. These trophies, so galling to the pride of the Romans, were afterwards recovered during the more successful invasion of Dacia by the emperor Trajan.[2] Fuscus is defeated and slain.

After this disaster, Julianus, an officer of tried ability, was invested with the principal command. With better fortune than Sabinus or Fuscus, he gave battle to Decebalus, and completely defeated him. Dacia now appeared at the mercy of the conqueror. It was only by a stratagem that even the capital was saved from falling into his hands; while the king, finding himself sorely pressed, and despairing of being able to cope with the overwhelming power of Rome, proceeded to make a sincere and humble overture for peace. Instead of the haughty style which he had formerly employed, when opposed to the ignorant impetuosity of Fuscus, he now solicited a cessation of arms, professing his readiness to make to the emperor any concession that was just and reasonable. But Domitianus knew not how to avail himself of this favourable turn of events; and instead of terminating his quarrel with the Dacian insurgents, he resolved to march against two other German nations, the Quadi and Marcomanni, who had refused to supply their contingent of recruits during the late campaign.[3] Victory of Julianus.

After a fruitless attempt to appease his wrath, the Germans proposed to meet the emperor in arms, and to dispute his progress into Peace with Decebalus.

[1] Tacit. lib. ii. c. lxxxvi.; Suet. Domit. c. vi.
[2] Dion Cassius, lib. lxviii. [3] Ibid. lib. lxvii.

A. D. 87. their country. But his imbecility did more for them than their own bravery and patriotism; for, after having murdered their ambassadors and rejected every offer of submission, he exposed his army to their attacks with so little skill, that he soon found himself compelled to relinquish the expedition in disgrace and confusion. His losses induced him to lend a ready ear to the propositions of Decebalus, and even to purchase peace, and the liberty of withdrawing unmolested the remains of his discomfited cohorts, at the expense of a considerable ransom. He even consented to pay to the barbarian a yearly tribute, which was continued till the days of Trajan.[1]

But Domitianus, though he had failed in reaping the fruits of victory, was determined not to relinquish its honours. He fatigued the patience of the senators with long letters describing his exploits on the Danube, and amidst the wilds of Germany; including among the other labours of his imagination an epistle from Decebalus, expressed in the most submissive terms, and acknowledging the victories of the imperial commander. A triumph was forthwith decreed to the conqueror of the north, and he was, at the same time, invited to add to the once-honourable distinction of 'Germanicus' the ambiguous title of 'Dacicus,' to which his recent services laid claim. Nothing could exceed the splendour of the triumphal procession. Games, shows, statues, and arches attested the importance of his conquests. Dacia and the country of the rude Marcomans furnished their respective trophies to grace the car of their invincible master, while poets and orators lavished their fulsome encomiums on the rival of Julius Cæsar, and the successor of Augustus and Titus. To conclude the imposing ceremony the temple of Janus was ordered to be shut, thereby announcing to the Roman people that the repose of the world had been achieved by the happy exploits of their most warlike and fortunate emperor.

The emperor enjoys a triumph.

These occurrences could not fail to excite at once the regret and ridicule of every citizen who took any interest in the reputation of his country. The younger Pliny has left in his 'Letters,'[2] and more particularly in his 'Panegyric,' a strong expression of the public feeling with regard to the ruinous campaigns and more foolish triumphs of Domitianus. His sluggish and effeminate conduct when accompanying the army was attended with the very worst effects both upon officers and men. He was hardly ever seen on horseback, but was carried from place to place in a litter like a sick or infirm woman, and if he ever ventured to travel by water it was necessary to devise some means whereby the noise of the oars might be stilled, so as not to disturb the ears of the enervated tyrant. Nor were his jealousy and suspicion less fatal to the discipline of his troops than the example of his luxury and softness. Wanting con-

Discipline relaxed.

[1] Dion Cassius, lib. lxviii. apud Vales.

[2] Plin. Epist. lib. viii. c. iv., and Paneg. c. xi. xviii. xx. lxxxii. &c.

fidence in his generals, he never intrusted them with a sufficient degree of power either to pursue an advantage in the field or to curb the licentiousness of the soldiers; and it is emphatically remarked, that they were less afraid of the wiles and sword of the enemy than they were of the snares spread for them by the emperor. A. D. 87.

Revolt of Antonius in Germany.

The enormities which disgraced the reign of Domitianus were naturally followed by disaffection among the troops. Lucius Antonius, who commanded the legions in Upper Germany, induced his soldiers to revolt and declare him emperor, trusting to the aid promised by several nations beyond the Rhine, which were likewise eager to throw off the yoke. The intelligence of this conspiracy created a deep sensation at Rome. Domitianus made preparations for punishing in person the treason of Antonius; and to prevent any movement in favour of the rebels among his partisans in the capital, he ordered that every man of rank whose age permitted him to bear the fatigue of arms should join his standard, and be ready to take a share in the campaign. But all these cares were rendered unnecessary by the defeat of the insurgents. Lucius Maximus, who appears to have commanded on the Lower Rhine, marched against Antonius, and brought him to battle. While they were engaged the German allies of the latter arrived on the opposite bank of the river, but not being able to cross they had the mortification to witness his discomfiture, and the almost entire slaughter of his legions, who had resolved not to survive their treason.[1]

His defeat by Maximus.

Insurrection in Africa.

Much about the same time an insurrection took place in Africa. The Nasamones, a people who occupied the eastern borders of the ancient Carthaginian territory, unable to bear the pressure of the tribute with which they were loaded, rose against the collectors and put them to death. Flaccus, the governor of Numidia, advanced against them with a considerable army to chastise their rebellion; but the Nasamones, drawing courage from despair, attacked him with so much fury that the whole of his force was either dispersed or cut in pieces, and his camp fell into the hands of the conquerors. Their success proved fatal to the undisciplined Africans. Intoxicating themselves with the wine which they found in the tents of the Romans, they threw away their arms and gave loose to the wonted extravagance of barbarian troops; when Flaccus, who had reassembled a body of fugitives, fell upon them in this exposed condition and put every one of them to the sword. Zonaras, to whose industry we are indebted for these details, narrates that Domitianus was so proud of this victory, that he pronounced at a formal meeting of the senate, "It was my pleasure that the Nasamones should cease to be, and now they no longer exist."[2]

The government of Suetonius Paulinus in the southern parts of A. D. 61.

[1] Suet. c. vii.; Plut. Æmil.; Dion Cassius, lxvii.; Plin. Epist. x. ep. 61.

[2] Zonar. Ann. Domit.

A. D. 61. Britain had been marked with various success, and had been opposed by several determined struggles for independence. Having at length subdued the reluctant natives he transferred a peaceful command to his successor Turpilianus, who resting satisfied with the extent of territory which already acknowledged the dominion of Rome made no attempt to carry his arms farther northwards. This warlike repose was imitated by Trebellius Maximus, to whose hands the supreme authority of the province was next intrusted. Naturally inclined to indolence and the arts of peace, he endeavoured to confirm the influence of his countrymen upon the minds of the illiterate people whose passions he was appointed to watch, rather by inspiring them with the love of ease and of luxury than by encountering their strength in repeated and bloody combats. The civil broils which during his administration divided the inclinations and employed the arms of the Romans at home, dictated to him the expediency of reserving his legions entire, in case they might be called into action elsewhere; and Vertius Bolanus, who relieved him in this command, pursued the same policy. Tacitus, indeed, insinuates that the genius of the officer was of too soft a texture for the arduous duties which his station imposed upon him, and that had he not profited by the wise counsels and unwearied activity of Agricola, who was appointed his lieutenant, the public service must have sustained material detriment. At all events he left things nearly as he found them; having made it his principal study to insure the tranquillity of the Britons, and the repose of his own soldiers.[1]

Britain. Suetonius Paulinus. Turpilianus. Trebellius Maximus. Vertius Bolanus. A. D. 69.

But this pacific system was interrupted by the active mind of Petilius Cerealis, the officer who brought to a successful conclusion the war with Civilis the Batavian chief. The accession of Vespasianus to the throne had given stability to the government, and confirmed the loyalty of the troops both at home and abroad, on which account there was no longer any bar to the accomplishment of the design long cherished at Rome, of advancing the standards of the empire to the remotest shores of the British island. Cerealis accordingly marched into the northern districts of the province, and attacked the tribe of the Brigantes, a numerous and warlike people who dwelt on the right bank of the Humber, and who had successfully defied the arms of Ostorius Scapula in the reign of Claudius.

Petilius Cerealis.

Frontinus adopted the system of his predecessor. He attacked the Silures, who possessed the fertile plains between the Severn and the mountains of Wales, and also the strong ground which confines the shores of the Western Ocean. That brave people, by whom Scapula had been defeated, were totally subdued by the military science of Frontinus, who thus opened a path for the more extensive conquests of his successor Agricola.

Frontinus.

This renowned commander began his services as governor of

Agricola. A. D. 78.

[1] Tacit. Agricol. c. xvi.

Britain by attacking a tribe of resolute mountaineers, who had a short time before cut to pieces a regiment of horse on the frontiers of North Wales. Over these Agricola gained a decided advantage even amid the fastnesses of their native rocks. Availing himself of the impression created by this unexpected success he made a sudden inroad into the Isle of Anglesea, where Paulinus had been originally discomfited, and reduced the inhabitants to the necessity of suing for peace. A. D. 78. Agricola.

The policy of Agricola for awhile was directed to the gradual civilisation of those portions of his province which acknowledged the imperial sway. He improved their architecture, educated their children, and introduced the Latin language and the dress of Rome. Luxury tempered the ferocity of savage independence, and many of those who had obstinately resisted the arms of the invaders unreluctantly surrendered themselves to the softer bondage in which he now enthralled them. Secure of his present possession he prepared for further conquest, and in the third summer of his government he penetrated to the banks of the Tweed, carrying with him in his fleet along the coast ample supplies and warlike munitions.

The succeeding year saw the standards of Domitianus advanced to the shores of the Forth and Clyde, the estuaries which bound the southern lowlands of Scotland. Agricola joined these arms of the sea by a chain of forts and other defences; the remains of which, mixed with those of the wall afterwards built by Severus, continue at this day to invite the researches of the antiquary. Enough was now done for security and profit; but, says Tacitus, neither the valour of the Roman armies, nor the glory of the Roman name, could be satisfied with any other boundary than that by which nature has marked the limits of the habitable globe.[1] Agricola resolved to plant his eagles on the farthest rocks of Caledonia, and accordingly made preparations for a vigorous campaign the following summer by sea and by land. Advances into Scotland. A. D. 83.



Tacitus.

We have passed over the transactions of the fifth year, which are but very obscurely intimated by the historian. The cares of the general appear to have been employed on the western coast of Scotland, not only in subduing the refractory clans which were scattered among the mountains and lakes of that wild district, but also in establishing garrisons in such convenient positions as might prevent, during his absence, the hazard of an invasion from the opposite

[1] Tacit. *ubi supra*, c. xxiii.

A. D. 84. shores of Ireland. It was, accordingly, not till the sixth year of his command that Agricola undertook his celebrated expedition against the Caledonians.[1]

Defeat of the Romans.

This warlike people, to whom the fame of the Roman arms was not altogether unknown, were already busy in making preparations for defending their country. The hostile armies appear first to have come within sight of each other near the Grampian range. The natives presented themselves in great numbers, marshalled in separate bands under different leaders; all of whom, however, acknowledged the authority of Galgacus, who was invested with the chief command. Agricola likewise divided his legions into three bodies, with the intention of falling upon the enemy before they could unite their ranks; but the mountaineers no sooner observed this change in the disposition of his troops than they altered their plan, and bringing together their several detachments attacked in the night the weakest division of the Romans, and gained a complete victory. The Caledonians pursued the beaten legionaries to their camp, where the fight was renewed with great fury, nor was it till daylight, when Agricola appeared with a large body of fresh troops, that the current of victory began to be checked. The slaughter on both sides now became very great. The Caledonians were at length repulsed; and Tacitus adds, that had they not obtained an immediate refuge in their woods and marshes this conflict would have terminated the war.[2]

Notwithstanding this remark, it is quite plain that the loss sustained by the ninth legion in this combat considerably damped the spirits of the whole army, and prevented Agricola from advancing farther into the mountains till his men had recruited their numbers and their strength during the repose of the ensuing winter. Tacitus, at this juncture, suspends his narrative, in order to insert a remarkable adventure of a German cohort which deserted from the Roman camp. These auxiliaries, tired of the savage warfare in which they were engaged, rose upon the centurion and inferior officers and slew them; then taking possession of three transports they instantly put to sea, under the care of as many pilots whose services they had compelled. One of these guides proving faithless, the fugitives murdered the two others, and resolved to trust to fortune either to find a passage into their native country, or to discover an asylum in some other land, at a distance from the severity of Roman discipline and the hardships of a Caledonian war. The particulars of their voyage are exceedingly obscure. Tacitus assures us that they sailed round Britain, and were afterwards wrecked on the coast of Germany, and made prisoners by the Suevi and Frisones, having suffered while they were at sea the extremest miseries of cold and famine. They were finally carried as slaves to Rome, where they filled the ears of

Adventure of the German deserters.

[1] Tacit. in Vita Agricol. c. xxiv. xxv.

[2] Ibid. in Vita Agricol. c. xxvi.

the citizens with the wonders of their navigation.[1] While the war-like arms of his lieutenant were fully occupied with the fierce natives of Caledonia, Domitian continued to employ his time in imperial inanities, or in following the most cruel counsels; while his superstitious attachment to the worship of Minerva was alone capable of turning his attention to more peaceful occupations. To this goddess he dedicated a temple, whose remains still exist. A. D. 84. Fresh campaign.



Temple of Minerva.
Overbeke, Les Restes l'Ancienne Rome.

It was in the summer of the seventh year of Agricola's administration that the arms of Domitianus effected the complete conquest of Britain. The Caledonians, aware that their independence was still menaced, employed the interval allowed by the inactivity of the Romans in training their youth and in extending their alliances. They had learned by painful experience that union is necessary to repel a common danger, and were now willing to lay aside for a time their private quarrels, and to join their bands for the defence of liberty and the undisturbed possession of their valleys and hills. Agricola, on his side, was not less attentive to the duties of his office, and the ultimate views contemplated in his expedition. He increased his numbers by incorporating into the legions such Britons as had shown a firm attachment to his interests, and whose fidelity had been proved during the contingencies of a protracted and various war. He likewise ordered his fleet to sail round the coasts, make frequent descents, and spread terror and devastation on every side; while he himself commenced his march at the head of a well-appointed army, and turned his face once more towards the Grampians, where the Caledonian general had posted his undisciplined hordes.[2]

The Britons, says Tacitus, already numbered thirty thousand men, and crowds were still flocking to add to their strength. Not only young men full of spirits and vigour repaired to the camp from all Battle with Galgacus.

[1] Tacit. c. xxviii. [2] Ibid. in Vita Agricol. c. xxix.

A. D. 84. quarters, but aged warriors, valuable for their experience, longed for an opportunity to add new honours to those which they had formerly acquired. Their zeal and courage sought vent in loud acclamations, and in repeated demands to be led on to battle. Galgacus is said to have at that moment addressed his ardent followers in a speech which has exhausted the eloquence of Tacitus.

The harangue of Agricola to his troops was shorter and less imposing. He thought it enough to remind them that the opportunity for which they had so long sighed of putting an end to their fatigues had now arrived, and that the enemy they had so often desired to see within the reach of their swords was now drawn up before them prepared for battle. He concluded by exhorting them to finish the noble work which they had so successfully begun, and to crown fifty years of war with the triumph of one great day.[1]

The Roman general placed his auxiliaries in front, with the view at once of securing their fidelity and of saving the blood of his legions. Both armies fought for some time at a distance, as the Britons, who occupied the declivity of a hill, wisely resolved to retain this advantage of ground, and to assail their antagonists with missile weapons. At length several German cohorts, bearing heavy arms, brought a division of the Caledonians to close action, a mode of fighting in which the barbarians were sure to be worsted, by the cool bravery and discipline of men who had spent their lives in a camp. The main body of the natives descended from the high ground to support their friends in the plain, where they had no sooner arrived than Agricola ordered his cavalry to fall upon them, who soon succeeded in breaking their ranks and throwing them into the utmost confusion and dismay. The victors pursued them from the field with great slaughter; but as the Britons were better acquainted than the Romans with the country through which they directed their flight, they availed themselves of every thicket, and wood, and marsh, to renew the combat, and to check the impetuosity of the conquerors. Agricola, whose vigilance never languished, perceived the danger into which his soldiers were about to fall, and gave orders to stop the pursuit, deeming it sufficient to prevent the junction of the scattered Caledonians by parties of cavalry, which he sent out to scour the adjacent valleys.[2]

Defeat of the Caledonians.

On the following day the Romans were furnished with the most satisfactory proofs that their victory was decisive, and that there was no longer any enemy to dispute with them the possession of the Grampian solitudes. Silence, such as reigns in a desert, smoking cottages, and the total absence of flocks and herds, afforded the strongest evidence that the vanquished inhabitants had retired, in order to bewail their losses or to prepare revenge, into the shelter of more distant mountains. The season was already somewhat advanced,

[1] Tacit. in Vita Agricol. c. xxxiii. xxxiv. [2] Ibid. c. xxxv.–xxxvii.

and Agricola therefore thought it expedient to seek for winter quarters in a richer and more temperate part of his province. He returned southward, having given instructions to his army to proceed with slow marches and in good order through the intermediate country, that the natives might observe their strength was still unbroken and their discipline unimpaired.[1] A. D. 84.

Meanwhile, he gave directions to the commander of his fleet to sail round the island, in order to determine its extent, and, at the same time, to obtain direct evidence that Britain did not, at its northern point, connect itself with any other land. The success of the German cohort, the fame of whose achievement had already reached his ears, is said to have induced Agricola to employ his ships in this voyage of discovery, an undertaking which was accomplished not only without loss, but even with the most happy and prosperous results. The præfect, after circumnavigating the tempestuous shores of Caledonia, and acquainting himself with the position of the Orkney islands, and even with that of the remote Thule, directed his course towards the southern parts of Britain, where he arrived in safety before the approach of winter. He landed, says Tacitus, at the port of Trutula, a haven which the industry of historians and geographers has in vain laboured to ascertain. Circumnavigation of Britain.

Tacitus, who is our principal authority for this voyage, as well as for the marches and battles of Agricola himself on land, had so imperfect an idea of the geographical position of the several places which he either names or describes, that few points in history are more difficult to trace than the path of the Romans in the northern division of our island, or to come to a satisfactory conclusion with regard to the locality of the most celebrated occurrences which have immortalized the progress of their arms. For example, the most indefatigable of our antiquaries have not been able to fix the scene of the memorable combat in which Agricola defeated Galgacus, or the spot whereon he pitched his camp during the winter which intervened between his sixth and seventh campaigns. Were it not that the historian describes the line of the Roman general's march in the commencement of his operations beyond the Forth, we should be tempted to imagine that the battle of the Grampians took place somewhere near the western coast of Scotland, and that the fleet which accompanied the movements of the army had sailed, not from the Thames or the Humber, but from the Mersey, or from the ports of Anglesea and Wales.[2] Topographical difficulties.

This conclusion derives some countenance from the details of the voyage performed by the runaway cohort. They are described as sailing northward, along the coast, till they reached the extremity of the island; they then turned their faces in the opposite direction, bore down to a lower latitude, and were at length driven ashore in

[1] Tacit. in Vita Agricol. c. xxxviii. [2] Ibid. *ubi supra*, c. xxv.

A. D. 84. the country of the Suevi, a German tribe.[1] Had they sailed from any port on the eastern shores of Caledonia, and in their progress northward entered the Pentland Firth, they would have reached land, either in one of the Hebrides or in the north of Ireland, but could not by any hazard have touched on the coast of Germany, where they, in fact, terminated their wanderings. We arrive at the same result from studying the particulars recorded by Tacitus respecting the voyage of discovery undertaken by the orders of Agricola. The præfect, after sailing northward round the island, arrived at a port near the mouth of the Thames, a result which unavoidably suggests and confirms the opinion that he must have commenced his expedition somewhere on the western coast of Scotland; for had he started from the opposite coast, and circumnavigated the northern shores, he would most probably have finished his voyage in the river Mersey, or in some one of the Welsh harbours.[2]

Obscurity as to the country of the Horestii.

Connected with these difficulties, a similar obscurity prevails in regard to the country of the Horestii, through which the legions returned after their victory over Galgacus. Camden, Lipsius, Ernesti, and the greater number of commentators, place it on the southern banks of the Clyde, in a district known in modern times by the name of Eskdale; while Pinkerton and other geographers produce very plausible reasons for preferring the northern shores of the Forth, and for fixing on a tract of land between that river and the Tay. The former of these conjectures strengthens the notion that the scene of the hostilities carried on between Agricola and Galgacus was on the western coast of Scotland: the latter, of course, corroborates the more general opinion that the arms of Rome achieved their final triumph over British independence in the neighbourhood of the lofty mountains which separate the counties of Forfar and Aberdeen. But on neither side will the arguments bear a minute examination or lead to a satisfactory result.[3]

It has been inferred from an expression used by Juvenal that the conquests of Agricola did not remain long undisturbed after his recall to Rome. The poet alludes to a war in Britain carried on against the Romans by a king named Arviragus; but the allusion, perhaps, is too vague to warrant an historical conclusion.[4]

The victorious general sent to Domitianus an account of his success, expressed in the most unassuming language, being aware of the jealous feeling which continued to lurk in the breast of the emperor

[1] Tacit. *ubi supra*, c. xxviii. [2] Ibid. c. xxviii.

[3] We must not neglect to state that Sanson, in his Description de l'Empire Romain, &c., places the field of battle in which Galgacus was defeated in the Grampians, near the source of the Tay; and assigns to the Horestii the country northward of that river, now called Forfar or Angus.

[4] Juvenal. Sat. vi. v. 127 :—

——— aut de temone Britanno
Excidit Arviragus.

wherever military glory was concerned. The fame of Agricola, notwithstanding, is thought to have disturbed the self-complacency of his master, who could not conceal from himself that the mock triumphs of the Danube were everywhere silently contrasted with the reality of the splendid achievements performed in the British province. He gave orders, however, that the honours now usually conferred upon a successful commander should be decreed to Agricola, whose presence at Rome he forthwith demanded, under the pretext of intrusting him with still more important duties. But this ungenerous ruler never forgave his warlike lieutenant the eminence to which he had attained by his important services; and the latter, contented with an honourable privacy, spent the residue of his years in the capital, without aspiring to any public employment.[1]

A. D. 84.

Recall of Agricola. A. D. 84.

The domestic administration of Domitianus assumed, as it drew towards its close, a deeper tinge of malignity. His cruelties and avarice exhausted, from time to time, the patience of the tributary states which owned allegiance to his government, and drove them to the use of arms. The turbulent barbarians, too, who claimed the fertile plains on either side of the Ister, compelled him, in several instances, to take the field in defence of the empire, and to retire from it as often with very doubtful success. We have already mentioned the revolt of Antonius, who commanded in upper Germany, and the victory gained over him by Lucius Maximus. It is worthy of notice that the conqueror, on that occasion, burnt all the papers which he found amongst the baggage of Antonius, with the view of precluding, on the part of the emperor, the numerous prosecutions which would otherwise have been directed against men of the greatest integrity, on the ground of frivolous suspicions arising from a casual correspondence. But the fear and anger of Domitianus supplied the want of direct information. He let loose his fury against all who could be conceived to have any motive for wishing a change of government, or even the least knowledge of the designs which were entertained by Antonius. Nor did their death satisfy his cruelty. He invented the severest torments that could be devised, and spared no sort of punishment which combined exquisite suffering with the prolongation of life. The possession of wealth or of family honours was accounted a crime, and personal virtues were sure to be rewarded with a violent death. Slaves were hired to impeach their masters, and freedmen their patrons; while those who had no enemy to accuse them, found their very friends converted into the instruments of their destruction.[2]

A. D. 91.

Tyranny of the emperor.

At length even his nearest relations began to tremble for their safety; and, actuated by the feeling of self-preservation, determined to deliver the world from the horrors and cruelty which had so long disgraced the palace of the Cæsars. A conspiracy was formed in

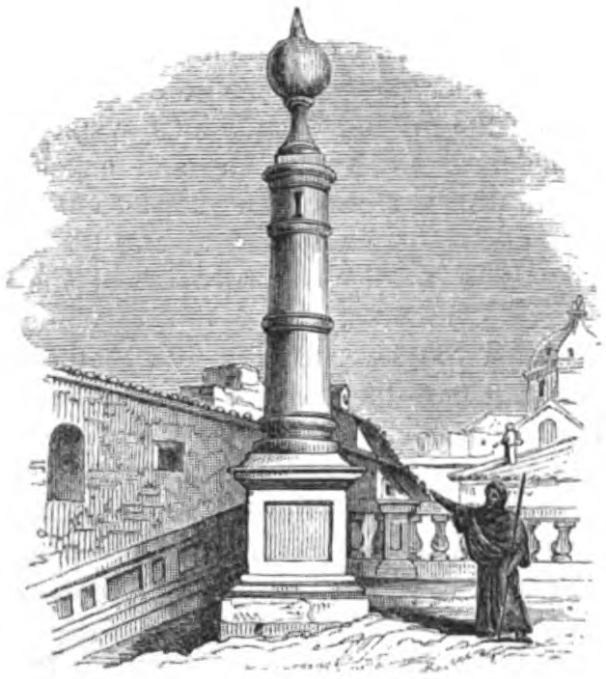
[1] Tacit. Agricol. c. xxxix. xlii. xliv.

[2] Ibid. Hist. lib. i. c. ii.

A. D. 96. which his wife is said to have participated. Nearly all the officers of the imperial establishment were privy to the intended murder; and finding themselves secure, owing to the number of their confederates, they postponed the execution of their design until they gained the concurrence of Nerva, who had been exiled to Tarentum, and whom they wished to place on the throne when it should be vacant. On

Assassination of Domitianus. A. D. 96.

the 18th of September, A. D. 96, Domitianus was despatched by the dagger of Stephanus, one of the ministers of the palace, who obtained admittance into his bed-closet under pretext of urgent business. The emperor's body was saved from the indignities with which it was menaced by the affection of his nurse, who contrived to have it privately removed and buried in the country, at a family villa near the Latin way. Afterwards, she conveyed his ashes to the Flavian Temple, where she mixed them with those of Julia, the daughter of Titus, to whose infancy she had likewise discharged the duties of a mother. But the statues and pictures which fear or courtly adulation had erected to him were immediately pulled down and trampled under foot; and to this posthumous revenge the senators added an expression of their indignation and resentment, which they were aware could only be partially realized. They issued a decree that the name of Domitianus should be immediately struck out of the Roman annals, and obliterated from every public monument.



Column Milliare.



Nerva.

CHAPTER IV.

NERVA.

FROM A. D. 96 TO 98.

THE Flavian family, which expired with Domitianus, left the throne of Augustus to the descendant of a Cretan colonist. The ancestors of Nerva, who occupied a respectable rank at Rome, were repeatedly dignified with the consular authority, and admitted to the confidence of several successive emperors. He himself, was born at Narni, in Umbria, and rose at an early period of life to employments in the capital, worthy of his talents and the integrity of his principles. He was found deserving, in the reign of Nero, of the triumphal ornaments which were at that time usually conferred upon distinguished military services, and even of a statue in the palace, a still more unambiguous proof of personal favour and esteem. Pliny and Martial agree in ascribing to him a taste for poetry, which accomplishment is said to have recommended him to the protection of Nero, who was never altogether insensible to the charms of the Muses, even while indulging in sensuality and bloodshed.[1] A. D. 96. Lineage of Nerva.

It has been already stated that the conspirators against Domitianus, before the execution of their plot, had procured the consent of Nerva to succeed him in the government. The latter was accordingly proclaimed emperor on the same day that the tyrant was destroyed, namely, the eighteenth day of September, A. D. 96.

[1] Aur. Victor, et Vict. Epit.; Eutrop. Hist.; Dion Cassius, lib. lxvii. lxviii.; Tacit. Ann. lib. xv. c. lxxii.

A. D. 96. Difficulties of his situation.

The sovereign who ascends a throne which has been rendered vacant by rebellion and murder, has always a difficult part to perform. He finds his partisans dyed with blood and pursued by a multitude of avengers, who, either from regret and compassion towards the assassinated prince, or from envy at the success of a conspiracy in which they had no share, are found eager in their endeavours to weaken the authority of the new government, and to punish the crime from which it derived its origin.

Nerva had the misfortune to see himself surrounded with these difficulties and dangers. His principal supporters were Petronius Secundus, commander of the prætorian guards, whose influence with that powerful body of troops appears to have been the instrument employed for securing their connivance at the death of the late emperor. Parthenius, the chamberlain, likewise contributed the assistance of his weight and popularity to give credit to the new dynasty, and to gain in its favour the suffrages of the people. The senators, indeed, required no solicitations to adopt the interests of Nerva, whom they justly regarded as being as much the friend of their order as Domitianus had been its constant and deadly enemy.

Disaffection of the military.

But the hostile spirit of the army was only suppressed, not subdued. Since the accession of Vitellius, they had learned to regard no election valid which did not obtain their approbation, or purchase their fidelity; and besides Domitianus, who relied upon their affection, had left no means unemployed to bind them more and more firmly to his interests. For these reasons there was much ground to apprehend that the reign of Nerva would neither be long nor tranquil. We are told, accordingly, that Arius Antonius, grandfather to one of the emperors of that name, when congratulating the aged monarch on his high preferment, assured him that the satisfaction which every good Roman felt at the recent change had reference to the welfare of the empire rather than the personal comfort of the meritorious chief who was called to preside over its destinies. He reminded him that he had relinquished the tranquillity of a private condition for an office in which he would be exposed to contention, fatigue, and danger, wherein his life would be aimed at by the arm of treason, and his reputation, which had never yet received a stain, would be assailed by calumny and misrepresentation. He alluded to the uneasiness which would arise from the stratagems of his enemies, and from the insatiable demands and expectations of his friends, whom it would not be in his power to satisfy without injuring the public welfare, nor to refuse without converting their zeal into hatred.[1]

Mild government.

The beginning of Nerva's administration, according to Tacitus, proved that the exercise of sovereign power is not incompatible either with the liberty or the happiness of the people. The Romans were the more delighted with his mild and equitable government, because

[1] Victor, in Ner. Capit. T. Anton.

they had just escaped from the fiercest and most degrading tyranny ever supported by military despotism; and while they enjoyed the peace and security which the personal virtues of their ruler promised to render permanent, they willingly shut their eyes to the evils which his easy and timid disposition was not less likely to produce.[1] A. D. 96.

Recalls exiles and restores their property.

His first cares were employed in providing a remedy for the evils created by the suspicions and cruelty of Domitianus. He began by annulling all the laws relating to high treason, a crime so extremely vague and undefined, that prosecutions for it had at once become the principal instrument of tyranny and the terror of every man above the rank of a common soldier. He recalled, in like manner, the numerous exiles who had been driven from Rome during the latter years of his predecessor, and restored to them the estates and honours of which they were most unjustly deprived. Among these sufferers, the public eye was glad to recognise the determined patriot Arulænus Rusticus, Arria the widow of Thrasea, and the mother-in-law of Helvidius Priscus, the victim of imperial rage. Unwilling that any class of men should continue to feel the pressure of the former despotism, he made haste to extend relief to the Christians, who at that period, under the name of Jews, were exposed to very severe penalties as enemies to the faith and constitution of Rome. On this occasion, if we follow the authority of Eusebius, the apostle St. John was delivered from his banishment in Patmos, and allowed to resume at Ephesus the high duties of his divine commission.[2]

Enacts good laws.

To prevent such evils in future, he enacted severe laws against informers and public accusers; and in order to deter from this odious crime by an example of just severity, he gave orders to put to death all the slaves and freedmen whose evidence had been employed to condemn their masters. It was in like manner established by an imperial ordinance, that no person in servile condition, or who had risen from the condition of slavery, should be listened to in a court of justice against his owner or patron. Nor was his reformation confined to matters of judicial procedure. He repealed a law introduced by Augustus, which imposed a heavy duty on all successions and inheritances, except in cases of extreme poverty or the nearest degree of relationship. This tax, which amounted to a twentieth part of the whole property, was found excessively burdensome and disagreeable, for the exemption founded on proximity of kindred was in practice restricted to the ancient class of citizens, who thereby became entitled to an immunity which could not but wound the pride of all the more recent families. Nerva put an end at once to these distinctions, and prepared the way for the final abolition, by the emperor Trajan, of the financial expedient on which they were founded.[3]

[1] Tacit. in Vita Agricol. c. iii.; Plin. Epist. lib. ix. ep. 13.
[2] Dion Cassius, lib. lxviii.; Eusebii Chron. lib. iii. c. xx.
[3] Dion Cassius, lib. lv.; Plin. Paneg. c. lxvii. lxviii.

A. D. 96. His clemency.

The younger Pliny, who came into power during this reign, has related many particulars concerning Nerva, which, though they would better serve for illustrating a biographical memoir than for aiding the more extended views of general history, are yet not altogether undeserving of notice. Such anecdotes lay open the character of his administration, and admit the reader to a fuller knowledge of its principles than could be derived from the most minute survey of his foreign policy, or from the distribution of his armies in Europe and Asia. For example, we find that neither a feeling of resentment nor even the sense of justice could induce this lenient sovereign to dip his hands in the blood of a senator. It is related that when Helvidius Priscus was denounced by Domitianus, an ancient prætor, named Publicius Certus, showed himself so willing a minister of tyranny, that he rudely laid hands upon the accused and assisted in dragging him to prison. Pliny, desirous to avenge the cause of virtue and of public decency, resolved to attack Certus in the senate-house, and demand a condign punishment. The eloquence of the philosopher was opposed at first by the caution of his hearers, who dreaded a renewal of the proscriptions and other evils from which they had so lately obtained deliverance; but he succeeded at length in rousing their indignation against the odious crimes with which Certus stood charged, and was about to receive an unanimous verdict expressive of his guilt, when the consul adjourned the meeting.[1]

Nerva could not be prevailed upon to allow the matter to proceed further, or to be brought again before the senate, contenting himself with depriving Certus of the consulate for which he had been designed by his patron Domitianus.

His clemency censured.

This facility was not allowed to pass without censure, by those especially who listened with greater readiness to the voice of their passions than to the dictates of prudence. Pliny informs us that Junius Mauricus, a senator who had been banished by Domitianus, was after his return invited to an entertainment at the table of Nerva, where he had the mortification to meet one of his bitterest enemies, Fabricius Vejento, a vile and subservient tool in the hand of tyranny. The conversation happened to turn upon Catullus Messalinus, a person whose memory was detested by every one, on account of his activity in the odious trade of a public accuser, as well as for the bloody measures which he was always the first to propose in the senate. There was no one present who did not express abhorrence and contempt against so hateful a character; upon which Nerva addressed himself to the company and said, "What do you think would become of him were he alive now?" "He would be at dinner with us," replied Mauricus.[2]

The same spirit is breathed in the following stricture made by

[1] Dion Cassius, lib. lxviii.; Plin. Epist. lib. ix. ep. 13, &c.

[2] Plin. Epist. lib. iv. ep. 22; Vict. Epit.

Marcus Julius Fronto, a man of consular authority, who, observing certain symptoms of confusion and distrust arising from the passive temper of the aged prince, could not refrain from saying, "It is without doubt a great calamity to be under a sovereign who does not permit anybody to do anything, but it is not much better to be under one who allows everybody to do what he pleases."[1] A. D. 96.

Apology for it.

The disorder in which he found the empire is the best apology for the undue forbearance with which Nerva has been charged. He was desirous that the appetite for sanguinary punishment should no longer disgrace the Romans, and for this humane purpose he refused to gratify the vindictive feelings of those who had even just grounds of complaint. The motives which distinguished the character of his government are recorded in an edict preserved by Pliny, in which he declares that he had uniformly preferred the public good to his own repose, and that his object in accepting the imperial authority was, not to deprive the people of their privileges, but to acquire the power of confirming whatever they possessed, and to add to the benefactions granted by former emperors new favours originating with himself. He requested that no one should imagine his possessions to be in danger, because they were connected with the memory of a prince justly odious to the Roman name; since he had no intention of resuming any grant made by his predecessor, merely that he might have the merit of bestowing it a second time. "The happiness of no one shall be diminished," said he, "by the necessity of approaching the throne with entreaties. It is my business to give; let every one who is in want, or has claims upon my liberality, make his case known without fear or hesitation."[2]

His liberality.

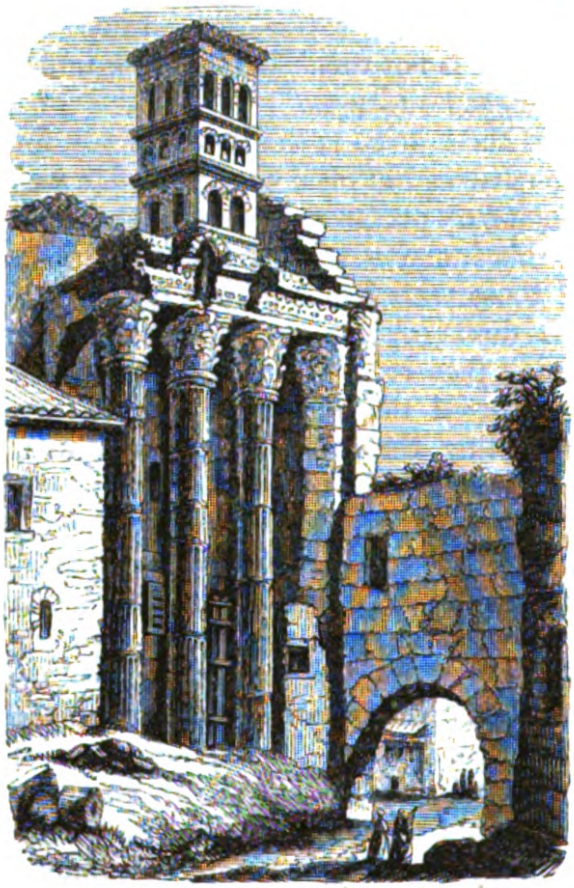
Nor did these prove empty words on the part of the emperor. On the contrary, his actions in all circumstances vouched the sincerity of his professions and the goodness of his heart. To place poor citizens in a more independent condition than they had enjoyed since the days of Augustus, he expended large sums of money in the purchase of lands, which he divided among the most deserving. He likewise provided for the maintenance and education of orphan children, throughout all the provinces of Italy; he extended his benevolence to the several towns which had suffered from disease or accident; and relieved from vindictive taxation those cities which had incurred the displeasure of Domitianus.[3]

His economy.

These generous actions were not more meritorious than the means which he used to enable him to perform them. He requested that a commission might be appointed by the senate to examine into the expenses of the government, and that all possible retrenchments might be made in the outlay and scale of his own household. He reduced his personal expenditure to the narrowest limits; disposed of jewels

[1] Dion Cassius, lib. lxviii. [2] Plin. Epist. lib. x. ep. 66.
[3] Dion Cassius, lib. lxviii.; Plin. Epist. lib. vii. ep. 31, and Paneg. Trajan.

A. D. 96. and other ornaments which he regarded as unnecessary for imperial state; and even sold a portion of his paternal lands, in order to meet the claims on his liberality which he himself had created.[1] Whilst thus, however, exercising justice in unison with individual and national economy, Nerva did not omit to carry out, to a considerable extent, the judicious designs of Titus and Vespasian, by encouraging the embellishment of the imperial capital. He completed the Basilica which had been built by his predecessor Domitianus; a noble structure which was still further ornamented by Alexander Severus.



Basilica of Nerva.
Overbeke, Les Restes de l'Ancienne Rome.

The pattern which he kept constantly before his eyes was the mild and equitable administration of Titus. Like that merciful prince, he solemnly swore that he never would put a senator to death; a restriction on his prerogative to which the vindictive mind of Domitianus would never submit. So faithfully did Nerva adhere to this resolution, that when Calpurnius Crassus, with some other members of the senate, conspired against him, he would not allow the laws to be enforced and their crime to be punished. The remonstrances of the senate, who, with one voice, blamed his clemency as injudicious and dangerous, could not urge him to give his consent to a measure more severe than the banishment of Crassus to Tarentum.[2]

Justice and moderation.

But in all other cases, in which the guilt of the parties did not so immediately affect his own interest and feelings, Nerva administered justice with equal impartiality and discernment. Indeed, the knowledge of law was in some degree hereditary in his family, which for several generations could boast of the greatest civilians that appeared in Rome. In a word, it was the unceasing endeavour of this good monarch, so to discharge the duties of his high office as that he might at any time, either render an account of all the proceedings to which he had given his sanction, or return to a private station without

[1] Plin. Paneg. c. lxii. [2] Dion Cassius, lib. lxviii.; Vict. Epit.

reproach, regret, or apprehension. It has been remarked, too, that he never laid aside the modesty which became his earlier fortunes; constantly refusing the honours which the persons who surrounded his throne were ever seeking to lavish upon the rank to which he had been elevated. He permitted no statues to be erected to him, either of gold or of silver; and so far, says Dion Cassius, was he from wishing to be exalted above other men, that he spent all the days of his short reign in labouring to raise the virtuous almost to an equality with himself.[1] A. D. 97.

The historians of this reign confine their reprehension to a single act, the recall of the pantomimes or actors of low comedy, whose performances, it would appear, were highly acceptable to the people of Rome. Pliny blames with great gentleness the facility of Nerva, which, on this occasion, made him yield to the entreaties of the multitude; insinuating, at the same time, as the ground of an apology, the remarkable fact, that the discontinuance of the amusement in question, the only good thing which Domitianus had done, was held by the citizens as an intolerable stretch of power, merely because it was effected by the authority of a prince so excessively unpopular.[2] History of Virginius.

The fortunes of the celebrated Virginius, a character worthy of Nerva's patriotic government, constitute an agreeable episode in the brief annals of the latter. History has not preserved any account of the distinguished general just named, from the time that he refused the empire, on the defeat of Vindex, till he was honoured with a third consulship, during the reign of the successor of Domitianus. Pliny, to whose early years he had discharged the duty of guardian, speaks of him with enthusiasm and affection; assuring his readers, that the modesty of his conversation was only equalled by the fame of his exploits. He adds, that he never but on one occasion heard him mention the circumstance of his declining supreme power; and then he was compelled to speak of it, by a reference which was made to the propriety of his motives. A certain historian, who had introduced into his pages a minute narrative of that occurrence, apologized to Virginius for the freedom he had used in weighing the merits of his conduct, when he rejected the high preferment offered to him by the victorious legions. "Know you not," replied the veteran, "that in the emergency to which you refer, I did what I did in such a manner that you writers might be free to speak of it in any way you chose!"[3]

The virtues of this great soldier conferred upon him immortality while he was yet alive. He survived the complete establishment of his fame more than thirty years; he read the history of his exploits in the annals, and even in the poetry, of his generation; and thus, exclaims Pliny, he mingled with a grateful and admiring posterity, His contemporary reputation.

[1] Dion Cassius, *ubi supra.* [2] Plin. Paneg. c. xlvi.
[3] Dion Cassius, lib. lxviii.; Plin. Epist. lib. ix. ep. 19.

A. D. 97. and enjoyed, beforehand, a posthumous glory. He died in his third consulate, while Nerva was yet on the throne; and his memory was honoured with a public funeral, and every other expression of esteem and regard. The same good fortune, says his friend, which accompanied him through life did not forsake him at his death; the oration over his grave being pronounced by Caius Cornelius Tacitus, at that time consul, and one of the greatest scholars and most splendid speakers of his age.

His epitaph. Virginius wrote his own epitaph which Pliny found at Alsium, a country residence in which the warrior spent the latter part of his life, and which was afterwards occupied by the mother-in-law of the panegyrist. It was expressed in these words:—"Here lies Rufus; who on the defeat of Vindex, asserted the empire; not for himself, but his country."[1] As the modesty of such personal appeals to the applause of posterity is extremely questionable, the curious reader may be pleased to turn to the opinions of two very ingenious writers on this subject, recorded by Pliny.[2]

Mutiny of the prætorians. The peaceful reign of Nerva could not prove agreeable to the rapacious and turbulent prætorians. The plunder and increased pay which they enjoyed under the bloody rule of Domitianus, made them at first regret the death of that emperor, and afterwards carried them to the resolution of taking revenge upon his murderers. They were incited to this seditious measure by Casperius Ælianus, a præfect of that order; who, conducting their steps to the palace, taught them to demand, from the timid and placid Nerva, the authors of the revolution by which he had been raised to the throne. Finding remonstrance vain, he was at length compelled to deliver up to their fury the victims whom they named. Petronius Secundus, their own general, fell under their swords almost at the very moment in which he left the palace; but it pleased them to take away the life of Parthenius, the chamberlain, by slower and more exquisite sufferings. The guards completed their treason by forcing the emperor to sanction the atrocities which they had committed, and even to inform the citizens that the soldiers had acted by his authority and under his command.[3]

This violent proceeding convinced Nerva, that his feeble arm was not competent, alone, to guide the helm of affairs amidst the storms which threatened to arise. Sensible that he stood in need of support, he looked for a coadjutor, not among his relations or personal friends, but to a man of consummate talent and tried integrity. He resolved to adopt Trajan as his son, and place him by his side on the throne; a measure which at once checked the spirit of insurrection, and

[1] Hic situs est Rufus, pulso qui Vindice quondam,
Imperium asseruit, non sibi sed, patriæ.

[2] Plin. Epist. lib. vi. ep. 10; lib. ix. ep. 19.

[3] Dion Cassius, lib. lxviii.; Vict. Epit.; Plin. Paneg. c. v. vi.

secured for the Roman world some happy years of prosperity and repose. A. D. 97.

Adoption of Trajan.

It happened, that while his plans for this patriotic object were advancing towards maturity, news arrived that the army in Pannonia had gained a signal advantage over the barbarians, who, from time to time, menaced the tranquillity of the frontiers. Nerva availed himself of this opportunity to make his design known to the people; and having ascended to the Capitol, to deposit in the temple of Jupiter the branch of laurel which had been sent to him as a token of victory, he addressed the assembled multitude, and informed them that Trajan, then commanding an army on the Rhine, had been selected by him as his son and heir. He next proceeded to the senate-house, and ratified the act of adoption; conferring upon the future emperor the title of Cæsar, with the honourable addition of Germanicus, which he himself had just assumed.

Good effects of this measure.

This wise and popular step suppressed the rising hopes of sedition, and, at the same time, avenged the insulted majesty of the empire. The vigour and decision of Trajan's character gave hope to the good, and inspired the bad with apprehension; and it is said, that Nerva, gentle and forgiving as he had approved himself, charged his successor with the duty of punishing the violence which had been inflicted upon him by Casperius and his mutinous prætorians. The old emperor is represented as having used on this occasion the well-known verse of Homer, in which the priest of Apollo entreats his god not to forget the injuries which he had sustained at the hands of the Greeks:—

May the Greeks pay for my tears with thine arrows.[1]

Trajan admitted the justice and expediency of this appeal, and visited with death, or exile, the cruel constraint of which his patron complained.

Death of Nerva.

The subsequent part of Nerva's reign presents no occurrence which historians have deemed worthy of being handed down to posterity. He appears to have committed the burden of affairs to the more energetic wisdom and zeal of Trajan; claiming for his own age and infirmities the repose to which his services entitled him, and which he now valued more than ever. He died in the beginning of the year A.D. 98, having reigned a little more than sixteen months. His age has been variously estimated; but the best authorities concur in assigning him about seventy-two years.[2] His body was conveyed by the senate to the tomb of Augustus, and his spirit, according to the tenets of his country, was consoled with an apotheosis.[3] The grati-

[1] Τίσειαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα σοῖσι βέλεσσιν.—Hom. Iliad, lib. i. v. 42.

[2] Dion Cassius, lib. lxviii.; Eutrop. in Nerv.; Euseb. Chron.

[3] In the Greek kingdoms, observes an excellent authority, which arose in the east on the dismemberment of the empire of Alexander, it does not appear to have been uncommon for the successor to the throne to have offered divine honours to the former sovereign. Such an apotheosis of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, is described by Theocritus in his seventeenth Idyl. [The

A. D. 98. tude of the Romans was due to him for many acts of benevolence and humanity; but his greatest merit, says Pliny, was his choice of Trajan to succeed him in the empire.[1]

The term Apotheosis, among the Romans, properly signified the elevation of a deceased emperor to divine honours. This practice, which was common upon the death of almost all the emperors, appears to have arisen from the opinion, which was generally entertained among the Romans, that the souls or manes of their ancestors became deities; and as it was common for children to worship the souls or manes of their fathers, so it was natural for divine honours to be publicly paid to a deceased emperor, who was regarded as the parent of his country. This Apotheosis of an emperor was usually called *consecratio*; and the emperor who received the honours of an apothesis, was said *in deorum numerum referri*; or *consecrari*. In the earliest times Romulus is said to have been admitted to divine honours under the name of Quirinus (Plut. Rom. 27, 28; Liv. i. 16; Cic. de Rep. ii. 10); but none of the other Roman kings appears to have received this honour, and in the republican times we also read of no instance of an apotheosis. Julius Cæsar was deified after his death, and games were instituted to his honour by Augustus (Suet. Jul. Cæsar, 88), and the example thus set was followed by many of the other emperors.—Smith's 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities.'—*Arctic 'Apotheosis.'*

[1] Plin. Paneg. c. x.



Forum of Nerva. *Venuti, Antichita di Roma.*



Trajan. *Visconti, Iconographie Romana.*

CHAPTER V.

M. ULPIUS TRAJANUS CRINITUS.

FROM A. D. 98 TO 117.

BETWEEN the close of the reign of Augustus Cæsar and the accession of Trajanus, there elapsed a period of eighty-four years. During this period the Roman empire, notwithstanding the crimes of almost all its sovereigns, and the disturbances to which it had been occasionally exposed, had consolidated its widely-scattered possessions, and its different provinces had learned to consider themselves as members of one great body. It was well prepared to feel the full blessing of an able and upright government, and such a blessing it was now going to experience for a term of equal length with the period of tyranny which had preceded it. The first eighty years, then, of the second century of the Christian æra may be regarded as the prime of manhood in the Roman empire, during which its excellences were most fully developed, while at the same time there were visible, even then, those evils which threw so dark a shade over its decline and fall. It is of this period that we wish to offer, not a picture, but such a sketch as our imperfect information will enable us to execute; connecting it with those particulars which we formerly gave of the state of the empire under Augustus, in order to show more clearly the changes which it had undergone since the first establishment of the imperial government. A. D. 98.

A. D. 98. The reign of Trajanus is in one respect peculiarly well fitted to be made the occasion of such a survey, as we are absolutely unable to offer a detailed account of its events. A few pages of an abridgment of the original history of Dion Cassius, and a few lines of Eutropius and Aurelius Victor, are all that we possess in the shape of a direct historical narrative of it. Of these scanty materials, by far the greatest part relates to the military expeditions of the emperor, and to those conquests of which he himself lived long enough to see the instability,—and which his successor quietly abandoned. It were indeed a waste of our own time and that of our readers to dwell upon the events of the Dacian war, or the triumphs of Trajanus over the Parthians and Armenians. Unprofitable as is the detail of almost every war, there is none more utterly worthless than that which relates to the contest between a civilized and a barbarian people,—which repeats the story of fancied provocations, of easy victories, and of sweeping conquests. Yet if we exclude the military operations of Trajanus from our account of his life, his historians and biographers furnish us with scarcely any materials. We shall first, therefore, give only a mere outline of the events of his reign in chronological order, and then, adopting a different arrangement, we shall regard the nature of the facts related, rather than the time of their occurrence.

Accession of Trajanus. August, A. D. 98.

At the moment of Nerva's death, Trajanus was still with the army in Germany.[1] He had been named consul the second time for that year, together with the emperor; and as Nerva died about the 27th of January,[2] almost the whole term of his consulship remained unexpired when he succeeded to the sovereignty of the empire. He did not return to Rome till the beginning of the following year, having passed his consulship in Germany, where he was employed in confirming discipline among the soldiers, and in the civil administration of those important provinces. A third consulship was offered him as soon as his second was expired; as the emperors usually marked the first year of their reign by receiving that title and office; but Trajanus positively refused it. On his way home from Germany, he travelled in the most quiet and moderate manner;[3] his attendants were restrained from committing those excesses upon the persons and property of the people who lived near the line of his journey, which it seems were commonly practised by the train of the emperors. The expenses of his table were defrayed by the inhabitants of the provinces through which he travelled, according to the constant practice of the Roman magistrates; but this tax of purveyance, which the sovereigns of modern Europe exercised after the example of the Romans, was imposed by Trajanus with great

[1] Pliny, Panegyric. 9, 56, 59; Sex. Aurel. Victor, in Trajano.
[2] Compare Suetonius, Domitian. c. xvii., and Dion Cassius, lib. lxviii. p. 771.
[3] Pliny, Panegyric. 20.

moderation; and he could not forbear publishing a statement of the sums demanded by himself, contrasted with those which Domitianus had exacted, when he returned to Rome from the same part of the empire. His entrance into his capital[1] was in a similar spirit. Instead of being borne on a litter, according to the practice of former emperors, it was remarked, that he walked behind his lictors, surrounded not by guards, but by the flower of the senate and the equestrian order; and that he bore with patience the frequent interruptions to his progress occasioned by the eagerness of the multitude thronging to behold him. He ascended the Capitol to offer his prayers in the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter,—on the same spot whereon Nerva, a short time before, had solemnly adopted him as his son and successor in the empire. Thence he retired to the palace, which he entered in the same unostentatious manner that had marked his behaviour through the day. It is added by Dion Cassius,[2] that his wife Plotina had displayed a like temper when she first entered the imperial residence; for she stopped on the steps, and, turning round to the multitude, said aloud, "I go into this house with the same mind that I should wish to bear in leaving it." A. D. 98.

First measures of his government.

The popularity which Trajanus had gained by his former character, and by this fair commencement of his reign, was confirmed by some of his earliest measures, when he took into his hands the administration of government. His justice and firmness, his liberality, and his regard for the public morals, are all made the theme of his panegyrist's admiration. Casperius Ælianus,[3] the præfect of the prætorian guards, who had headed a mutiny of his soldiers in the reign of Nerva, and obliged the emperor to give up to their vengeance the assassins of Domitianus, had been sent for by Trajanus, previously to his entrance into Rome, and had been put to death. The delators, or informers, a race of men as numerous under the tyranny of the Roman emperors as ever the sycophants had been under that of the Athenian democracy, were banished to different islands, and their property confiscated; and, if we may interpret literally the language of Pliny's 'Panegyric,' they were sent off to their respective places of exile with so little delay, that the ships which carried them were obliged to put to sea before the end of the winter season, and the people enjoyed the thought that some of them were likely to perish on their voyage. On the other hand, the liberality of Trajanus was shown both by that which he gave, and by that which he resigned. The donative to the soldiers, and the 'congiarium,' or largess to the people, as well as the shows of the circus, which he exhibited on his accession, were so much in accordance with the common practice of other emperors, that they do not deserve any particular notice. But he obtained a peculiar and well-earned glory,

[1] Pliny, Panegyric. 22, *et seq.* [2] Lib. lxviii. p. 771, edit. Leunclav.
[3] Dion Cassius, lxviii. p. 771.

A. D. 98. by providing for the maintenance of nearly five thousand children of free parents,[1] in the different cities of Italy; and the example which he thus set was imitated by private individuals, as Pliny mentions[2] that he had settled an annual income of 300,000 sestertii on the town of Comum, for the maintenance of free-born children. The object of these liberalities was to encourage population amongst the free inhabitants of Italy; and there can be no better proof of the general corruption of manners, than that any such encouragement should have been needed. With these acts of munificence was combined, at the same time, the modification of one of the most obnoxious, but most productive taxes,[3] the duty of five per cent. which was levied on all legacies, and even on the successions of the nearest relations, when entered upon by persons who had become citizens of Rome otherwise than by the right of birth. By the decree of Trajanus, those nearest in consanguinity, whether in the direct or collateral line, were exempted altogether from this tax; and no person whatever was liable to it, if the property to which he had succeeded was below a certain value. And while he provided for the future, he endeavoured also to remedy the oppressions of past reigns, by enacting that no arrears should be demanded in those cases in which the parties would be exempted for the future, under the law as now mitigated. But besides the direct taxes, the public treasury and the imperial fiscus had been long enriched by the irregular exactions of the officers of the government, and by the frequent confiscations of the property of individuals condemned under the imperial law of treasons. The first of these sources of unjust gain Trajanus stopped, by allowing justice to take its free course, and leaving the officers of the revenue to the punishments of the laws, if they exceeded the limits of their lawful authority; the other was destroyed by the banishment of the delators, and by the discouragement shown to all prosecutions for treasons, and particularly to the informations of slaves against their masters. These deductions from the revenue were made up for, partly by a severe economy, and partly by the sale of a great number of lands and villas,[4] which the rapacity and tyranny of former emperors had annexed to the imperial demesnes. By these means, Trajanus was enabled to promote the execution of many public works in different parts of the empire, and to add to the magnificence of Rome, and to the comforts or pleasures of its inhabitants, by completing the forum[5] which Domitianus had begun, and by erecting or finishing several other buildings, a circus, some temples, and a colonnade or porticus. But while thus gratifying some of the prevailing tastes of the people, there were others which he strove to repress as became him. The exhibition of the panto-

[1] Pliny, Panegyric. 26, 28.
[2] Epist. vii. 18.
[3] Pliny, Panegyric. 37.
[4] Ibid. 36.
[5] Sex. Aurel. Victor, de Cæsaribus in Trajano; Pliny, Panegyric. 51.

mimes was prohibited;[1] an entertainment very different from that which is now known by the same name, and an outrage upon all decency, more shameless than anything to be found in the obscurest scenes of profligacy in the capitals of modern Europe. According to Pliny, this prohibition was highly popular; and so it was, doubtless, with the most respectable part of the community: but there was always a vast multitude at Rome who forgave the cruelties of the most tyrannical emperors, in consideration of their toleration of licentiousness, and to whom no government was so unwelcome, as that which attempted a reformation of popular vice. A. D. 98.

The Dacian war. A. D. 101.

But whatever were the virtues of Trajanus, he had not learnt to appreciate the misery and wickedness of war, nor to shrink with disgust from the reputation of a conqueror. Since the reign of Augustus, the conquests of the Romans in Dalmatia and Pannonia had made them acquainted with the name of the Dacians, a people who occupied both banks of the Danube, in that part of its course where it forms at present the southern boundary of Hungary. They were reputed to be of the same stock with the tribes who lived nearer the mouth of that river, and who, under the name of 'Getæ,' were known to the earliest of the Greek historians. But the more inland situation of the Dacians kept them longer in obscurity; nor do we find them mentioned by any writer earlier than those of the Augustan age. It is said, indeed, by Suetonius,[2] that C. Julius Cæsar had projected an expedition against them, among those vast schemes of conquest which were cut short by his assassination; but however this might be, in the reign of Augustus they first became engaged in actual hostilities with Rome; and their incursions across the Danube into the Roman territory, under the conduct of their king, Cotiso, were of sufficient importance to attract the notice of the court poets of the day,[3] and to confer that renown, which flattery is so ready to offer upon the efforts by which they were repulsed. At a later period, when the troops which defended the frontiers were drawn off to other quarters in the civil war between Vitellius and Vespasianus, the Dacians[4] again crossed the Danube, and committed hostilities on the Roman territory. More recently still, Domitianus[5] had claimed a triumph for his victories over them; but his pretended successes were an inadequate compensation for the defeats which they were intended to revenge; those of Appius, Sabinus, and of Cornelius Fuscus, the last of whom, after having materially contributed to the elevation of the Flavian family to the throne, perished in Dacia with the greater part of his army in the reign of Domitianus. Thus, when Trajanus succeeded to the empire, he judged, in the

[1] Pliny, Panegyric. 46. [2] In Julio Cæsare, c. xliv. and in Augusto, c. viii.
[3] Horace, Carmen, ii. 20; iii. 6, 8; Florus, iv. 12; Suetonius, in Augusto, c. xxi. [4] Tacitus, Hist. iii. 46.
[5] Suet. in Domitiano, c. vi.; Dion Cassius, lxvii. p. 763, edit. Leunclav.

A. D. 101. usual spirit of ambition and national pride, that the dignity of Rome required the chastisement of the Dacians. Grounds of hostility can never, in fact, be wanting between an ambitious, civilized nation, and the barbarian tribes who border on its frontiers, and whose rude habits of plunder continually lead them to offer some real provocation; while, on the other side, self-defence is pleaded as an excuse for conquest; and injury is seldom repelled without being also retaliated. The Dacians were commanded by a chief whom the Romans called Decebalus, and who is represented as a man of ability and courage; but no personal qualities, however brilliant, could enable a barbarian leader to resist the power of the Roman empire when steadily and skilfully directed against him. Accordingly, he was soon compelled to sue for peace,[1] which he obtained on such conditions as were likely soon to lead to another war; for his people were obliged to surrender up their arms, to give up all deserters or fugitives who had fled to them from the Romans; to pull down their fortresses; to cede a portion of territory; and to become the dependent allies of Rome. These terms were observed as long as the impression of their defeats retained its original force; but in a very short time the Romans began to complain that they were collecting arms, and rebuilding their fortresses, and harbouring fugitives from the Roman territory; and Trajanus prepared to attack them again, glad, perhaps, that he was now furnished with a pretext, according to the usual policy of Rome, for completing the conquest of their country.



Coin of Trajanus.

Bridge over the Danube, and second expedition.

A. D. 104. At the outset of his expedition, he indicated by his conduct that he meditated more than a temporary inroad into the enemy's territory. Hitherto the Danube had been regarded as the limit of the empire; but Trajanus proposed to create a Roman province to the north of that river, and a permanent bridge over it became a necessary work to facilitate the communication with this remote portion of his dominions. Accordingly, he completed one on a scale of magnificence, if we may believe Dion Cassius, superior to that of all his other works. He tells us,[2] that there were twenty piers of stone, at intervals of 170 feet from each other, and that each of these was in height 150 feet above the foundations, and 60 feet wide. The arches which connected them were probably made of wood, and could thus be taken down with the greater facility; which we are told was done by the emperor Hadrianus, who took away all the upper part of the bridge, and left merely the piers standing. We believe

[1] Dion Cassius, lxviii. p. 773.

[2] Lib. lxviii. p. 776.

that the exact site of this famous work has not been ascertained; nor are we aware that any researches have been made to determine it, or to learn what is the extent of the actual remains; but, according to D'Anville, it was built at a spot called Ram, about four leagues above Orsova, and about a hundred miles below Belgrade. A. D. 104.

As soon as the bridge was finished, the conquest of Dacia was speedily effected. Decebalus,[1] seeing all his efforts useless, and his palace in the hands of the enemy, killed himself; and his treasures, which he is said to have concealed under the bed of the river Sargetias, were betrayed to the Romans by one of his officers, and, by turning the course of the stream, were discovered and carried off. Dacia was reduced to the form of a province, and some Roman colonies were settled in it, the principal of which was called Ulpia Trajana, and was established at Zamisegethusa, the ancient capital of the country, on one of the streams which flow from the east into the Theiss. Final conquest of Dacia.



Dacian Horseman.

After the conclusion of this war, Trajanus returned to Rome, and gratified the people by rejoicings celebrated on the most magnificent scale; for, according to Dion Cassius,[2] the different shows that were exhibited lasted for four months, in the course of which no fewer than ten thousand gladiators are said to have fought for the amusement of the multitude. Return of Trajanus to Rome.

Whilst Trajanus remained at Rome, he is said[3] to have commenced the work of making roads or causeways through the Pontine marshes, to have issued a new coinage, and to have founded several public libraries. But his military ardour had been influenced by his late conquests, and he was ambitious of winning triumphs over the Parthians, and other eastern nations, as he had already been victorious over the enemies of Rome in Europe. The pretext for this new war was an alleged affront offered to the dignity of the empire by Chosroes, the king of Parthia, who had conferred the crown of Armenia, by his own authority, on a prince named Exedares, instead of allowing him to receive the diadem from the sovereign of Rome. Dispute with Parthia concerning the investiture of the kings of Armenia.

[1] Dion Cassius, lxviii. p. 777. [2] Page 777.
[3] Dion Cassius, lxviii. p. 777.

A. D. 104. Ever since the victories of Lucullus and Cn. Pompeius, the Romans pretended to regard Armenia as one of their dependent kingdoms; and this claim had given rise to various contests between them and the Parthians, who viewed it, on the other hand, as a kind of appanage of the crown of Parthia. The neighbourhood of the Parthians, and the unwarlike character of several of the Roman emperors, had made the Parthian influence in Armenia really predominate; but the right of the Romans had never been relinquished, and was likely to be enforced by any ambitious prince who thirsted for the glory of eastern conquests. Accordingly, it was now insisted on by Trajanus, and preparations were made on a great scale to maintain it by force of arms. The Parthian king, unwilling to involve himself in war,
A. D. 106. deposed Exedares, and nominated Parthamasiris, his own brother, as his successor; at the same time, sending an embassy with presents to Trajanus announcing this act, and requesting him to bestow the diadem, according to the right of investiture which he claimed as emperor of Rome, on the prince whom he had just placed on the throne. For it seems that the right of the Romans was little more than a form, and that they only installed the sovereign whom the Parthians had previously nominated, as in the reign of Nero, when Vologeses, king of Parthia, had seated his brother Tiridates on the throne of Armenia, it was agreed that Tiridates should go to Rome to receive his investiture at the hands of the emperor. But now Trajanus, bent upon conquest, rejected the presents brought him by the ambassadors, and replied to their communication with the characteristic haughtiness of a Roman general, saying, that the king of Parthia should manifest his friendly disposition rather by deeds than by words, and that when he should have arrived in Syria the Romans would then do that which was fitting to be done.

Story of Parthamasiris.

The narrative of Dion Cassius becomes here only a collection of disjointed fragments, preserved by his abbreviators, so that it does not appear whether the negotiation was renewed on the arrival of Trajanus in Syria. It was at all events ineffectual; and the Roman army advanced into Armenia, where they were met by the satraps and petty princes of the neighbouring districts, who came to make their submissions and to offer presents. Meantime, Parthamasiris had laid aside the style and title of king, and had written to request that M. Junius, the governor of Cappadocia, might be sent to him, as if he wished, through his intercession with the emperor, to obtain some favourable terms. His request was refused; but the son of Junius was sent to him, and he was probably given to understand that he must present himself in person before Trajanus. The emperior was now at Elegia, a town of Armenia, having as yet not experienced any opposition; and hither Parthamasiris repaired,[1]

[1] Dion Cassius, lxviii. p. 779.

in order, as he supposed, to go through the ceremony of investiture, A. D. 106.
which he the less doubted that he should obtain, as the public humiliation thus imposed upon him seemed at least a sufficient atonement for any offence which the Romans might pretend to have received. Accordingly, when Trajanus was seated on his tribunal in the midst of his camp, Parthamasiris appeared before him, and, having saluted him, took off the diadem from his own head and laid it at the emperor's feet. When he had done this, he stood silent for a few moments, expecting that Trajanus, as a matter of course, would desire him to resume it; but when he said nothing, and the soldiers with loud shouts addressed their sovereign as Imperator, considering that the act which they had just witnessed was equivalent to the absolute surrender of Armenia to the Roman dominions, Parthamasiris started, and, apprehending some attempt upon his person or liberty, turned in order to leave the camp. But when the soldiers opposed his passage he requested a private interview with Trajanus, and went with the emperor into his tent. Their conference was unsatisfactory, and Parthamasiris left the tent in great indignation; but he was again detained by the emperor's order, and was desired, with the usual indelicacy of the Romans, to state his cause publicly in the hearing of the whole army. Coarse and insolent as was this proposal, Parthamasiris did not decline it; but, standing before the emperor's tribunal, he indignantly asserted that he was betrayed, and not conquered; that he had come freely into the Roman camp, in the confidence that when he had gone through the ceremony of homage his right to the crown of Armenia would be instantly allowed. Trajanus, who perceived himself now strong enough to avow his injustice without scruple, replied, that Armenia belonged to the Romans, and should obey none but a Roman sovereign; that the Armenian followers of Parthamasiris must, therefore, remain with the Roman army, but that he himself and his Parthians were at liberty to depart whithersoever they thought proper. The disgraceful conclusion of this scene we learn from one of the newly-discovered fragments of the works of M. Cornelius Fronto the orator.[1] Parthamasiris refused to submit to this treacherous outrage, and, with a courage that heeded not his unequal condition, attempted to force his way out of the camp. In this attempt he was naturally unsuccessful; and being taken prisoner, to crown the atrocity of the conduct of Trajanus, he was put to death.

Armenia having been thus surprised rather than conquered, Trajanus left garrisons in its principal fortresses, and marching southwards from Elegia arrived at Edessa. Here he was hospitably

[1] Principia Historiæ, Fragment. iv. Trajano cædes Parthamasiris regis haud satis excusata. Tametsi ultro ille vim cæptans, tumultu orto, merito interfectus est, meliore tamen Romanorum famâ impunè supplex abisset, quam jure supplicium luisset.

A. D. 106. received by Abgarus, prince of that district, who now thought it his best policy to propitiate the Romans to the utmost. Some others also of the petty sovereigns who lived on the outskirts of the Parthian empire expressed their readiness to receive his commands; and he thus made himself master of the town of Singara, and some other places in Upper Mesopotamia, without any opposition. At this point, the narrative of Dion Cassius breaks off abruptly, and the next remaining fragment of his work belongs to a period nearly ten years later. But it is certain, from the evidence of inscriptions, that Trajanus did not gain further conquests at this time; and we may suppose, that after his occupation of Armenia he had no longer any pretence of hostility against the king of Parthia, and that, as that monarch was content to abandon Armenia to him, he led back his army and returned to Rome.

Chronology of the reign of Trajanus.

The events which we have just recorded seem to have taken place about the eighth or tenth year of the reign of Trajanus; and it was probably for his triumph over Parthamasiris that he assumed the title of Imperator for the sixth time, In the inscription on the famous bridge over the Tagus at Alcantara,[1] which bears date the ninth year of his reign, he is styled Imperator for the fifth time; and Dion Cassius tells us, that he received that title again from the acclamations of his soldiers, when they beheld the unfortunate Parthamasiris surrendering to him his crown. But in the inscription on the pillar erected in the middle of his forum at Rome, and which is dated in the seventeenth year of his reign, he is described as Imperator only for the sixth time,[2] so that a decisive proof is thus obtained that during seven years he gained no signal victories; and as his wars were nothing but a succession of victories, we may fairly conclude, that from the tenth to the seventeenth year of his reign he remained at peace, and employed himself in the civil administration of his empire. Between the completion of his pillar and his death, the rapidity of his conquests is marked by the accumulation of his titles of Imperator; for on the column, as we have seen, he is described only as Imperator for the sixth time, but inscriptions of a date two years later,[3] in the nineteenth year of his reign, call him Imperator for the eleventh time. We shall avail ourselves then of this peaceful period of nearly seven years, the events of which we are unable to relate chronologically from the total want of all regular annals of this reign, to offer a general view of the state of the empire, and of the character of the emperor's government.

Adopting the same arrangement which we formerly pursued in

[1] Gruter, Corpus Inscription. tom. i. p. 162.

[2] Ibid. p. 247; Burton's Antiquities of Rome, p. 172.

[3] Gruter, tom. i. p. 248, and an inscription on a bridge over the river Metaurus, on the old Flaminian road, between Furlo and Fossombrone, which we copied on the spot in 1825.

our life of Augustus, the foreign relations of Rome will first claim our notice. And here the picture which we gave of the state of affairs under Augustus will require little alteration. Some acquisitions of territory had indeed been made previous to the recent conquests of Trajanus in Dacia. Our own island, after having been first conquered in the reign of Claudius, and subsequently held with a doubtful grasp during the last years of Nero, and the civil wars which followed his death, had been finally subdued and settled by Cn. Agricola, whose merits have been transmitted to posterity, perhaps with some exaggeration, by the affection and eloquence of his son-in-law, Tacitus. In the other extremity of the empire, Jerusalem had been destroyed, after a resistance such as the Romans had seldom experienced from an enemy so unequal. Some changes had taken place also, rather in the nominal than in the real condition of countries[1] already in fact subject to the authority of Rome, but retaining the form of an independent government; and some barbarous tribes had in the lapse of years been more effectually subdued, or had gradually become more familiarized to the Roman dominion. But still, as in the reign of Augustus, the Parthians and Germans were the only nations whom the Romans found capable of maintaining a contest with them almost on equal terms. The Parthian power was indeed somewhat on the decline, and it was destined to receive from Trajanus severer blows than it had ever yet sustained. But the Germans were as unbroken as ever; nor had the Romans again ventured since the defeat of Varus to extend their frontier beyond the Rhine. The title of 'Germanicus,' fondly assumed by so many emperors, was the best proof that none had fully deserved it, and that the conqueror of Germany was as yet unborn.

A. D. 115.

Of the external relations of Rome.

Nothing then remains to divert our attention from the internal state of the empire. In our life of Augustus we attempted to mark the easy steps by which the old constitution had been converted into a monarchy, by showing that it contained within it all the elements of despotic power,—while there was enough of servility and helplessness in the people at large to make them almost welcome as a relief their exclusion from all share in the government. Our business will now be to delineate the imperial constitution in its matured state, and to notice some of those points in which the forms of freedom which still subsisted in the days of Augustus had been since overthrown. The government was now become an acknowledged monarchy. In the time of Augustus it was but a sort of

Its internal state.

Of the government.

[1] Cappadocia, from a dependent kingdom, had been reduced to a province as early as the reign of Tiberius (Tacitus, Annal. ii. 42). A part of Pontus, which still was governed by a king of its own, shared the same fate in the reign of Nero (Tacitus, Hist. iii. 47; Eutropius, in Nerone). Rhodes, Lycia, and some other places, were in like manner made provinces by Vespasianus (Suetonius, in Vespasian. c. viii.; Eutropius, in Vespasian.)

A. D. 115. Of the government.

perpetual dictatorship, bestowed by the senate and people on the most distinguished citizen of the commonwealth as a remedy for the disorders occasioned by so many years of civil war. But the adoption first of the sons of Agrippa, and afterwards of Tib. Claudius Nero, into the Julian family, made it evident that the new state of things was designed to be perpetual; and so natural is the notion of hereditary right that, even while the monarchy was thus recent, the succession was thought to belong to the family of the actual sovereign; and in the failure of his immediate descendants, he was allowed to adopt whomsoever he thought proper as the presumptive heir to the imperial power. On the death of Augustus, the senate, by conferring all his extraordinary prerogatives on Tiberius, decreed in fact the final extinction of the commonwealth. The temporary reason before assigned for investing the government in the hands of a single person was now exchanged for one of general and lasting application; the disorders of the civil wars had been long since repaired by the peaceful administration of Augustus: but it was now discovered that the empire was too vast to be governed by the senate and people, and required the vigour and unity of a monarchy, and thus, until the provinces should be dismembered, the Roman people seemed to resign for ever its old authority. The feeble attempt made by the senate to resume the government after the murder of Caligula did not last longer than two days; and from that time, even when the succession to the imperial power was most disputed, yet none ever proposed the restoration of the commonwealth.

It was far more monarchical than in the time of Augustus.

We have said that, even Augustus when he adopted Tiberius as his son designed to make him his successor in the empire. But the throne was never considered as actually hereditary, so that the natural or adopted son ascended it by the right of birth whenever the death of his father had left it vacant. By the theory of the constitution, if we may apply so noble a term to the imperial government of Rome, the emperor was still intrusted by the senate with the management of the republic, and each succeeding sovereign derived his power according to law solely from their authority. It is difficult to say whether the consent of the army was legally necessary to the validity of an election, although, in reality, it determined the whole transaction. The new emperor was saluted as such by the soldiers, and he promised them a donative in return, and the opposition of the senate to their choice must have been necessarily fruitless. It is possible, too, that the army may have been regarded in some measure as the representative of the people, and their voice may have been esteemed the sole remnant of the popular part of the old constitution. The comitia no longer assembled for the election of magistrates after the accession of Tiberius;[1] and although statutes (*Leges*), and de-

[1] We have said "for the *election* of magistrates," because the comitia, even in the reign of Trajanus, assembled in the Campus Martius, to go through the form

crees of the Commons (*Plebiscita*), are acknowledged among the sources of the Roman law, even in the time of T. Antoninus and M. Aurelius, yet the votes of the tribes in enacting laws as well as in appointing magistrates had become no more than an empty form.[1] In their place the 'Constitutions' of the emperor were allowed to have the force of laws,[2] and these gradually became more frequent as the remembrance of free institutions became in every successive generation fainter and fainter. It may be noticed also, as a mark of the more avowed monarchical character which the government assumed within a century after the death of the first emperor, that the title of 'Dominus,' or Master, as opposed to Slave, which Augustus disclaimed with indignation,[3] is familiarly bestowed on Trajanus by his friend Pliny, even in his private correspondence with him. A. D. 115.

Of the imperial law of treasons.

But the instrument by which the emperors had perpetrated the worst acts of their tyranny was provided by the new imperial law of treasons. Under the commonwealth, the crime of 'Majestas læsa vel imminuta' was held to extend not only to those actions which our law regards as treasonable, such as conspiring to levy war against the state, or joining the enemy in war, but to a great variety of other offences of less magnitude, such as rioting, or gross misconduct in the management of a war, or the usurpation of the state and authority of a magistrate by any private person. Nor were even words always exempted from its operation, if the story told of Claudia be deserving of credit, who was tried, during the first Punic war, for a passionate expression uttered against the people when her carriage was stopped in the streets by the pressure of the crowd. Whilst the commonwealth lasted, however, the severity of the laws was not amongst the prevailing evils; and although many individuals who ought to have been punished were never brought to justice, no innocent man, probably, was ever a sufferer from the law of treason as it was then established. With the imperial government new maxims and a new spirit of criminal jurisprudence were introduced: the emperor was invested with all the majesty of the commonwealth, and to attempt his life,[4] or to levy war against his authority, were naturally, as in every monarchy, regarded as acts of treason. But the jealousy of Augustus, and still more of Tiberius, extended the same appellation to everything that could be construed into dis-

---

of nominating those persons consuls, prætors, &c. who had been previously chosen by the senate. See Heineccius, lib. i. Append. sec. 65, and Creuzer, Romisch. Antiquitat. sec. 126.

[1] See Hugo, Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Romischen Rechts, pp. 611, 612, edit. 1824.

[2] Gaius, Institution. i. sec. 5. Nec unquam dubitatum est, quin id (sc. Constitutio Principis) legis vicem obtineat. [3] Suet. in Augusto, c. liii.

[4] Digest. xlviii. Tit. 4; Paulus, Sentent. Recipt. Tit. 29.

[R. H.]

A. D. 115. Its extensive nature.

respect to the person or dignity of the emperor. Not only were libels punishable with death,[1] and expressions adjudged to be libellous, which the worst despotism of modern times would never have attempted to question, but even words spoken in private society were liable to the same penalty; and it was treasonable to consult astrologers as to the fate of the emperor,[2] to melt down or sell a statue of an emperor who had been deified,[3] to take the head off from it,[4] to scourge a slave or to undress close to it, with some other things so monstrous that if they did not rest on good contemporary testimony we should reject them as utterly incredible. The offence was proceeded against in the same spirit of tyranny by which it was defined; for persons held to be infamous,[5] and whose evidence was not admissible in other cases, were in these received as accusers; freedmen might impeach their patrons, and slaves their own masters—both of which acts the Romans regarded in general with the utmost horror; and persons of the highest rank, at least in the reign of Severus, might be examined by torture.[6] If condemned, criminals of all ranks were punished with death, and those of humble condition, by one of those atrocious distinctions characteristic of the vilest tyranny, were either thrown to wild beasts or burned alive. The property of the victim was forfeited; and if the charge extended to the act of levying war against the emperor,[7] the forfeiture took place even when the accused died before his trial, unless his heirs could prove his innocence.

Delatores, or informers.

A law so odious bred a race of informers well fitted to pander to its cruelty. Under the worst emperors they swelled accordingly into a numerous and formidable body, composed of the vilest individuals of every rank, who abused the confidence of private society to report some word or action which the imperial law of treason rendered criminal. Such a system rendered the very name of justice unpopular; and real crimes sometimes escaped with impunity, or were undeservedly pardoned at the accession of a better emperor, from the universal hatred felt towards all prosecutions,[8] and the indiscriminate compassion entertained for all who had incurred the penalties of the laws. Nor is it amongst the least evils of a tyrannical code, that even after it has been mitigated by a virtuous sovereign, there is a perpetual danger of its being again revived in all its horrors in some

[1] Tacitus, Annal. iv. 34; xiv. 48.

[2] Ibid. iii. 22.

[3] Digest. xlviii. Tit. 4. The atrocity of the law of treason may be estimated by the nature of those acts which the lawyers thought proper to specify as exempted from its penalties. Non contrahit crimen majestatis qui statuas Cæsaris vetustate corruptas reficit. Nec qui lapide jactato incerto, fortuito statuam altigerit, crimen majestatis commisit. Digest. xlviii. Tit. 4.

[4] Suet. in Tiberio, c. lviii.

[5] Digest. *ubi supra.*

[6] Paulus, *ubi supra.*

[7] Digest. *ubi supra.*

[8] Tacitus, Hist. i. 77. Placuit ignoscentibus, verso nomine, quod avaritia fuerat videri majestatem; cujus tum odio etiam bonæ leges peribant.

succeeding reign. The precedent of a bad example is far more effectual in countenancing wickedness, than that of a good one in restraining it; and thus, although Trajanus banished the informers, and suspended the operation of the law of treason, yet the one soon sprang up again, and the enactments of the other remained in existence to be again called into action by a Commodus or a Caracalla. A. D. 115.

The excellence of the Roman law in other respects.

It were unjust, however, to estimate the general character of the Roman law from the provisions of the 'Lex Majestatis;' or to receive our impression of the political condition of the Roman people from those tragical details with which the histories of these times are chiefly filled. The imperial system had been engrafted upon a free constitution, and upon the laws of a free people; both of which it entirely overturned, wherever they interfered with its own immediate interests; but as the principles of a corrupt system will survive many partial reforms of particular institutions, so although the principles of liberty and wisdom at Rome had been crippled in many most important points in their practical application, still their existence was not extinguished, and their influence was even yet plainly perceptible. The great lawyers of the age of the Antonines passed hastily over the odious page which contained the law of treason, and delighted to fix their attention on those wise and liberal provisions which concerned the persons and properties of citizens in their dealings with one another, wherever the government did not interfere. From the excellence of the Roman law in these points arose the eminent fame, so justly earned by its professors amidst the general decline of all other studies. It was here only that the wisdom of better times was still practically useful, and might be profitably emulated: so that talents and integrity naturally turned themselves to that field which alone was open to their exertions; and when the higher duties of a statesman were inaccessible or neglected, those of a lawyer were fulfilled in an enlightened spirit which later times have been far from imitating.

The imperial tyranny was most felt at Rome, and by the higher orders.

Nor should it be forgotten that the imperial tyranny, which deluged Rome with blood, affected but little the condition of the provinces; and that even at Rome itself, its victims were principally chosen from the highest classes, while the mass of the community suffered from it comparatively nothing. It was indeed a bitter change for the patricians and the equestrian order, to have their proud and luxurious security invaded by executioners, and to be exposed every hour, at the caprice of their tyrant, to banishment or death. But to the plebeians, to the inhabitants of the provinces, and to the slaves, the spirit of the monarchy was certainly not more insolent and oppressive than that of the old aristocracy; nor did the worst excesses of the Cæsars ever produce such wide-spreading misery as the triumph of the aristocratical party under Sylla. Even Cicero had regarded the grant of the 'jus Latii,' conferred by Cæsar on the

A. D. 115. inhabitants of Sicily,[1] as an intolerable affront to the dignity of Rome. But now the rights of Latin citizenship were enjoyed by all the inhabitants of Spain;[2] while the Gauls had received the higher privilege of becoming citizens of Rome,[3] and were thus admissible to the highest offices in the empire. These two great countries were fast acquiring those marks of intimate union with Italy, which all the revolutions of after ages were unable to efface. Gaul, in particular, began to take a principal part in the civil wars, and entered into them more with the zeal of an integral portion of the state, than like a province contending merely for the choice of masters. When Julius Vindex revolted against Nero, his main support was in the devotion of the people of Gaul to his cause; and their efforts were rewarded by Galba with the gift of Roman citizenship, and the reduction of a fourth part of their taxation for ever.

But it did not remove the evils of the old constitution.

But although the monarchy did not increase the evils to which the greatest part of the subjects of the empire were liable, yet we must confess that it did little to remove them. That hateful pride which made the Romans so careless of the sufferings of those whom they considered their inferiors, was an effectual bar to any attempts to ameliorate the condition of the slaves, or to check the abuses of power when exercised only against the poor and ignoble. When in the reign of Nero,[4] Pedanius Secundus was murdered by one of his slaves, his whole household, consisting of four hundred slaves of both sexes and of all ages, were ordered, according to ancient practice, to be put to death. The populace of Rome, whose natural humanity had not been quite extinguished by the callousness of rank and wealth, rose in tumult to resist the execution. Upon this, the case was debated in the senate, and C. Cassius, the most celebrated lawyer of his day, strongly urged the expediency of enforcing the sentence. His opinion was approved by a large majority; and to prevent the possibility of a rescue, Nero lined the streets with troops, while these four hundred human beings, most of whom were undoubtedly innocent, and amongst whose number were old men, women, and children, were led to an indiscriminate butchery. So also in the reign of Tiberius, four thousand freedmen,[5] mostly Jews and Egyptians, and guilty of no other crime than that of practising the religious rites of their respective countries, were expelled from Rome, and sent into Sardinia to repress the banditti of that island; a service which, from the unhealthiness of the climate, was almost equivalent to a sentence of death; "but if they perished," says Tacitus, "their loss was of no consequence." The same pride showed itself in more trifling matters, in the behaviour of the great

Servility of society.

[1] Epist. ad Atticum, xiv. 12. Multa illis (Siculis) Cæsar, neque me invito: etsi Latinitas erat non ferenda verumtamen.

[2] Pliny, Hist. Nat. iii. 3.

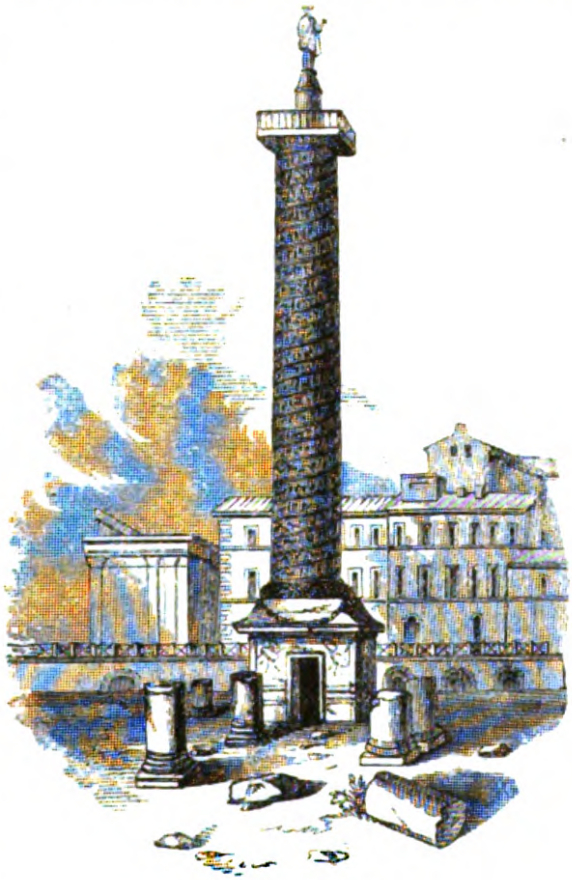
[3] Tacitus, Hist. i. 8; iv. 74.

[4] Ibid. Annal. xiv. 42, *et seq.*

[5] Ibid. ii. 85.

to the humbler classes of society. The door of a wealthy and noble Roman was crowded before daybreak by visitors who came to pay their court to him;[1] and who, after undergoing the most insolent treatment from his porter, were seldom admitted to an interview with himself, but were answered by one of his servants; or if he did condescend to see them, they bent down to the ground before him, and kissed his hand with oriental servility. Hence, a number of subordinate oppressions were practised in the provinces, and especially in the more inconsiderable towns; so that we read of a request preferred by the people of Juliopolis in Bithynia,[2] in the reign of Trajanus, to have a centurion resident among them to protect them from injury. The same feeling also tended to encourage the insolence of the army towards the people, wherever they were quartered. Since Marius first changed the character of the legions by filling them with citizens of the poorest classes, and still more since the civil wars of the two first Cæsars, the soldiers had learnt to regard themselves as a distinct body in the nation, to whose superior merit and importance all other citizens should pay deference. Even the very monuments of imperial Rome, in general so strikingly of a warlike cast (among which is distinguished the celebrated pillar of Trajan), must have had a strong tendency to foster this spirit of military exclusiveness.[3] Then all who did not belong to the army were designated by the term 'Pagani,' which soon became used contemptuously, and thus in itself

A. D. 115.



Column of Trajan.

[1] Lucian, de Moribus Philosophorum, p. 20, edit. 1615.

[2] Pliny, Epist. x. 81.

[3] It was in commemoration of the conquest of Dacia that the famous pillar in the forum of Trajanus was erected; although it was not completed till the seventeenth year of his reign. The height of this pillar is 128 Roman feet (Burton, Antiquities of Rome, p. 171, *et seq.*), and the whole shaft is covered with bas-reliefs, representing the exploits of the emperor in both his Dacian expeditions. But the most remarkable circumstance connected with it is the excavation of the

A. D. 115. afforded a proof of the undue supremacy of those who could venture to stigmatize all other members of the community. But their offensive behaviour was not confined to words; and we learn from history, no less than from the lively picture of the satirist,[1] that the soldiers were in the habit of using personal violence to the provincials and to the Roman citizens of humble condition; nor did the injured party dare to seek for redress, lest he should provoke the resentment of the offender's comrades.

Helplessness of the people encouraged by government.

The worst effect, however, of the Imperial dominion as of that of the Commonwealth, was the helplessness of mind which a cowardly policy taught it to encourage amongst the people of the provinces. It was maintained by Aristotle,[2] that a state could not consist of so great a number as a hundred thousand citizens; and although we may smile at the exaggeration of this doctrine, yet it was founded on the justest notions of the duties of a political society, where all should have a common interest, and should be keenly alive to the welfare of each other, and of the whole body. The Greeks, therefore, distinguished between a state and a dominion; and it was by the latter name, that they characterised that vast mass of countries yoked together at the time of which we are treating under the sovereignty of Rome. The inhabitants then of the greatest part of the empire were subjects, and not citizens; and that activity and attention to public affairs which is the great virtue of a citizen, is most unwelcome to a sovereign when he sees it in his subjects. An enlightened despot, like Trajanus, is frequently desirous of promoting the good of his people; but he dreads to see them able and zealous to promote their own; not considering that wealth and security lose half their value when they are passively received from another; and that men will dwindle into children in understanding and energy, when they are obliged to depend in childlike helplessness on the protection of their rulers.

Self-dependence discouraged.

It is remarkable, with what exceeding suspicion Trajanus regarded everything like a principle of internal organization and self-dependence in the people of his empire. A destructive fire had broken out at Nicomedia in Bithynia,[3] and had been greatly aggravated by the apathy of the people, who looked on without attempting to extinguish it. To prevent the recurrence of such accidents, Pliny, who was then proconsul of the province, recommended the institution of a company of engineers, to consist of a hundred and fifty persons, who were to have, we may suppose, a

---

ground which was effected preparatory to its erection; for the inscription upon its base declares that the hill had been cut away from the height of the pillar, to form the level space on which the forum of Trajanus was built. These great changes in the appearance of the ground on which Rome is built should always be borne in mind when we attempt to reconcile its present condition with the descriptions of ancient writers.

[1] St. Luke, iii. 14; Juvenal, Sat. xvi.

[2] Ethic. Nicomach. ix. 10.

[3] Pliny, Epist. v. 42, 43.

monopoly of the business of firemen, and would know how to act with effect whenever their services were wanted. But Trajanus objected to the proposal, on the express ground, that he did not like the principle of association, as it might lead to factions. On another occasion, the people of Amisus begged to be allowed, according to their own laws,[1] to give their ἔρανοι, or public entertainments to the poorer classes, furnished by the subscriptions of the rich. Trajanus consented, as Amisus was a free and confederate city, and was governed by its own laws; but he expressed his hope, that the entertainments might not be abused for purposes of tumult or unlawful assemblies, and he strictly forbade them in all the cities of the province which were more immediately subject to the Roman jurisdiction. In the same spirit, Pliny, in a letter to the emperor, expresses his fears lest a practice prevalent in his province, of the richer inhabitants assembling on certain joyful occasions a great number of the common people, and giving them a largess of one or two denarii a man, should grow into a means of political influence. Nor should we omit to mention, the constant reference made by the people of the provinces to the government, when they wished to execute any public works of ornament or utility. Sometimes, pecuniary assistance is requested, at other times permission is asked to devote a part of the revenue of a corporation to such purposes; or the emperor is applied to, to send surveyors and engineers to direct the operations. It seems as if the people had in themselves no principle of activity, but were taught on every occasion to look for aid or for permission to the government. In the reign of Trajanus certainly, the government was sufficiently ready to promote any scheme of improvement that promised to be beneficial; but when other emperors succeeded, who had neither the ability nor the disposition to forward such plans, the evil of encouraging helplessness in the people became apparent, and when the provinces were neglected by their rulers, they had lost the energy to act for themselves. A. D. 115.

We have been led insensibly to encroach upon a topic which belongs more properly to a subsequent part of this sketch. But the transition, from a consideration of the imperial government to an inquiry into the state of the people, is so faintly marked, that it is difficult when speaking of the one to forbear all mention of the other. We now, however, propose to proceed expressly to this second division of our subject; and to illustrate the physical and moral condition of the inhabitants of the Roman empire by some notices on each of these following points: 1st, the amount of the national wealth; its distribution, security, and the degree and manner in which it was affected by the government. 2nd, the state of literature and general knowledge; and 3rd, that of morality, in the highest sense of the term, including our duties to God as well as to man.

[1] Pliny, Epist. x. 93, 94.

A. D. 115. Of the state of agriculture.

1. It is probable that agriculture, at least in the western provinces, had made considerable progress since the reign of Augustus. We do not mean that it was better understood than formerly in those countries where it had been long since practised; but that the gradual establishment of the Roman power had diffused a knowledge of it amongst people to whom it had been hitherto very imperfectly known, and from the union of so many parts of the world under one government, the natural productions of one country were introduced into another,[1] and a benefit was thus conferred on mankind which survived the devastations of after ages. The wealth and fertility of Gaul are spoken of in high terms;[2] its corn and flax were particularly noted;[3] and different methods of manuring the land were practised,[4] which argue a state of considerable civilization. Even Britain, which had been so much more recently conquered, bore marks of the benefits which it derived from its connection with the Roman empire. There, too, the use of marl for manure was familiarly known, and the cherry had been already introduced;[5] a fact deserving of notice, as it shows that not only the most necessary articles of food, but fruits and vegetables, for comfort and luxury, found their way into the provinces very soon after their conquest. The whole coast of Spain is pronounced, by Pliny,[6] to be the finest country except Italy, with which he was acquainted; and the list of towns which he has given us in Lusitania, and the northern part of Spain, marks the advances made by those provinces since the time of Strabo. We hear much, it is true, of the decay of agriculture in Italy itself, and the greater part of that country seems to have been no more than a pleasure-ground for the wealthy Romans, while their farms for profit were in the provinces; but the north of Italy must probably be excepted from this description, as its towns were more numerous and flourishing than those of the south and centre, and its inhabitants were said to retain a simpler and purer character.[7] It was probably owing to the increased resources of the western provinces, that Rome was enabled, on one memorable occasion in the reign of Trajanus,[8] to send large supplies of corn to Egypt, when, owing to an extraordinary drought, the Nile had not afforded its usual salutary inundation. This peaceful triumph of Italy is celebrated by Pliny, as one of the greatest glories of the age of Trajanus; and he extols the happy effects of civilization, which had now connected the most remote countries together, and had obviated the evils of an accidental scarcity in one province, by enabling it instantly to be relieved by the superfluous plenty of another.

To what extent internal commerce was carried between the dif-

[1] Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxvii. 1.
[2] Tacitus, Hist. iv. 73, 74.
[3] Pliny, Hist. Nat. xviii. 8, 9; xix. 1.
[4] Ibid. xvii. 6–8.
[5] Ibid. xv. 25.
Ibid. xxxvii. 13.
[7] Ibid. Epist. i. 14.
[8] Ibid. Panegyric. 30, *et seq.*

ferent parts of the empire, it is scarcely possible to form an accurate judgment. The more general expressions of historians are of little value, because they speak comparatively rather than absolutely; and no one can doubt, that the activity of trade under the emperors must have appeared exceedingly great, when compared with any former period of history. As to the foreign commerce, which was mostly carried on with India, the principle articles thus imported were silks and other luxuries, for which there was a great demand among persons of the highest fortune, but they were not used by the mass of the people. A. D. 115. Of commerce.

It is sufficiently clear, that a wealthy Roman could command many comforts and luxuries; but how far comforts or even necessaries were within the reach of the majority of the inhabitants of the empire, is a much more difficult and a more important question. The place of our labourers and operative manufacturers being almost entirely supplied by slaves, we have no opportunity of comparing the price of labour with that of provision, the surest criterion of public prosperity, if the welfare of the majority be justly regarded as the welfare of the nation. But it seems probable, that the free population of the Roman empire was small in proportion to the extent of its territory; and that thus there was little of that severe distress which visits more thickly-peopled countries, even where their moral and political institutions are far superior to those of Rome. In Italy itself, several laws were enacted to discourage celibacy, and peculiar privileges were conferred on the father of a numerous family. That these provisions were not dictated by a mere undistinguishing desire of multiplying the number of citizens, is proved not only by the general complaints which we meet with of the decay of the free population, but by the remark of Pliny that most[1] persons thought even one child an inconvenience; and by the number of instances in which a successor to the imperial dignity was obtained by adoption, because the emperor had no natural heir. We may suppose that the eastern provinces were in this respect similarly circumstanced; for their morals in general were sufficiently licentious; and the unnatural indifference of parents to the fate of their children appears from one[2] of Pliny's letters, in which he describes the foundlings in his province of Bithynia as forming a numerous body, and states that many of them when exposed were picked up by persons who made a profit of selling them for slaves. In the western provinces, where the physical and moral character of the people was more favourable to population, their situation was that of new countries, where the inhabitants have not yet had time to multiply in proportion to the means of subsistence. We must consider too, when calculating the comforts of the Roman people, that the climate under which they lived enabled them to dispense with many things, the want of which Condition of the people at large.

[1] Epist. iv. 15. [2] Ibid. x. 71.

A. D. 115. in the north of Europe is a sensible privation. Well-built houses, a plentiful supply of fuel, and a large quantity of substantial food, were not to them objects of the first necessity. As amongst their descendants at this day, their principal enjoyments were not to be found at home; and if public buildings and places of public amusement were more numerous and more magnificent than with us, it was only because the fewer wants of the people obliged them to a less unremitting industry; and while the stimulus of diversion was more easily procured in the amphitheatre or the colonnade, the neglected state of their individual dwellings could be endured without any sensation of wretchedness.

Of the security of property.

Of the security of property in the Roman empire, we should judge unfavourably, if we compared it with the unrivalled protection which it actually enjoys in most countries of modern Europe. Yet our ancestors, less than a century ago, would have had little reason to exult over the Romans; when Johnson might apply with justice to London, the picture drawn by Juvenal of the outrages nightly committed in the streets of Rome; when highway robbery was constantly expected and often experienced by every traveller, and a still more audacious system of rapine was yet unscrupulously practised in the Highlands of Scotland. Even at that period, however, we should have been surprised to hear of such acts as those noticed in one of Pliny's letters;[1] where he mentions the total disappearance of a distinguished individual of the equestrian order in the neighbourhood of Ocriculum, that is in the very heart of Italy, about seventy miles from Rome. No traces of his fate were to be discovered, and the same thing had happened a short time before to a citizen of Comum, when travelling homewards with a large sum of money from Rome. To these dangers of travelling must be added, at least in the provinces, the oppressions and vexations which poor and humble men often suffered from their more powerful neighbours, and for which under most of the provincial governors they could find no redress. Hence Columella[2] advises those who were purchasing estates to make themselves first acquainted with the characters of their neighbours; and he confirms his precept by his own experience, as one of his neighbours was continually felling his trees, robbing his plantations, and carrying off his cattle.

Of the revenue.

We have spoken at some length of the Roman revenue in our survey of the empire during the reign of Augustus. To the account of it there given we have little to add, except to observe, that its amount varied largely under different emperors; that Galba, for example, lightened considerably the public burdens,[3] while Vespasianus[4] again imposed the taxes which had been taken off, and carried the exactions of the treasury to the highest pitch. The most fruitful

[1] Epist. vi. 25.
[2] De Re Rusticâ, i. 2.
[3] Suet. in Galba, 15.
[4] Suet. in Vespasiano, 16.

sources of revenue, as far as Roman citizens were concerned, were to be found in the Julian and Papian laws, and in the legacy duty of five per cent., which, as we have seen, Trajanus considerably moderated. By the former, unmarried men between twenty and sixty,[1] and even married men between twenty-five and sixty if they had never had any children, were incapable of inheriting from any but their nearest relations, and the property bequeathed to them devolved upon the treasury. The provincials were subject to a land tax and poll tax, and to those other impositions which we have formerly noticed when speaking of this subject. They were besides burdened with the maintenance of the Roman magistrates by whom they were governed; and if the ordinary expenses of the proconsul or procurator were provided for by a fixed sum raised for the purpose, yet when they travelled through the province, they demanded what they thought proper, for the support of themselves[2] and their domestic establishment, from the inhabitants of the district wherein they happened to stop. Sometimes, too, the provincial cities were expected to send a deputation to Rome[3] every year with a loyal address to the emperor, or to welcome their proconsul on his first arrival amongst them. To this must be added, the various exactions which they often suffered from the oppression of their governors; although in the reign of Trajanus, offenders of this kind were frequently brought to trial, and sometimes to punishment.

A. D. 115.

The Julian and Papian laws and legacy duty.

2. We have already expressed our opinion, that the merits of Roman literature, even in its most flourishing period, have been greatly overrated; and we believe that a review of its condition at the end of the first century of the Christian era, might tend to lessen our wonder at the ignorance which afterwards prevailed throughout Europe. Our first impression would probably be highly favourable: we meet with the names of a great many writers, whose reputation is even now eminent; we know that learning was not only held in honour in the eastern provinces, where it had been long since cultivated, but that Gaul, and Spain, and Africa abounded with schools and orators, and that a taste for literary studies had been introduced even into Britain. The names of the most distinguished orators at Rome were familiarly known in the remotest parts of the empire,[4] and any splendid passages in their speeches were copied out by the provincial students, and sent down to their friends at home to excite their admiration, and serve as models for their imitation. Even the Roman laws, once so cold and so disdainful of literature and the fine arts, had in some points adopted a more conciliating language; and the profession of a sophist[5] was a legal exemption from the duties of a juryman in the 'Conventus' or circuits of the provincial judges.

State of literature.

[1] Hugo, Geschichte de Romischen Rechts, p. 623, *et seq.*
[2] Pliny, Epist. ix. 33.
[3] Ibid. x. 52.
[4] Dialogue de Oratoribus, 8.
[5] Pliny, Epist. x. 66.

A. D. 115. Diffusion of knowledge.

The age of Trajanus then had greatly the advantage over that of Augustus in the more general diffusion of knowledge; while, in the comparison of individual writers, the eminence which Virgil and Horace attained in poetry was at least equalled by the historical fame of Tacitus. But although knowledge was more common than it had been a century before, still its range was necessarily confined; nor before the invention of printing could it possibly be otherwise. Pliny expresses[1] his surprise at hearing that there was a bookseller's shop to be found at Lugdunum or Lyons; yet this very city had been for a long time the scene of public recitations in Greek and Latin, in which the orators of Gaul contended for the prize of eloquence. Thus, instead of the various clubs, reading-rooms, circulating libraries, and book-societies, which make so many thousands in our day acquainted with every new publication worthy of notice, it was the practice of authors at Rome to read aloud their compositions to a



Roman Author reading his Works.

large audience of their friends and acquaintance; and not only poetry and orations were thus recited, but also works of history.[2] To attend these readings was often naturally enough considered rather an irksome civility: they who went at first reluctantly were apt to be but languid auditors; and we all know, that even to those fond of literature, it is no agreeable task to sit hour after hour the unemployed and constrained listeners alike to the eloquence or dulness, to the sense or folly, of another. The weariness then of the audience was to be relieved by the selection of brilliant and forcible passages; their feelings were to be gratified rather than their understandings; and amidst the excitement of a crowded hall, and an impassioned recitation, there was no room for that silent exercise of judgment and reflection which alone leads to wisdom. From this habit then of hearing books rather than reading them, it was natural that poetry

Roman readings.

[1] Pliny, Epist. ix. 11.

[2] Ibid. vii. 17; ix. 27. Compare also i. 13; vi. 15; viii. 12.

and oratory should be the most popular kinds of literature; and that A. D. 115.
history, as we have observed in our notice of the Roman historians, should be tempted to assume the charms of oratory, in order to procure for itself an audience. A detail of facts cannot be remembered by being once heard; and many of the most useful inquiries or discussions in history, however valuable to the thoughtful student, are not the best calculated to win the attention of a mixed audience, when orally delivered. The scarcity of books therefore, inducing the practice of reading them aloud to many hearers, instead of reserving them for hours of solitude and undisturbed thought, may be considered as one of the chief causes of the false luxuriance of literature at Rome in the reigns of the first emperors, and of its early and complete decay. We have already noticed the unworthy ideas which the Romans entertained of its nature, and how completely they degraded it into a mere plaything of men's prosperous hours, an elegant amusement, and an embellishment of life—not a matter of serious use to individuals and to the state. Works of physical science, and much more, such as tend to illustrate the useful arts, were therefore almost unknown; so also were books of travels, details of statistics, and everything relating to political economy. Had works of this description been numerous, it would indeed have been strange if the Roman empire had afterwards relapsed into ignorance. The countries which were overrun by its legions would readily have appreciated the benefits of a knowledge which daily made life more comfortable, and nations more enlightened and more prosperous: and the advantages of cultivating the understanding would have been as obvious to men of every condition in Rome, as they are actually at the present time in England, Germany, and America. As a proof of this we may observe, that the only two kinds of really valuable knowledge which the Romans had to communicate to their northern conquerors, were both adopted by them with eagerness; we mean their law and their religion. The Roman code found its way, or rather retained much of its authority in the kingdoms founded upon the ruins of the empire, and its wisdom imperceptibly influenced the law of those countries which affected most to regard it with jealousy and aversion. And the Christian religion, in like manner, survived the confusion of the fourth and fifth centuries, and continually exercised its beneficent power in insuring individual happiness, and lessening the amount of public misery. If together with these, Rome could have offered to her conquerors an enlarged knowledge of nature and of the useful arts, and clear views of the principles of political economy, and the higher science of legislation in general, we need not doubt that they would have accepted these gifts also, and that thus the corruption to which her law and religion were exposed, would have been in a great measure obviated. For it is a most important truth, and one which requires at this day to be most

The Roman code.

A. D. 115. earnestly enforced, that it is by the study of facts, whether relating to nature or to man, and not by any pretended cultivation of the mind by poetry, oratory, and moral or critical dissertations, that the understandings of mankind in general will be most improved, and their views of things rendered most accurate. And the reason of this is, that every man has a fondness for knowledge of some kind; and by acquainting himself with those facts or truths which are most suited to his taste, he finds himself gaining something, the value of which he can appreciate, and in the pursuit of which, therefore, all his natural faculties will be best developed. From the mass of varied knowledge thus possessed by the several members of the community, arises the great characteristic of a really enlightened age, a sound and sensible judgment; a quality which can only be formed by the habit of regarding things in different lights, as they appear to intelligent men of different pursuits and in different classes of society, and by thus correcting the limited notions to which the greatest minds are liable, when left to indulge without a corrective in their own peculiar train of opinions. Want of judgment, therefore, is the prevailing defect in all periods of imperfect civilization, and in those wherein the showy branches of literature have been forced by patronage, while the more beneficial parts of knowledge have been neglected. Nor is it to the purpose to say, that the study of facts is of no benefit, unless we form from them some general conclusions. The disease of the human mind is impatiently to anticipate conclusions; so little danger is there that it will be slow in deducing them, when it is once in possession of premises from which they may justly be derived. But, on the other hand, wherever words and striking images are mainly studied, as was the case in ancient Rome, man's natural indolence is encouraged, and he proceeds at once to reason without taking the trouble of providing himself with the necessary materials. Eloquence, indeed, and great natural ability, may, in the most favourable instances, disguise to the vulgar the shallowness which lurks beneath them; but with the mass of mankind this system is altogether fatal:—Learning, in the only shape in which it presents itself to their eyes, is to them utterly useless; they have no desire to pursue it, and, if they had such, their pursuit would be fruitless. They remain therefore in their natural ignorance; not partaking in the pretended cultivation of their age, and feeling no deprivation when the ill-rooted literature which was the mere amusement of the great and wealthy is swept away by the first considerable revolution in the state of society.

The characteristics of an enlightened age.

The decay of learning then, which we are called to account for, is of all things the most readily explained. Unsubstantial as it was, it would have worn out of itself, as it did at Constantinople, even if no external violence had overwhelmed it. Facts indeed, whether physical or moral, are a food which will not only preserve the mind in

Decay of learning.

vigour, but increasing in number with every successive century, A. D. 115.
furnish it with the means of an almost infinite progress. But the changes on words and sentiments are soon capable of being exhausted; the earliest writers seize their best and happiest combinations, and nothing is left for their successors but imitation or necessary inferiority. Poetry had fallen sufficiently low in the hands of Silius Italicus, and history in those of Appian and Dion Cassius; the Romans themselves in the reign of Trajanus acknowledged their inferiority to their ancestors in oratory, and in a few centuries more the vessel was drained to the dregs. The great excellence of Tacitus is a mere individual instance, and we might as well ask, why Rome had produced no historian of equal merit before him, as why she produced none such after him. One other great man had died only a few years before the accession of Trajanus, whose example, had it been imitated, might have produced a great revolution in the intellectual state of the Roman empire. We speak of the elder Pliny, the natural historian. The particulars of his life and death recorded by his nephew, no less than the contents of his own work, display a thirst after real knowledge, and an active spirit in searching for it, by a personal study of the great book of nature, which rose far above the false views, and the literary indolence of his contemporaries. But he was a splendid exception to the spirit of his age, and there arose none to tread in his steps. Posterity were contented to read his writings, rather than improve upon them by imitating his example; and his authority continued to be quoted with reverence on all points of natural history, even down to a period when errors, which in him were unavoidable, could no longer be repeated without disgrace.

Difficulties in the way of progress.

It may be asked, however, why the example of Pliny was not followed, and why the most valuable parts of human knowledge were so unhappily neglected. In addition to the cause which we have already mentioned, namely, the scarcity of books, the practice of recitations, and the consequent discouragement of any compositions that were not lively and eloquent, there are several other circumstances which tended to produce the same effect. The natural indolence of mankind and their attachment to the old beaten track were powerful obstacles to the improvements that were most required; and if so many centuries elapsed in later times before the birth of Bacon, we need not wonder that no man of equal powers with Pliny arose at Rome between the age of Trajanus and the fall of the western empire. We must consider also the general helplessness of mind produced by such a government as that of Rome; which, while it deprived men of the noblest field for their exertions,—a participation direct or indirect in the management of the affairs of the nation,—did not, like some modern despotisms, encourage activity of another kind, by its patronage of manufactures and commerce. If we ask, further, why commerce did not thrive of itself without the

A. D. 115. aid of the government, and why the internal trade kept up between the different parts of an empire so admirably supplied with the means of mutual intercourse was not on a scale of the greatest magnitude, the answer is to be found partly in the habits of the nations of the south of Europe, which, with some exceptions, have never been addicted to much commercial enterprise, and much more to the want of capital amongst private individuals, and the absence of a demand for distant commodities amongst the people at large, owing to their general poverty. The enormous sums lavished by the emperors and possessed by some of the nobility, or by fortunate individuals of the inferior classes, have provoked the scepticism of many modern readers, as implying a mass of wealth in the Roman empire utterly incredible. They rather show how unequally property was distributed; an evil of very long standing at Rome, and aggravated probably by the merciless exactions of many of the emperors, who seemed literally unsatisfied so long as any of their subjects possessed anything. The Indian trade, which furnished articles of luxury for the consumption of the great, was therefore in a flourishing condition; but not so that internal commerce in articles of ordinary comfort, which in most countries of modern Europe is carried on with such incessant activity. Where trade is at a low ebb, the means of communication between different countries are always defective; and hence there exists undisturbed a large amount of inactivity and ignorance, and a necessarily low state of physical science and the study of nature. So that from all these causes together, there would result that effect on the intellectual condition of the Roman empire, which we have described as so unfavourable.

Of the moral state of the empire.

From this unsatisfactory picture we turn with delight to the contemplation of a promise and of a partial beginning of moral improvement, such as Rome had never seen before. We need not dwell upon the need that there was for such a reform, except to observe, that there can be no better proof of a degraded state of morals, than the want of natural affection in parents towards their offspring; and that the practice of infanticide,[1] or that of exposing children soon after their birth, together with the fact that Trajanus found it necessary to provide for five thousand children at the public expense, and that Pliny imitated his example on a smaller scale in his own town of Comum, sufficiently show how greatly parents neglected their most natural duty. It is remarkable, also, that the younger Pliny, a man by no means destitute of virtue, could not only write and circulate indecent verses, but deliberately justify himself for having done

[1] Is not the prevalence of infanticide among the Romans indicated by the observation which Tacitus makes concerning the Jews? (Hist. v. 5) "Augendæ multitudini consulitur. Nam necare quanquam ex agnatis, nefas." And, again, he says the same thing of the Germans (German. 19), "Numerum liberorum finire, aut quemquam ex agnatis necare, flagitium habetur."

so.[1] Yet, with all this, the writings of Epictetus and M. Aurelius Antoninus, if we may include the latter in a review of the reign of Trajanus, present a far purer and truer morality than the Romans had yet been acquainted with from any heathen pen. The providence of God, the gratitude which we owe him for all his gifts, and the duty of submission to his will, are prominently brought forward; while the duties of man to man, the claims which our neighbours have upon our constant exertions to do them service, and the excellence of abstaining from revenge or uncharitable feelings, are enforced with far greater earnestness than in the writings of the older philosophers. We cannot, indeed, refuse to admire the noble effort of the Stoic philosophy to release mankind from the pressure of physical evil, and to direct their minds with undivided affection to the pursuit of moral good. When the prospect beyond the grave was all darkness, the apparently confused scene of human life could not but perplex the best and wisest; sickness, loss of friends, poverty, slavery, or an untimely death, might visit him who had laboured most steadily in the practice of virtue; and even Aristotle himself[2] is forced with his own hands to destroy the theory of happiness which he had so elaborately formed, by the confession that the purest virtue might be so assailed with external evils, that it could only preserve its possessor from absolute misery. The Stoics assumed a bolder language, and strove with admirable firmness to convince reluctant nature of its truth. Happiness, as they taught, was neither unattainable by man, nor dependent on external circumstances; the providence of God had not,[3] according to the vulgar complaint, scattered good and evil indiscriminately upon the virtuous and the wicked; the gifts and the deprivations of fortune were neither good nor evil; and all that was really good was virtue, all that was really bad was vice, which were respectively chosen by men at their own will, and so chosen that the distribution of happiness and misery to each was in exact proportion to his own deservings. But as it was not possible to attain to this estimate of external things without the most severe discipline, the Stoics taught their disciples to desire nothing at all,[4] till they had so changed their nature as to desire nothing but what was really good. In the same way, they inculcated an absence of all feelings, in order to avoid subjecting ourselves to any other power than that of reason. When our friends were in distress,[5] we might appear outwardly to sympathize with their sorrow, but we were by no means to grieve with them in heart; a parent should not be roused to punish his son,[6] for it was better that the son should turn out ill, than that the father should be

A. D. 115.

Of the Stoic philosophy:

Its excellences.

Discipline of the Stoics.

[1] Epist iv. 14; v. 3.

[2] Ethic. Nicomach. i. 10. Ἄθλιος μὲν οὐδέποτε γένοιτ' ἂν ὁ εὐδαίμων, οὐ μὴν μακάριός γε, ἂν Πριαμικαῖς τύχαις περιπέσῃ.

[3] Epictetus, Enchiridion, 38. [4] Ibid. 7. [5] Ibid. 22. [6] Ibid. 16.

A. D. 115. diverted from the care of his own mind by his interest for another. Death was to be regarded as the common lot of all,[1] and the frailty of our nature should accustom us to view it without surprise and alarm. In itself it must be an extinction of being,[2] or a translation to another state, still equally under the government of a wise and good Providence; it could not then be justly an object of fear, and our only care should be to wait for its coming without anxiety, and to improve the time allotted to us before its arrival, whether it were but a day or half a century.

Its imperfections.

Such were the doctrines of the Stoic philosophers of the age of Trajanus; and assuredly it must be a strange blindness or uncharitableness that can refuse to admire them. He can entertain but unworthy notions of the wisdom of God, who is afraid lest the wisdom of man should rival it. The Stoic philosophy was unfitted for the weakness of human nature: its contempt of physical evil was revolting to the common sense of mankind, and was absolutely unattainable by persons of delicate bodily constitutions; and thus, generally speaking, by one-half of the human race, and particularly by that sex which under a wiser discipline has been found capable of attaining to such high excellence. Above all, it could not represent God to man under those peculiar characters, in which every affection and every faculty of our nature finds its proper object and guide. There are many passages in the works of Epictetus and M. Antoninus, in which His general providence and our duties towards Him are forcibly declared; still he seems to be at the most no more than a part of their system, and that neither the most striking, nor the most fully developed. But in order to make us like Him, it was necessary that in all our views of life, in our motives, in our hopes, and in our affections, God should be all in all; that he should be represented to us, not as He is himself, but as He stands related to us,—as our Father, and our Saviour, and the author of all our goodness; in those characters, in short, under which the otherwise incomprehensible Deity has so revealed himself as to be known and loved, not only by the strongest and wisest of his creatures, but also by the weak and the ignorant.

Philosophy not authoritative.

One great defect in the ancient systems of philosophy was their want of authority. It was opinion opposed to opinion, and thus the disputes of the several sects seemed incapable of ever arriving at a decision. Plain men, therefore, were bewildered by the conflicting pretensions of their teachers, when they turned to seek some relief from the utter folly and worthlessness of the popular religion. So that a large portion of mankind were likely to adopt the advice of Lucian,[3] to regard with contempt all the high discussions of the philosophers relating to the end and principle of our being, and to think

[1] M. Antoninus, iii. 3; iv. 32, 43. [2] Ibid. vii. 32.
[3] Necyomanteia, p. 166.

only of the present, bestowing serious thoughts upon nothing, and endeavouring to pass through life laughingly. Something, too, must be ascribed not only to the discordant opinions of the philosophers, but to their reputed dishonesty; and the suspicion which attached to them of turning morality into a trade. Their temptations were strong, and such as we have seen even the teachers of Christianity unable often to resist. In an age of ignorance, just made conscious of its own deficiencies, any moral and intellectual superiority is regarded with veneration; and when the Sophists professed to teach men the true business of life, they found many who were eager to listen to them. Then followed an aggravation of the evils of popular preaching under another name: the Sophists aspired to be orators as well as moralists; and their success would depend as much on their eloquence and impressive delivery, as on the soundness of their doctrines. In the eastern part of the empire their ascendency was great; and if the story of Philostratus be true,[1] the philosophers in Egypt formed as considerable a body, and, during the stay of Vespasianus at Alexandria, claimed the right of advising princes as boldly, as the Romish clergy of a later period have done. With these means of influence, and the consequent temptation to abuse it, the Sophists were without that organization and discipline, which in the Christian church preserved the purity, or checked the excesses of individual teachers; and not being responsible to any one for their conduct, they were less scrupulous in avoiding censure. The same want of organization prevented them from acting in concert in the several parts of the empire, and from directing their attention on a regular system to all classes of the community from the highest to the lowest. The Sophists were no missionaries, and poor or remote districts, which could tempt neither their cupidity nor their ambition, derived little advantage from their knowledge.

A. D. 115.

The Sophists.

Under these circumstances, the Christian religion had grown with surprising rapidity, and must have produced effects on the character and happiness of individuals, far greater than the common details of history will allow us to estimate. If our sole information were derived from Pliny's famous letter, we must yet be struck with the first instance in Roman history of a society for the encouragement of the highest virtues, those of piety, integrity, and purity, and embracing persons of both sexes and of all conditions. Such a project was indeed a complete remedy for the prevailing faults of the times: it promised not only to *teach* goodness, but actively to disseminate it; and to do away those degrading distinctions between slaves and freemen, and even between men and women, which had so limited the views of the philosophers in their plans for the improvement of mankind. Of all subjects for history none would be so profitable as the fortunes of the Christian society; to trace the various causes

Progress of the Christian religion.

[1] In Vita Apollonii Tyanei, v. 27, *et seq.*

A. D. 115. which impeded or corrupted its operations, and to bring at the same time fully into view that vast amount of good which its inherent excellence enabled it still to effect, amidst all external obstacles and internal corruptions. We think that its friends have not rightly understood the several elements which have led to its partial failure, while we are certain that its enemies can never appreciate its benefits. But we must not enter upon this most inviting field at present; and from the long, but very imperfect survey which we have attempted to give of the state of the empire, we must at last return to the history of Trajanus, and hasten to conclude this memoir, after we have briefly noticed the character of his individual government, and his expedition into the East.

Of the government of Trajanus.

The highest spirit of a sovereign is to labour to bring his government, in every point of view, as nearly as possible to a state of absolute perfection; his next highest praise, is to administer the system which he finds established, with the greatest purity and liberality. This glory was certainly deserved by Trajanus; and although he never thought of amending some of the greatest evils of the times, yet, as far as his people had suffered from the direct tyranny and wastefulness of former governments, his reign was a complete relief; and we can easily account for the warm affection with which his memory was so long regarded in after ages. He pleased the Romans by observing many of the forms of a free constitution; nor ought we to suspect that in so doing he was actuated by policy only, for he was quite capable of feeling the superior dignity of the magistrate of a free people to that of a tyrant; and he most probably spoke from his heart, when on presenting the sword to the præfect of the Prætorian guards, he desired him to use that weapon in his service so long as he governed well, but to turn it against him if ever he should abuse his power.[1] There is the same spirit observable in his conduct during his third consulship: as soon as he had been elected, he walked up to the chair of the consul who presided at the comitia; and whilst he stood before it, the consul, without rising from his seat,[2] administered to him the usual consular oath, that he would discharge his office faithfully. And when his consulship had expired, he again took an oath,[3] that he had done nothing, during the time that he had held it, which was contrary to law. These professions of regard to the welfare of his people were well verified by his actions. His suppression of the informers; his discouraging prosecutions under the *Leges Majestatis;* his relaxation of the tax on inheritances; and the impartiality with which he suffered the law to take its course against his own procurators, when they were guilty of any abuse of power, were all real proofs of his sincerity; and they were not belied by any subsequent measures at a

His justice.

[1] Dion Cassius, lxviii. 778; Sex. Aur. Victor. in Trajano.
[2] Pliny, Panegyric. 64. [3] Ibid. 65.

later period of his reign. The causes which were brought before himself immediately, he tried with fairness and attention;[1] and it was on an occasion of this kind, when Eurythmus, one of his freedmen and procurators, was implicated in a charge of tampering with a will, and the prosecutors seemed reluctant to press their accusation against a person so connected with the emperor, that he observed to them, "Eurythmus is not a Polycletus," (one of the most powerful of Nero's freedmen and favourites,) "nor am I a Nero." In his care of his provinces, and in his answers to the questions to him by the younger Pliny when proconsul of Bithynia, he manifested a love of justice, an attention to the comforts of the people, and a minute knowledge of the details of the administration, which are most highly creditable to him. It is mentioned, too, that he was very careful in noticing the good conduct of the officers employed in the provinces;[2] and considered the testimonials of regard given by a province to its governor, as affording him a just title to higher distinctions at Rome. The materials for the history of this reign are indeed so scanty, that we know scarcely anything of the lives and characters of the men who were most distinguished under it, nor can we enliven our narrative with many of those biographical sketches, which by bringing out individuals in a clear and strong light, illustrate most happily the general picture of the age. But C. Plinius Secundus, whom Trajanus made proconsul of Bithynia, affords one memorable exception; and we gladly seize this opportunity to bestow some particular notice on one of the most distinguished persons who lived in these times.

A. D. 115.

Pliny the younger.



Pliny the Younger.

C. Plinius Cæcilius Secundus was born at or near Comum, about the sixth year of the reign of Nero, or A. D. 61. His mother was a sister of C. Plinius, the natural historian; and as he lost his father at an early period, he removed with her to the house of his uncle, with whom he resided for some years, and was adopted by him, and, consequently, assumed his name in addition to his parental one, Cæcilius. He appears to have been of a delicate constitution, and even in his youth to have possessed little personal activity and enterprise; for at the time of the famous eruption of Vesuvius, when he was between seventeen and eighteen, he continued his studies at home, and allowed his uncle to set out to the mountain without him. In literature, however, he made considerable progress, according to

[1] Pliny, Epist. vi. 31. [2] Ibid. Panegyric. 70.

A. D. 115. the estimate of those times: he composed a Greek tragedy when he was only fourteen,[1] and wrote Latin verses on several occasions throughout his life; he attended the lectures of Quinctilianus,[2] and some other eminent rhetoricians, and assiduously cultivated his style as an elegant writer and an orator. In this latter capacity he acquired great credit, and to this cause he was probably indebted for his political advancement. He went through the whole succession of public offices from that of quæstor to the high dignities of consul and augur, and was so esteemed by Trajanus as to be selected by him for the government of Bithynia, because there were many abuses in that province which required a man of ability and integrity to remove them.[3] The trust so honourably committed to him he seems to have discharged with great fidelity; and the attention to every branch of his duties, which his letters to Trajanus display, is peculiarly praiseworthy in a man of sedentary habits, and accustomed to the enjoyments of his villas, and the stimulants of literary glory at Rome. His character as a husband, a master, and a friend, was affectionate, kind, and generous; he displayed also a noble liberality towards his native town Comum, by forming a public library there, and devoting a yearly sum of 300,000 sesterces for ever to the maintenance of children born of free parents who were citizens of Comum. A man like Plinius, of considerable talents and learning, possessed of great wealth, and of an amiable and generous disposition, was sure to meet with many friends, and with still more who would gratify his vanity by their praises and apparent admiration of his abilities. But as a writer he has done nothing to entitle him to a very high place in the judgment of posterity. His Panegyric of Trajanus belongs to a class of compositions, the whole object of which was to produce a striking effect, and it must not aspire to any greater reward. It is ingenious and eloquent; but by its very nature it gives no room for the exercise of the highest faculties of the mind, nor will its readers derive from it any more substantial benefit than the pleasure which a mere elegant composition can afford. His 'Letters,' are valuable to us, as all original letters of other times must be, because they necessarily throw much light on the period at which they were written. But many of them are ridiculously studied, and leave the impression, so fatal to our interest in the perusal of such compositions, that they were written for the express purpose of publication. In short, the works of Plinius, compared with the reputation which he enjoyed among his contemporaries, seem to us greatly to confirm the view which we have taken of the inferiority of the literature of this period, and of the unworthy notions which were entertained of its proper excellence.

His official dignities.

The eastern expedition of Trajanus.

It was in the seventeenth year of the reign of Trajanus, after a peaceful period of seven or eight years, that war broke out again in the

[1] Pliny, Panegyric. vii. 4. [2] Ibid. ii. 14. [3] Ibid. x. 41.

East, and the Roman and Parthian empires became involved in direct hostilities with each other. We are neither acquainted with the causes of the quarrel, nor with the precise period of its commencement; but we are merely told, that the chief operations of the first campaign consisted in the capture of Nisibis and Batnæ,[1] towns of Mesopotamia, and that for these successes, the senate bestowed on the emperor the title of Parthicus. Nisibis is a name which often occurs in the history of the subsequent wars between Rome and Persia; and Batnæ was a Macedonian colony,[2] and the seat of a celebrated fair, held annually in the month of September, to which there was a general resort of merchants for the purchase of commodities of India, China, and other parts of the East. On the approach of winter, Trajanus returned to Antioch, and during his stay in that city it was visited by a most fatal earthquake, which lasted for several days, and destroyed a vast multitude of persons of every condition; Trajanus himself, it is said, escaping with difficulty from the ruins of the house in which he was residing.[3] The next campaign presents us with a series of rapid and short-lived conquests, such as the East has often witnessed. It appears that the moment was happily chosen, for the Parthian monarchy was torn by intestine contests, and was unable to offer any resistance; so that the advance of the Roman troops was a triumphant progress, and they crossed the Tigris, overran Adiabene, were gratified by visiting Babylon as conquerors, and finally took Ctesiphon, the capital of the Parthian empire. Trajanus, elated with these successes, and emulating the glory of Alexander while he traversed the countries which had been the scene of his exploits, descended the Tigris to its mouth, to behold the Persian Gulf; and it is said, that seeing there a vessel ready to sail for India, he exclaimed that if he were a younger man he would carry his arms against the Indians. But on his return from the sea-coast to Babylon, he learned how sudden are the vicissitudes of Asiatic warfare. While he had been dreaming of the invasion of India, his conquests of the preceding year were vanishing from his grasp. As soon as the immediate terror of his army was withdrawn, the countries which he had overrun shook off the yoke, and Nisibis, amongst other places, either drove out or reduced the Roman garrison, and recovered its independence. Nor were the efforts of Trajanus as successful as they had been in the preceding summer. Nisibis, indeed, was retaken, and the emperor enjoyed the empty glory of giving away the crown of Parthia to a prince whom Dion Cassius calls 'Parthamaspates,' and whose reign was likely to last no longer than whilst the Romans were at hand to protect him. But Maximus, a man of consular rank, on whom Trajanus had bestowed the command of a separate army, was defeated and slain in Mesopo-

A. D. 115.

State of the Parthian monarchy.

A. D. 116.

[1] Dion Cassius, lxviii. 781. [2] Ammian. Marcel. xiv. 7, edit. Vales.
[3] Dion Cassius, *ubi supra*.

A. D. 117. tamia; and Trajanus himself closed the campaign with disgrace, after having lost a great number of men in a fruitless siege of Hatra,[1] a small town of Mesopotamia, standing in the midst of a desert, and protected by the utter barrenness of the country around it, and the scarcity of fresh water. At the end of the season the Romans fell back upon Syria, with the hope of renewing their invasion of Meso-

His sickness, potamia in the following spring; but Trajanus was seized with a lingering illness, which obliged him to resign all thoughts of taking the command in person; and he wished, therefore, to return to Rome, leaving the army to the care of Ælius Hadrianus, a native of the Spanish town of Italica, in which he had himself been born, and who had married his niece. As he had no children, the state of his health excited great anxiety as to the person whom he would adopt as his successor, and his wife Plotina is said to have used all her influence in favour of Hadrianus; but it was generally believed that she could never persuade her husband to adopt him, and that the instrument which she produced, and sent to Hadrianus at Antioch immediately before the death of Trajanus, was, in reality, a forgery of her own. It was known, at least, that she was present with the emperor when he died, and that she took care that no particulars of his illness should transpire, but such as she chose herself to circulate.

and death. Trajanus died at Salinus in Cilicia,[2] in the month of August, A.D. 117, after a reign of nineteen years and a little more than six months.

August, A. D. 117. In addition to what we have said of his public character, we may add, that he was an affectionate husband and brother; and that the cordiality which subsisted between his wife Plotina and his sister Mariana[3] was thought to reflect honour, not only on themselves, but on him. It is said by Sex. Victor, that he was addicted to intemperance in drinking; and the circumstance of his being dropsical in his last illness agrees with this imputation. But as a sovereign, his popularity during his lifetime was only equalled by the regard entertained for his memory by posterity; and his claim to the title of Optimus, which the senate solemnly bestowed on him, was confirmed by the voice of succeeding times; inasmuch as for two hundred years after his death the senate,[4] in pouring forth their prayers for the happiness of a new emperor, were accustomed to wish that he might surpass the prosperity of Augustus, and the goodness of Trajanus.

[1] See Ammian. Marcel. xxv. 301.
[2] Dion Cassius, lxviii. 786.
[3] Pliny, Panegyric. 83, 84.
[4] Eutropius, in Trajano, lib. viii.



Hadrian. Equestrian Statue.—*Rossi, Raccolta di Statue Antiche.*

CHAPTER VI.

ÆLIANUS HADRIANUS.

FROM AUGUST 11, A.D. 117, TO JULY 2, 138.

TRAJANUS left the Roman empire at the zenith of its power. The precept of Augustus had been forgotten. Not only Britain and the extensive province of Dacia, but vast countries in the east, had been added to it. The whole civilized world, and most of the barbarous nations at that time known, bowed beneath the Roman yoke. But after the death of the conqueror, and indeed from the commencement of the disorder which terminated his life, this overgrown, unwieldy power began gradually to sink under its own weight. The wisdom, however, of his three immediate successors, Hadrianus and the two Antonines, arrested for a while the progress of decay; and their reigns present, with little interruption, a prospect of general peace, and a system of good government. A. D. 117.

A. D. 117. Hadrianus's accession, and letter to the senate.

Hadrianus, who was commander-in-chief of the forces in Syria, received at Antioch, on the eleventh of August, the news of the decease of his royal master, who left no heir natural or adopted.[1] It appears that this important event was not divulged until measures had been taken for Hadrianus's succession. The legions of Syria readily proclaimed him emperor, and he wrote himself to the senate to request its confirmation of their election. In this letter he apologized for having assumed the imperial dignity without the previous consent of the senate; pleading, in his excuse, the impatience of the army to give a head to the republic. He professed his unwillingness that the customary honours should be decreed him, on this or any other occasion, unless he should himself first ask for them; declared that the public good should be the primary object of his administration, and pledged himself that no senator should be put to death, unless by sentence of his peers. He concluded with the pious request (to use the language of the age) that they would rank his adoptive father among the gods.

Forgery of the empress Plotina.

Dion Cassius[2] asserts, on the authority of his father, Apronianus, who was præfect of Cilicia, that Plotina, the widow of Trajanus, in order to insure the imperial crown to Hadrianus, forged,[3] with the assistance of Tatianus, who was one of his guardians, a letter of adoption from her royal consort to the senate. We are told, too, that she had previously concealed in the chamber of the dying emperor a man, who counterfeited his voice, and proclaimed his adoption of Hadrianus as his successor. The fact of the forgery seems established; and yet it may be thought extraordinary that the empress should have given herself this trouble; since it appears improbable, that in the case of Hadrianus, himself related to Trajanus, husband of his next heiress, and holding at the time the chief military command, the senate would have departed from its accustomed complacency to the legions. Plotina might, perhaps, have apprehended an objection to Hadrianus, arising from a suspicion, that Trajanus must have had some good reason for neglecting to make so natural a choice.

The senate confirms Hadrianus.

The circumstance of Plotina's signature[4] being attached to the letter of adoption, instead of the emperor's, as had in all former instances been customary, gave rise to a suspicion of its authenticity.

[1] Dion Cassius, Hadrian. 255. [2] Ibid. 256.

[3] Dion Cassius, says Crevier, is positive that Plotina sacrificed her virtue to Hadrianus (Crev. 18, 2); but we cannot understand the expression ἡ Πλωτίνα ἐξ ἐρωτικῆς φιλίας πλησιόν τι ὄντα, &c. as a positive assertion of the fact of criminal intercourse. Hadrianus had always been a favourite with her, and she had made the match between him and her niece Sabina; whom, having no children, she may have considered as a daughter. Hadrianus, as Dion observes, was in the neighbourhood, and a man of great power; Tatianus was at her elbow; and there were sufficient reasons for her anxiety to promote Hadrianus's interests.

[4] Dion Cassius, Hadrian.

But the senate did not think proper to notice this informality; and, A. D. 117.
in its reply to Hadrianus's letter, it confirmed the election of the army, agreed to all he had proposed, and offered him, in spite of his injunction to the contrary, the title of 'Pater Patriæ,' and the honours of a triumph, which it had been proposed to decree to Trajanus for the victories in the east. The former he modestly declined to assume for the present; and the latter, although as he had had considerable commands both in the Dacian and Parthian campaigns, there was some pretence for the substitution, he positively refused, and directed that they should be given to the ashes of the deceased conqueror, who was thus the only man who triumphed after he was dead.

Hadrianus's dream.

The approaching exaltation of Hadrianus was announced to him, in a dream, the day before the intelligence of the death of Trajanus reached him.[1] A flame of fire descended from the heavens, which were beautifully serene, upon the left side of his throat, and crept innocuously round to the right, without alarming him. This was, of course, considered as a fortunate presage of his reign.

His birth and parentage.

Ælianus Hadrianus was born[2] on the 24th of January, A. D. 76. His grandfather, Marullinus, was the first senator of his family, which came from Italica, in Spain, the native country of Trajanus. His father, Ælius Hadrianus Afer, dying after he had attained the rank of prætor, appointed Trajan by his will, conjointly with the Roman knight Cælius Tatianus, guardian to his son, who was then only ten years of age. Afer was first cousin[3] to Trajanus. Hadrianus was therefore a near kinsman of that prince; and being, moreover, connected with him by marriage,[4] might, with better title than most of his predecessors, aspire to the empire; if indeed it could be, in any degree, considered as hereditary.



Hadrianus.

His early life.

We do not find any further mention made of Hadrianus, except that he spent the years of adolescence with his family in Spain,

[1] Dion Cassius, Hadrian.

[2] Spart. (Hadrian. 1) says at Rome; Eutropius, in Spain.

[3] Spart. 2. Echard supposes Hadrianus to have been Trajan's nephew by his mother Domitia Paulina; others say, by the father. But Afer was certainly not brother to Trajan; and Hadrianus being his nephew by marriage has, probably, given rise to the confusion which historians have made on this subject.

[4] Dion Cassius.

A. D. 117. until the adoption of Trajanus by Nerva. He was then serving as tribune in the army in Lower Mysia, and was deputed by those legions to carry their congratulations to his cousin and guardian on the choice of the reigning Cæsar. He obtained on his arrival an appointment in the army on the Rhine; and, on Nerva's death, he was the bearer of the intelligence to Trajanus, then in Lower Germany, and the first to salute him emperor. This advantage he gained by pursuing his journey on foot, when his carriage broke down; an accident contrived by his brother-in-law Servianus, who wished[1] to insure the prior arrival of a creature of his own, employed on the same errand. When Trajanus entered upon his fourth consulship, he appointed Hadrianus his quæstor; and at the expiration of his quæstorship[2] he was employed to digest the acts of the senate, and not long after followed his sovereign to the Dacian war, where, in command of a legion, he distinguished himself so much that Trajanus made him a present of the diamond[3] which had been given him by Nerva. He was tribune of the people A. D. 105, four years after his quæstorship, prætor in A. D. 107, and 'substituted consul' in A. D. 109. In the interval between his prætorship and consulship, he was governor of Lower Pannonia,[4] and discharged the civil and military duties of his office with great credit to himself. He kept the Sarmatians in subjection, and maintained the strictest discipline in his army, but permitted no abuse of authority on the part of the emperor's intendants. The consulship was the reward of his good conduct. He accompanied Trajanus in most of his expeditions, and in the last year of that prince's reign we find him consul in ordinary and commander-in-chief in Syria.

He marries Sabina.

Notwithstanding the acknowledged merit of Hadrianus, it is asserted that he was unsuccessful in his exertions to recommend himself to Trajanus, who could not be prevailed upon to adopt him.[5] Difference of temper and disposition may, perhaps, account for the emperor's repugnance. The literary acquirements of Hadrianus were no recommendation in the eyes of Trajanus. The taste of the one for the arts and sciences disposed him to prefer peace, while the other delighted in camps, and loved the "pomp and circumstance of glorious war." Hadrianus became, however, a favourite of the empress Plotina, and it was by her management, with the assistance of Licinius Sura,[6] who possessed the emperor's confidence, that he obtained the hand of Sabina,[7] daughter of Matidia, and granddaughter of Mariana, sister of Trajanus.

His popularity and accomplishments.

Hadrianus was extremely popular at the time of his accession, and began his reign under the happiest auspices. He had filled with great honour the highest civil and military situations, and was the best scholar and most accomplished man of his day. The mortifi-

[1] Spart. 2. [2] Ibid. 3. [3] Ibid. 14. [4] Ibid. 16.
[5] Eutrop. [6] Spart. 3. [7] Casaub. not. ad Spart.

cation he experienced when, in reading the speeches of Trajanus to the senate, by virtue of his office of emperor's quæstor, he observed that his rustic accent[1] was ridiculed, is said to have led him to cultivate his natural abilities, and he became afterwards the first orator of the age, and remarkable for the purity of his language and pronunciation. He was perfect master of Greek,[2] a ready linguist,[3] an excellent mathematician, an adept in physic and mineralogy, an admirable musician, and a statuary; and he excelled in painting, which was in early life his favourite amusement.[4] His memory was so extraordinary that we are assured he could retain the names even of the private soldiers of his army; and his self-possession such (with no small apparent contradiction) that he could write, dictate, and converse at the same time. But Hadrianus was not less remarkable for bodily prowess. He was an expert huntsman, able in arms on foot and on horseback, and foremost in all manly exercises. When he succeeded to the empire, he was forty years of age. He was tall,[5] of manly form, and, if we may judge by the ancient busts of him, which have been found in great number, very handsome. He was the first Roman emperor who wore his beard.[6]

A. D. 117.



Sabina.

The state of affairs in the east not permitting Hadrianus to leave the country, he went to Selinunte, in Cilicia, to pay a last tribute of respect to the ashes of his predecessor, and returned to Antioch. He consigned the sepulchral urn to the care of Plotina,[7] his mother-in-law, Matidia, and Tatianus, upon whom he conferred the dignity of prætorian præfect. He directed that it should be conveyed to Rome by sea, brought into the city, upon its arrival, in a triumphal chariot, with all the pageantry of a triumph, and placed beneath the conqueror's magnificent pillar, which is still one of the principal ornaments of Rome. He instituted also Parthian games, in memory of the victories of Trajanus, of which an anniversary celebration was observed for many years afterwards.[8]

He remains in the east.

The god Terminus, who had resisted the will of Jupiter, yielded to the command of Hadrianus.[9] The first important measure of his

[1] Spart. 4. [2] Eutrop. [3] Dion Cassius. [4] Ibid. [5] Spart. 11.
[6] Dion Cassius, Trajan. 248. All the ancient busts of Hadrianus at Rome have a short bushy beard, while those of his predecessors are smooth-chinned. See also Rec. de Têtes par de Câylus d'après les Pierres Grav. Antiq. pp. 41, 51, 88, 97.
[7] Spart. 5.
[8] Dion Cassius. Hadrian. 256.
[9] Gibbon, Spart., Eutrop.

A. D. 117. The Euphrates again the boundary of the empire.

reign was to withdraw the troops from Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria, and make the Euphrates once more the eastern boundary of the empire. This conduct has been attributed by some writers to pusillanimity, and by others to envy of the fame of Trajanus; but Hadrianus, with all his faults, certainly had the good of his subjects at heart, and had, probably, projected improvements, and formed plans, of which he foresaw the disappointment, if he should involve himself in distant wars. The news of the disorder of Trajanus had already awakened among the newly-conquered nations the hope of escape from foreign thraldom. The Moors,[1] in the remote parts of Africa, the fierce nations of Britain, and the Sarmatians upon the Theisse and the Danube, were already in commotion. Egypt, Libya, and Palestine had scarce forgotten the general revolt of the Jews. Judging, therefore, the extreme provinces beyond the Euphrates to be rather an incumbrance[2] to the empire than an advantage, he was, perhaps, only prudent in deciding to relinquish them at once with a good grace, and to acknowledge Chosroës as their king. He is said to have cited the example[3] of Cato, who restored to the Macedonians their liberty, because he could not keep them in subjection; and to have been only deterred[4] from abandoning Dacia by the representation of his ministers that the lives and property of the Roman citizens, who had been induced by Trajanus to settle in that province, would be in such case at the mercy of the barbarians.

Hadrianus provides for the tranquillity of the east, and returns to Rome.

Hadrianus appears to have distrusted Lusius Quietus,[5] a distinguished general and favourite of Trajanus, who was governor of Palestine at the death of that prince. He was superseded in his government, and removed from the command of the Moorish troops.[6] Martius Turbo, who succeeded him, effected the complete subjection of the Jews, and quelled the disturbances in Mauritania. Catilius Severus was appointed præfect of Syria. The tranquillity of the east being thus secured, Hadrianus visited the province of Dacia, which was in a very unsettled state, and proceeded, by way of Illyria,[7] to Rome.

A. D. 118. His liberality.

His first entrance, as emperor, into the capital, was marked by abundant largesses to the people, and by many acts of generosity, the good effects of which were felt throughout the empire. He lessened the customary contributions[8] on his accession, forgave all debts to the treasury and exchequer, remitted the arrears of taxes due from the provinces, and burnt the public accounts in the forum,[9] as a pledge

[1] Crev. 19, 1; Spart. 5.
[2] Echard, Hadrian.
[3] Spart. 5.
[4] Eutrop.
[5] Spart. 6.
[6] Sublatis gentibus Mauris; meaning, evidently, the native Moors in the Roman service, who were under his immediate command, and not the Roman legions serving in Mauritania.
[7] Spart. 6.
[8] Aurum coronarium. This was a tax or contribution levied in Italy and the provinces on an accession, adoption, the gaining an important victory, and similar occasions. Casaub. not. ad Spart. 5.
[9] Spart. 8.

that his claims should never be renewed. He increased the funds A. D. 118.
set apart by Trajanus for the maintenance and education of destitute children, and extended his bounty, according to the size of their families, to many decayed patricians, whose poverty was not the consequence of debauchery. The travelling expenses of the præfects and magistrates, which had hitherto been at their own cost, were carried by his order to the account of his exchequer;[1] and he directed that the forfeited estates of condemned persons should no longer be considered the private property of the emperor, but should belong to the public treasury.

On his birthday he entertained the populace with spectacles and public games, in which a hundred lions[2] and as many lionesses were baited; and he expended vast sums in presents of money, which were distributed in the theatres to the men and women separately. It was not, therefore, without reason that a monument[3] was erected to record his liberality, nor without fair pretext that he accepted, in the second year of his reign, the title of 'Pater Patriæ,' which was again offered to him by the senate.

His respect for the senate.

Hadrianus lost no opportunity of marking his respect for the senate. When at Rome, he made a point of attending its meetings, and consulted it in all affairs of importance; and he imitated the example of Augustus in forming a privy council, composed of its principal members.

The senatorial dignity was preserved by the importance he attached to it, and by the unfrequency of new creations. He often spoke of such of his predecessors as had shown a contempt for it in terms of unqualified indignation; and he observed, when he conferred it upon Tatianus,[4] that he had no power to advance him further.

He would not allow Roman knights to sit in judgment upon senators, and for this reason he took care to appoint prætorian[5] præfects of senatorial rank. He lived on terms of social intercourse with the principal senators,[6] not only inviting them to his own table, but accepting their invitations in his turn, and visiting frequently such as were confined to their houses by illness. He accepted presents from them, and was fond of making some unexpected return.

His affability.

He did not, however, confine these attentions to persons of this class only, but extended them occasionally to knights, and even to freemen. Towards the people his manner was always kind, and he courted popularity by going with them to the baths. On one of these occasions, seeing an old soldier, whom he had known in service, rubbing his back against a marble slab, he inquired the cause of so unwonted a proceeding; and being informed that it was because he had no servant to rub him dry, he made him a present of slaves

[1] See Casaub., Salmas., Grot. not. ad Spart. 7. [2] Dion Cassius.
[3] The inscription of this monument is preserved in Scalig. not. Euseb. Chron.
[4] Spart. 8. [5] Lamprid. [6] Dion Cassius, Spart. 8.

A. D. 118. and money. Some veterans[1] of a less deserving character, scrubbing themselves against a wall, in expectation of a similar result, were, however, reminded by the emperor that there were enough of them to help one another.

On another occasion, he was followed by a woman,[2] who insisted upon speaking to him; and cried, in reply to his assurance that he had no time to attend to her, "Noli igitur regere" ("Cease then to rule us"). Hadrianus immediately turned, and gave her his attention.

A. D. 119. Expedition against the Sarmatæ and Roxolani.

Hadrianus's passage the preceding year, through Dacia and Illyria, had no lasting effect in intimidating the Sarmatæ and the Roxolani, who complained of the non-payment of a pension[3] that had been promised them. The disturbed state of the frontier, and their incursions into Mysia, obliged the emperor to march against them with a considerable army.

This was the only campaign in which he was personally engaged after his accession to the empire. The Romans had the advantage in battle;[4] and it was, perhaps, then that the Batavian cavalry swam across the Danube in complete armour,[5] to the inexpressible astonishment of the barbarians, who showed no further desire to contend with such daring enemies.

Hadrianus does not seem to have been satisfied that their panic would survive the departure of his formidable Batavians, for we find that he complied with their demands,[6] and directed the arches[7] of Trajan's celebrated bridge over the Danube to be broken down, in order to impede their incursions into Mysia. And that he might have no further anxiety for the tranquillity of the frontier, he appointed Martius Turbo, a man of approved talent, whom, as we have before stated, he had left in Syria, governor of Dacia and Pannonia, with all the honours and privileges that the præfect of Egypt enjoyed under Augustus.

Conspiracy against Hadrianus.

While he was upon this expedition, four men of consular dignity, Domitius Nigrinus, Lusius Quietus, the ex-governor of Palestine, Palma, and Celsus, entered into a conspiracy[8] to assassinate him

[1] Spart. 17.

[2] Dion Cassius. A similar story is told of Philip of Macedon; both Dion Cassius and Spartianus relate it of Hadrianus.

[3] The Roman emperors had frequently, under the name of pension, bought off the inroads of the barbarians. The complaint of the Sarmatians was default of promised payment. Crevier (19, 1) thinks it impossible that Trajanus would have consented to so degrading a measure, and lays it to the charge of Hadrianus. Dion Cassius says nothing on the subject.

[4] Euseb. Chron. [5] Dion Cassius. [6] Spart. 7.

[7] Crevier attributes this order of Hadrianus to his envy of Trajan. We have followed Dion Cassius (Trajan. 246): Ἀδριάνος δὲ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ τοῖς βαρβαροῖς τοὶς φρουροῖς αυτῆς βιαζόμενοις ῥαδία διαβάσις ἐς τήν Μίσιαν ᾖ. κ. τ. λ.

[8] Dion Cassius, Spart. The former leaves the guilt of these persons rather in doubt; but Spartianus, who gives more details, speaks of the conspiracy as certain.

during the chase. In the two preceding years Hadrianus had given many proofs of clemency. He had refused to punish, at the instigation of Tatianus, the disaffection of Bibius Macer,[1] Laberius Maximus, and Crassus Frugi; he had pardoned many offences, and shown a forgetfulness of past injuries. But, on the discovery of this conspiracy, he determined that the culprits should pay the penalty of their offence; and they were accordingly executed, pursuant to the sentence of the senate.[2] A. D. 118. Execution of four consular persons.

Apprehensive that his popularity would suffer by this instance of severity to four principal senators, three of whom, and particularly Lusius Quietus, had been favourites of Trajanus, and distinguished servants of the public, he afterwards denied[3] that he had ordered their execution, which he attributed to the hasty zeal of Tatianus, who about this time was superseded as prætorian præfect by Martius Turbo.

Before he returned to Rome he ordered a largesse of three pieces of gold to each citizen; and, on his arrival, he directed a distribution to be made of wine, meat, and corn, to double that amount. He amused the populace for six successive days with games,[4] chariot races, and combats of gladiators, which were conducted with unusual splendour. The lobbies of the amphitheatre were strewed with balm and saffron, and refreshments and precious spices were presented to the spectators. Renewed largesses of Hadrianus.

After a short residence in Rome, during which he had paid great attention to public business, and secured the affection of the senate by his courtesy, and that of the people by his liberality, Hadrianus visited Campania, and then set out upon a tour through the empire. In the province of Gaul,[5] into which he passed on leaving Italy, his progress was marked by munificence, and by attention to the public institutions: he inspected personally and minutely the state of the fortresses, arsenals, and military stores, and then proceeded into Germany, where he was occupied some time in reviving the discipline of the army, and establishing between his dominions and the barbarous nations of the north, as he afterwards did also in other frontiers of the empire, a boundary line, which, where there were no natural defences, such as heights or rivers, was marked by a sort of rude though substantial picket-fence.[6] To the stations along this line many of the burgs of southern Germany owe[7] their origin. He checked the lascivious effeminacy into which the troops had relapsed A. D. 120. Hadrianus's voyages.

[1] Spart. 5. [2] Ibid. 7. [3] Dion Cassius. [4] Spart. 8. [5] Ibid. 10.

[6] Crevier calls this "a line faced with a rampart, where they stuck great boughs of trees, the branches of which were wrapt together." Echard, "a line marked by stones, trees, and pillars." The obvious meaning of the passage (Spart. 12), "Stipitibus magnis in modum muralis sepis funditus jactis atque connexis," seems to be a stout picket-fence, which (probably formed of the raw material on the spot) was something between a wall and a hedge.

[7] Casaub. not. ad Spart.

A. D. 120. during long inaction, more by his example than by sudden severity, and informed himself of the moral conduct,[1] date of service, and occupations of the soldiers as well as the officers. Wherever he went he pursued this system; dined often amongst them on ration bread, pork, and cheese, with sour wine[2] and water; and generally travelled on foot, sometimes on horseback, but never in a carriage, and invariably bareheaded,[3] whether he were traversing the snows of the Alps or marching under the scorching sun of Egypt.

Military reform in Germany.

Wall built in Britain.

From Germany he passed through Belgium to England, but not with the intention of recovering the territory, which, since Agricola's conquests, had been surrendered to the natives. It was his object to promote a good understanding between them and the Roman settlers. Nevertheless, to impede the inroads of the northern barbarians, he constructed a wall with a ditch,[4] or line of rampart, which extended from the mouth of the Tyne,[5] near Newcastle, to the Solway Frith, and divided the unconquered country from the Roman province.

Hadrianus in Spain.

On his return to Gaul, he received despatches with accounts of disturbances in Egypt, occasioned by the discovery of an ox, entitled, by the marks[6] upon his person, to succeed to their deceased god Apis,[7] and which the different cities were anxious to obtain the honour of possessing. We are not told what means Hadrianus adopted to restore peace, or to what city he awarded the prize, but the commotion was not sufficiently alarming to divert him from his design of travelling into Spain. At Tarracona, where he spent the winter, he rebuilt the temple of Augustus, which was in a state of decay, and called a meeting of the provincial deputies. The wisdom of his ordinances promoted the prosperity of the country, and his dexterous policy appeased the discontents to which the conscription had given rise. During his stay at this place, as he was walking in the garden of his residence, a slave ran at him, with a drawn sword, which he wrested from him with difficulty: his attendants ran to his assistance, and secured the criminal; but, on being informed that he laboured under a temporary fit of insanity, the emperor sent him a physician, instead of the executioner.

He returns to the east.

Before he left Spain, Hadrianus made a tour of the country, and left many marks of his munificence behind him; but it is remarkable

[1] Dion Cassius.

[2] Vinegar and water, according to Echard; but Spartianus, probably, means the vin ordinaire drank by the soldiers, which was of a sourish quality.

[3] Dion Cassius.

[4] Not to be confounded with the wall commonly called the Roman wall, built by Severus. This wall, or rampart, was built of wood and earth, but partly also of stone. See Cellar. Geog. Ant. 1, 11, c. iv.

[5] Crevier says it was eighty miles long. Echard says it ran from the river Eden, in Northumberland, to the Tyne, and was only eight miles in length: Spartian says eighty. See Casaub. not. ad Spart.

[6] Rollin's An. Hist. [7] Spart. 12.

that, although he granted peculiar privileges and immunities to Italica and Seville, he did not revisit these scenes of his early youth. From Spain he passed into Mauritania, where he quelled some revolt,[1] for which the senate ordered a solemn thanksgiving to the gods, and thence penetrated to the eastern frontier. Having visited all the Asiatic provinces, he embarked for Greece, and spent a winter in Athens. In this city, to which he was much attached, he accepted the office of archon, which he had already once filled[2] before he was emperor, and was initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. In his office of chief magistrate, he wore the dress of the country,[3] and celebrated with great magnificence the Dionysian games. He embellished Athens so much, that one quarter of it bore his name, and it was said to be rather the city of Hadrianus[4] than of Theseus; and he made the Athenians an annual present of corn and money, gave them the island of Cephalonia, and enabled them to establish a colony in Delos, which was called the new Athens of Hadrianus. But he conferred upon them a more important benefit, in forming a new code of laws, compiled from those of Draco, Solon, and other ancient lawgivers; in enforcing an impartial administration of justice, and in forbidding the senators from farming the public revenue, either in their own names or by proxy.

A. D. 120.

He becomes archon at Athens.

It was probably during his residence at Athens that St. Quadratus, the Christian bishop of that city, and Aristides, a philosopher of the same persuasion, drew up an apology for the Christian faith, which they presented to him, backed by a statement from Serenus Granianus, the proconsul of Asia, of the unjust persecution of the Christians in the east. Hadrianus's zeal in the discharge of his duties of sovereign pontiff,[5] and his notorious fondness for the revelry of pagan worship, had emboldened the enemies of Christianity; but he now issued a rescript,[6] in which he blamed the fury of the multitude, forbade that any Christian should be punished unless convicted of a legal offence, and directed that the punishment should fall upon their accusers, if the accusation was proved to be malicious; and we do not find that the Christians suffered any molestation during his reign, under the sanction of his authority. Lampridius asserts that he intended to number the Messiah among the gods;[7] temples were actually built in several Asiatic and Egyptian cities, and left without statue or dedication. Others suppose that they were intended for his own worship; but this is matter of conjecture.

On his way back to Italy, he visited Sicily, where he ascended Mount Etna, to witness from its summit the rising of the sun, and

He visits Etna.

[1] Spart. 13.

[2] This was in the fourteenth year of Trajan's reign, during the consulship of that emperor and Sextius Africanus. Salmas. not. ad Spart. 19.

[3] Dion Cassius.

[4] Spart., Dion Cassius, Euseb. Chron., and Scalig.

[5] Spart. 22.

[6] Euseb. Chron.

[7] Alex. c. xliii.

A. D. 126. then returned to Rome, after an absence of nearly seven years. After a residence of two years in the capital, he yielded to his love of wandering; or it is, perhaps, to speak more justly, prosecuted his comprehensive plan for promoting the prosperity of his subjects, by

A. D. 128. judging with his own eyes of their respective situations. His galleys[1] conveyed him into his African dominions, where he was received with much display of loyalty and attachment; and the general rejoicing was rendered more sincere by a circumstance that, even in our more enlightened days, the people would be prone to connect with the first visit of a sovereign. The earth had been parched by drought for five successive years; but the arrival of the emperor was attended with abundant rain, which was attributed to his influence with the gods. Not content, however, with the honour which he owed to accident, he remained some time in the country, gave directions for different public works, and rebuilt a part of old Carthage, to which he gave the name of Adrianopolis.

He goes into Africa.

He returns to Rome, and departs again for the east.

From Africa, Hadrianus returned again to Rome, but only remained there to make preparations for his journey into the east. Having traversed the Asiatic provinces anew, and attended to the execution of the ordinances he had made, and to the prosecution of the public works he had begun during his first visit, he passed into Syria, whither he had previously sent messengers to invite not only his own præfects, but the chiefs of the neighbouring powers, to meet him. On this occasion he restored to Chosroës, who was amongst the number of potentates that paid their court to him, his captive daughter,[2] and promised to send him the golden throne of the Parthian monarchs, which had been taken by Trajanus. This act, his conciliatory manner, and not less, perhaps, the state of military preparation in which they found him, sobered the restlessness of Chosroës, and confirmed the pacific inclinations of the other chieftains. After visiting Palestine and Arabia, Hadrianus went into Egypt, of which country he expressed in strong terms, and somewhat humorously, his dislike and contempt, in a letter[3] to his brother in-law, which Vopiscus has preserved.

He goes into Egypt.

The ruins of Egypt were objects of wonder and antiquarian research even in those days. Hadrianus indulged his curiosity in exploring, and, on seeing the remains of Pompey's monument, is said to have exclaimed, "How small a space is sufficient for him who once had temples erected to his honour!"[4] He performed some rites[5] for the repose of his soul, and built a mausoleum on the spot. It was during his stay in Egypt that his favourite, Antinous,[6] a Bithynian by birth, was, according to the emperor's own account, accidentally

[1] Spart. 13.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Saturninus, 8. Crevier has inserted the whole of this letter, book 19, sec. 2.
[4] Τῷ ναοὺς βριάοντι πόση σπάνις ἔπλετο τύμβου.—Dion Cassius.
[5] Pompeio parentavit.
[6] Dion Cassius.

drowned in the Nile; but it was believed that Antinous had become a voluntary sacrifice[1] to some diabolical superstition, in his zeal for his master's service. Hadrianus wept for the fate of his favourite, and was lavish of homage to his memory. He restored the city of Besa, wherein he died, and called it, after him, Antinopolis; and the astrologers[2] having discovered a new star, and hinted, in order to flatter him and divert his grief, that it was the soul of Antinous, which had found a place amongst the gods, he named it the Sidus Antinoi, and built a temple in honour of him, in which an oracle was delivered, dictated,[3] it was said, by the emperor himself, and which excited, even in that age of credulity, more ridicule than reverence. Hadrianus placed statues of Antinous in all parts of his dominions, some of which are at this day among the most admired specimens of ancient sculpture. A. D. 128. Death of Antinous.

In his journey through Syria, Hadrianus had visited Jerusalem, and given orders for its restoration, calling it Ælia Capitolina, from his own family name and a temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which he built upon the site of the Jewish temple. The Jews, who had long been impatient of the Roman yoke, and had been, as has been noticed, only reduced to subjection in the first year of Hadrianus's reign by the military skill of Martius Turbo, were incensed at the introduction of Roman colonists into their capital, and of pagan worship upon sacred ground. An edict for the suppression[4] of the rite of circumcision increased the general disaffection. They kept quiet for a while, until the emperor had passed through their country on his return from Egypt; but they were purposely negligent in the manufacture of the arms required of them, in the hope[5] that the Romans would be dissatisfied with the execution of their order, and leave them on their hands. But as soon as Hadrianus was at a distance, their defection avowed itself. Upon receipt of the intelligence at Athens, where he again remained some time, Hadrianus sent immediate reinforcements to Tinnius Rufus, who commanded the Roman troops in Judea, and ordered Julius Severus from Britain to take the command-in-chief of the army; but he returned himself, before the conclusion of the war, to Rome, where he arrived, after a second absence of nearly seven years, having accomplished his design of travelling through the empire, and seeing in person[6] all of which he had read. Revolt of the Jews. Hadrianus, having completed his voyages, returns to Rome. A. D. 135.

The Jews,[7] now in open rebellion, were headed by an impostor, called Barcochebas, which signifies in Hebrew, son of a star. This bandit, who, by putting burnt tow in his mouth, pretended to vomit Jewish war.

[1] The speculations of Salmasius and Casaubonus as to the cause of Antinous's death are founded only on the passage of Dion Cassius, which we have translated literally.
[2] Casaub. not. ad Spart.
[3] Spart. 14.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Dion Cassius.
[6] Spart. 17.
[7] Dion Cassius, and Euseb. Eccles. and Hist. iv. 6, and Chron.

A. D. 135. fire, imposed himself upon his credulous countrymen as the promised Messiah. The rebels did not begin with offensive operations on a large scale, but encamped themselves in the most commanding positions in the country; and built forts, connected by subterraneous passages, from which they made sudden sallies, and succeeded in surprising small parties of the Romans. These trifling successes, together with the hope of plunder, attached to their cause great numbers, both of natives and foreigners; and they ravaged Syria and Judea, showing no mercy to such as refused to join them, and especially to the Christians.

Severus, well aware of the force and desperation of the enemy, avoided coming to a general action; but disposed his army so as to cut off their supplies, attack their divisions separately, and reduce their strongholds in succession. The siege and capture of Bithera, in which Barcochebas perished, was the most remarkable event of the war, and hastened its conclusion. In the course of about three years, which it lasted, the Jews lost fifty cities, and nine hundred and eighty principal towns. Five hundred and eighty thousand men were killed in action, and an incalculable number perished by want, disease, or fire; so that the population of Judea was nearly exterminated.

Loss of the Jews.

Loss of the Romans.

The loss of the Romans, though not stated by any historian, is supposed to have been considerable; for Hadrianus, in a letter to the senate, written, probably, before he left the east, omitted[1] the customary exordium: "Si vos liberique vestri valetis, bene est; ego quidem et exercitus valemus."[2]

Jerusalem under the new name of Ælia Capitolina.

Little mention is made of Jerusalem during this war, but if it was among the number of the cities that were laid waste, it was restored after the peace under its new name of Ælia Capitolina. Its walls enclosed Mount Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre, but did not take in Mount Sion. The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus still existed, a marble swine was placed upon the gate of Bethlehem, and heathen divinities occupied the sacred places. An edict of Hadrianus forbade the Jews from entering the city,[3] or even from turning their eyes towards it, unless once a year, on the anniversary of its overthrow.

Prodigies which foretold the destruction of the Jews.

The total destruction of the Jews, as a nation, under Hadrianus, was foretold, we are informed, by the spontaneous falling asunder[4] of Solomon's sepulchre, which they held in great reverence, and by the unwonted boldness of the wolves and hyænas, who penetrated in herds into the heart of the city, and ran howling about the streets. Severus, who had done such good service as a general, after he had established the tranquillity of Judea, obtained the præfecture of Bithynia, where the wisdom and integrity[5] of his administration were proverbial in the days of Dion Cassius.

[1] Dion Cassius.
[2] All's well. If you and your children are well, I and my army are so.
[3] Hieronym. in Sophon. c. ii. [4] Dion Cassius. [5] Ibid.

About this time there was an irruption of the Alani,[1] one of the Scythian tribes, who committed great depredations in Media and Armenia, and threatened Cappadocia; but finding Flavius Arrianus, the Roman præfect of that province, better prepared for their reception than they had anticipated, they retreated, and in this quarter also peace was soon restored. A. D. 135. Irruption of the Alani. A. D. 136.

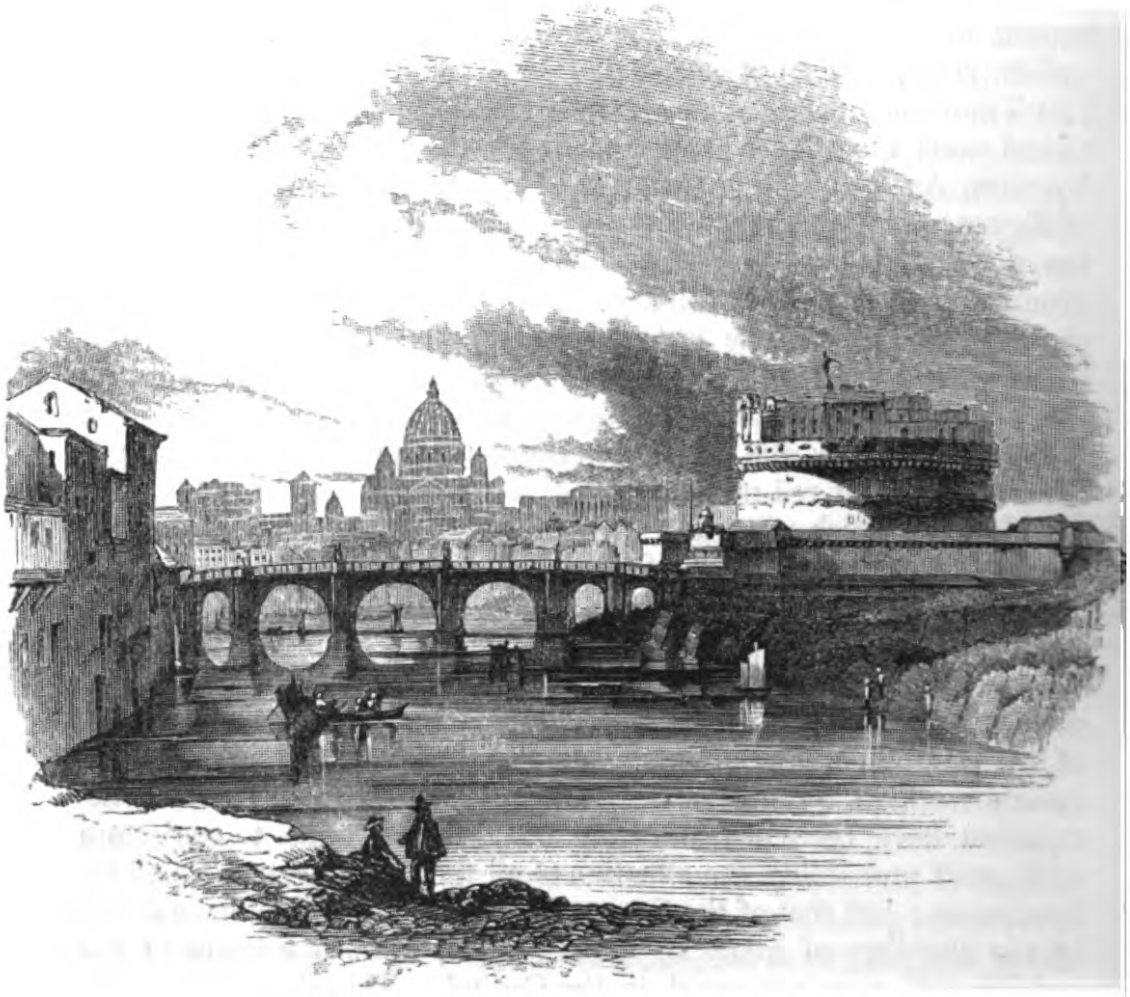
When in Italy the emperor Hadrianus was fond of retiring, like other wealthy individuals,[2] to his country villa; which was beautifully situated at the foot of the heights of Tivoli, and in adorning which nothing had been spared that money and labour could produce, or art or luxury devise. It had been his object to form a delightful retreat for the decline of life, which should revive the recollection of such remarkable places as had most interested him in earlier years, and most struck his imagination during his travels. His Tiburtine villa occupied a circumference of ten miles,[3] and contained exact models (the traces of which are still discernible) of the Lyceum, Academy, Prytaneum, and Pœcile of Athens, the Canopus of Egypt, and the Vale of Tempe in Thessaly.[4] The fictions too of the poets were here represented in miniature; part of the pleasure grounds were laid out in imitation of the descriptions of Tartarus and the Elysian fields. The imperial palace, baths, temples, theatres, libraries, and barracks for the body-guard, occupied the remainder of the space. The exquisite basso-relievo of Antinous in the villa Albani, the Flora, the Egyptian Antinous, the two Centaurs, and the two Fauns of red marble, in the Museum on the Capitol, and in the Vatican, which were dug up from among these ruins, vouch for the surpassing excellence of the sculpture that decorated these buildings; the vast number of mutilated statues which have been discovered testify its profusion. Though none of the more perishable paintings have been spared by time, we know that there was no lack[5] of them; and we may conclude from the celebrated mosaic of the Capitoline Doves, which was also found here, that the art of mosaic work in those days was cultivated with great success. Antiquaries have been enabled, from the different ruins, to conjecture with great probability the situation of all the buildings mentioned by Spartianus; but that of the Canopus has been placed beyond a doubt by the discovery of many Egyptian images, and of the statue of the god himself, now preserved in the Capitol. This Canopus was an imitation, on a small scale, of the temple of Serapis,[6] at Canopus in Egypt, near the canal[7] which ran from that place to Alexandria, and was the scene of the Bacchanalian rites of the divinity. Hadrianus's villa at Tivoli.

If Hadrianus indulged his taste in the decoration of his own villa,

[1] Crevier, in what he terms his Annals of Hadrianus, places this irruption of the Alani before the conclusion of the Jewish war; but Dion Cassius says expressly, ὁ μὲν τῶν Ἰουδαίων πόλεμος ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτησεν· ἕτερος δὲ ἐξ Ἀλανῶν ἐκινήθη. κ. τ. λ. [2] Aurel. Vict. [3] Ribby, Viag. Antiquar.
[4] Spart. 23. [5] Aurel. Vict. [6] Strabo, 17, 551. [7] Spart. 19.

A. D. 136. His public works.

he did not allow his predilection for this delightful, though somewhat eccentric, creation of his fancy to engross too much of his time, nor to interfere with the projection of works of public usefulness. He is acknowledged to have surpassed all princes, whether of ancient or modern times, in the number and magnificence of his undertakings of this description. In Rome he restored or rebuilt all the public edifices[1] that had been injured or destroyed by time or accident; and with singular modesty he forebore to take the credit to himself, and directed that they should only bear the names of their original founders. The Pantheon, the Julian Parks, the palace of Augustus,



Mausoleum of Hadrianus (Castle of St. Angelo).

the baths of Agrippa, and a variety of temples, are amongst the number of these. The Athenæum,[2] an institution for the encouragement of literature, the bridge[3] over the Tiber, (now called 'Ponte St.

[1] Ribby, Viag. Antiquar.

[2] Aurel. Vict.

[3] This bridge, repaired by different popes, was last restored by the architect Bernini, under Clement IX., and adorned with the balustrade and statues as it stands at present.—Vasi, Guid. di Rom.

Angelo,') and the temple of Trajanus, were exclusively his own offspring; and on these he allowed his name to be placed. The superb mausoleum, which he designed as a last resting-place for his own ashes, was one of the proudest ornaments of the city, and no less remarkable for the massive solidity of the masonry, than for the magnificence of its decorations. It was surrounded by a double tier of marble columns, and by innumerable statues, placed in niches in the intercolumniations, and on the cornices. It is now the citadel of modern Rome, under the title of 'Castle St. Angelo.'[1] A. D. 136.

The removal of Nero's colossal obelisk, a work in which four-and-twenty elephants[2] were employed, must not be forgotten in the number of Hadrianus's works. There was scarcely a city or town of any note in his dominions which could not boast of substantial proofs of his munificence and attention to the welfare of his subjects. He informed himself of their wants with his own eyes, and supplied them accordingly with baths, aqueducts, harbours, and other works of public utility;[3] and provided for their enjoyment by erecting theatres, and instituting games. To some towns he sent supplies of grain; to others he granted immunities, or made donations of money. Nice and Nicodemia,[4] both nearly destroyed by an earthquake in the year of Rome 871, were rebuilt by his liberality; and he restored several other cities, which were called after him, in Spain, Egypt, and Greece, for which last country he showed great partiality.[5] At Athens he built a temple to Juno, another to Jupiter Panhellenion,[6] and a pantheon; and he completed, upon a grand scale, the temple of Jupiter Olympus, left unfinished by Antiochus Epiphanes.[7] He removes the obelisk of Nero.

He was fond, too, of visiting the tombs of celebrated men of past ages, and perpetuating their memory by the erection of some new monument. Beside that of Pompey, which we have mentioned, he inspected that of Epaminondas at Mantinea,[8] upon which he raised a pillar, and for which he himself wrote the inscription.

When Spartianus affirms that Hadrianus made a passage for the waters of the Lake Fucinus,[9] he can only mean that he cleared the canal which Claudius had carried through the heart of the mountain to drain its waters into the river Liris, at an enormous expense, and such labour of nearly twelve years' continuance, as Pliny assures us, can only be conceived by eye-witnesses,[10] and is beyond the power of language to describe. Whatever Hadrianus did, was, if it had the same object, equally ineffectual; for the lake still washes its

[1] The Greeks and Romans, in the Gothic wars, according to Procopius, used this mausoleum as a fortress, and broke down the statues and columns to hurl them at the besiegers. Constantine the Great found, however, many beautiful columns remaining, which became the ornaments of his Christian churches.

[2] Spart. 19. [3] Dion Cassius. [4] Euseb. Chron.
[5] Pausan. [6] Dion Cassius. [7] Liv. 41, 20.
[8] Pausan. 8. [9] Spart. 22. [10] Plin. 15, 36.

A. D. 136. wonted shores, and continues to deserve its ancient reputation for the transparency of its waters.[1]

Prætorian edict.

Hadrianus made an essential improvement in the administration of justice at Rome. The prætorian edict, which was the rule of the tribunals, was merely an annual law which did not survive the authority of the existing prætor,[2] and could be altered at the pleasure of his successor; but, by the emperor's desire, Salvius Julianus, an eminent lawyer, drew up an edict, digested from those of the ancient prætors, which was established as perpetual. At Rome, and in the other cities of the empire, wherein he made a temporary residence, he frequently administered justice in person.

Hadrianus's laws.

The laws of Hadrianus reflect more lasting honour upon his memory than even the sumptuousness of his public works. Although he considered it one of the first duties of a sovereign to settle disputes by equitable decisions, he did not trust entirely to his own knowledge, or his own natural feeling of right and wrong. Wherever he was, he made a point of consulting the most eminent lawyers within his reach. Julius Celsus, Salvius Julianus,[3] the compiler of the perpetual edict, and Neratius Priscus, all persons approved by the senate,[4] were those at Rome to whom he was in the habit of recurring. The whole of Italy was, before his time, under the immediate control of the consuls and the senate. The local magistrates decided in all ordinary cases, but referred affairs of importance to the consuls, who, in their turn, laid them before the senate. Hadrianus changed this system; he divided Italy into four districts, to each of which he appointed a man of consular dignity, who had in his own department the same authority that the proconsuls exercised in the provinces.

Jurisdiction of four consular persons in Italy.

Laws respecting slaves.

His code, as it ameliorated the condition of an unhappy and hitherto neglected[5] though numerous class of his subjects, would alone entitle him to a place amongst the best princes of antiquity. He abolished the sanguinary and preposterous law by which all the slaves, without distinction, of a master who had been assassinated in his own domain (no matter by whom), if the assassin was not discovered, were condemned to death or to the torture; and ordered that the punishment should extend only to such as might have foreseen the danger, or who had neglected to afford assistance at the time. He deprived the masters of the arbitrary power of life and death over their slaves, who, in cases of great delinquency, were to

[1] Le sue acque sono limpidissime. Anzi quella stessa chiarezza e bontà del Lago di Fucino, &c. (Ribby, Viag. Antiquar.) Crevier says this lake is now called Celano. There is a small town of the Abruzzi near it so called; but the lake is more generally known by its ancient name, and called Lago di Fucino.

Vitreâ te Fucinus undâ,
Te liquidi flevêre lacus. *Virg. Æn.* vii. 759.

[2] Gravina, de Orig. Juris.

[3] Some suppose this person to be rather Juventius Celsus. See Crev. 19, 1.

[4] Spart. 18.

[5] Ibid. 18, 22.

be brought before a magistrate for their sentence; and he forbade the use of private prisons,[1] in which their owners had previously confined them at discretion, in chains, or at hard labour, and which had too often afforded a facility for the surreptitious detention of free persons. He made it illegal also to sell them to the bagnio-keepers and fencing-masters, for the purposes of prostitution or gladiatorial combat, as had been before the custom, without judicial authority. A. D. 136.

Laws respecting bankrupts and treasure found.

Hadrianus's rigour to fraudulent bankrupts had a wholesome effect in preventing the frequency of failures. He not only took from them whatever property they had secreted for their private enjoyment, but ordered them to be publicly whipped. He passed an equitable law, which is renewed in the Institutes of Justinian, respecting treasures discovered in the earth. If found by the proprietor of the soil, it became his exclusive property; if the ground belonged to another, the finder had a right to half the profits; and if discovered upon public ground, he was obliged to share it with the imperial treasury.

Hadrianus's attention to civic morality.

Hadrianus prohibited the promiscuous bathing of the sexes in the public baths;[2] but this prohibition had no durable effect in restraining the attachment of the Roman ladies to this indecent practice, for Marcus Aurelius had occasion to renew the edict. He directed also that the baths should not be opened, unless for invalids, until the eighth hour of the day (two hours after noon).

One of his laws allowed to the children of proscribed persons, whose estates had formerly been confiscated, one-twelfth of the property of their parents. He sequestered the estates of idiots, unless they had children, in which case they retained them under proper guardianship. He appointed tutors to minors whose fathers died intestate,[3] and in many instances took that office upon himself. Persons who reduced their families to distress by squandering their possessions were condemned by one of his ordinances to a punishment which resembles, in milder form, the modern pillory—they were exposed to shame in the amphitheatre. But the minor regulations of police did not escape his attention: for the convenience of foot passengers, he forbade the custom of riding on horseback in the streets, and prohibited the driving of heavy-laden carriages into Rome.[4] He revived certain sumptuary laws, and was rigid in prohibiting the knights and senators from appearing in public without the insignia of their respective ranks.

His military regulations.

Hadrianus, although a strenuous disciplinarian, was much beloved by his soldiers,[5] to whom he was extremely liberal. He doubled the usual largesse to them[6] on his accession to the empire; never omitted

[1] A law, abolishing so great a convenience for gratifying vengeance, and securing the success of clandestine intrigues, did not long survive its author. See Crevier. [2] Dion Cassius. [3] Spart. 22.
[4] Ibid. The width of the streets, if we may judge by those of Pompeii, made such a regulation very necessary. [5] Spart. 21. [6] Ibid. 5.

A. D. 136. to confer some mark of his favour upon those who had distinguished themselves; was always ready to assist the distressed; provided for such as were worn out in the service, and visited the sick in hospital.

It was, no doubt, principally owing to the well-disciplined state of his army, which kept the barbarous nations upon the frontiers of the empire in awe, and to his personal attention to the fortifications, depôts of arms, and military stores of all descriptions, that he owed the preservation of peace. He has been accused of sacrificing the dignity of the Roman arms, by making large presents to foreign kings, to secure their friendly disposition, and by paying a pension to the Sarmatians to restrain their attacks upon his frontier. But degrading as such a system might be, the precedent had been established by Domitianus, and his best apology for not departing from it is the fact of his having employed the peace, which he was unwilling to break, in ameliorating the internal government of the empire, and restoring the ancient discipline of the army, which, after a series of easy conquests, had become luxurious and insubordinate.

Reforms abuses.

Hadrianus was an innovator, but he reformed abuses and introduced new regulations gradually and with judgment; and he only grafted them upon the ordinances of Trajanus, none of which he permitted himself to rescind. It is the best praise of his alterations, whether in the general polity of the empire, in the conduct of the imperial household, or in the military service,[1] that they were confirmed by his immediate successors, and continued in force till the reign of Constantine. And it is the most striking proof of his popularity, and the wisdom of his administration, that during an absence of nearly fourteen years from the seat of government, spent principally in remote parts of his dominions, there was no commotion in Italy; and that, amongst the Romans, however fickle and inclined to sedition, there was no conspiracy against him during his reign, if we except that of the four consular men, soon after his accession. One of these sought revenge for the loss of his command in Syria, and two others, Palma and Celsus, were his early enemies, and had been instrumental in preventing his adoption by Trajanus.[2]

His urbanity and love of simplicity.

Hadrianus was scrupulously observant of respect to the constituted authorities. At his entertainments he always rose to receive the senators,[3] and placed himself fourth at table;[4] he waited upon the prætors and consuls at their installation, and on their public days as a private individual; to the latter he often acted as assessor, and assisted them in their judicial proceedings. But he disliked the irksome etiquette of the imperial court, and dispensed with the observance of it in others. He was accessible to all—polite in manner to the meanest,[5] and affectionate to his friends—he showed a contempt for the mistaken pride of those princes who, under the apprehension

[1] Dion Cassius. [2] Spart. 4. [3] Ibid. 22.
[4] Τίτρατος ὠχιῦτο.—Dion Cassius. [5] Spart. 20.

of lowering their dignity, deprive themselves of the pleasures of social intercourse. A. D. 136.

His private life.

It would be difficult to bestow upon the private life of an absolute sovereign higher praise than is conveyed in the observation of Dion Cassius, that though he was kind to his associates, visited them when they were sick, attended their family festivities, and made himself at home in their houses—though he honoured the memory of many of them with statues in the forum,[1] and paid the same compliment to others during their lifetime—they were yet never known to presume upon these distinctions, to become insolent to others, or receive bribes, as had been customary under former emperors, to give information of what passed in the palace. We may infer from this that he was happy in the choice of his friends, and that he was respected by them; and we find by other testimony that he was a judicious and careful master of his own household. To detect the roguery of the purveyors of his entertainments,[2] and to prevent their providing coarser and cheaper fare for the meaner guests, he would often order dishes to be brought from the furthest tables to his own;[3] and he resisted the encroaching spirit of his servants, and kept them in their proper sphere. Seeing once a servant of his walking familiarly between two senators,[4] he immediately sent an attendant to give him a box on the ear, and say to him, "Do not walk between persons whose slave you might yet possibly be."[5]

Well aware of the mischiefs arising from a system of favouritism, and attributing many of the abuses of former reigns to the undue influence of the imperial freedmen, who held the principal offices of the household, and assumed the management of public affairs, he was desirous that his own should not be supposed to have any power over him,[6] and he punished them if he discovered that they had boasted of being in his favour. He never appointed any of them secretary or auditor of petitions, and he was the first emperor who gave these important employments to Roman knights.[7]

His disinterestedness.

It is only negative praise that the rich and powerful did not suffer under his government from forfeiture and unjust confiscation of their property,[8] so frequent under former emperors, but he showed his disinterestedness in discountenancing the unnatural custom of making the emperor heir to private property;[9] by which, to gratify the servile vanity of the testators, many families were impoverished or ruined. He refused the inheritance of persons not known to

[1] Dion Cassius. [2] Spart. 17.

[3] These entertainments were probably supplied by contract; and as the guests reclined round a number of small tables, it was easy for the purveyors to furnish scantily those who were least conspicuous.

[4] The middle place in sitting or walking was the post of honour. Casaub. not. ad Spart.

[5] Noli inter eos ambulare quorum esse adhuc potes servus.—Spart. 21.

[6] Spart. 21. [7] Ibid. 22. [8] Dion Cassius. [9] Spart. 18.

A. D. 136. him, and would only accept that of his friends when they died childless.

His modesty. It is a remarkable trace of the republican constitution still subsisting in the government, and a no less striking instance of the respect of Hadrianus for the aristocracy, and of moderation in an absolute monarch, that the ambassadors of Vologesus and the Jazyges were introduced by him to the senate, and that he was then, by the resolution of that body, commissioned to reply to them. Careful not to shock the prejudices of the Romans, the maxim which he often repeated in the assembly of the people and in the senate was very flattering, "that in his government of the commonwealth he would recollect that it was the property of the people, not his own,"[1] He was not fond of pomp, and, satisfied with the reality of power, was indifferent to titles. That of 'Imperator' he took but twice, and he assumed the consulship but three times during his reign, though he granted a third consulate to several distinguished senators, who were thus upon a footing with himself in this respect, and he conferred the honour of a second upon a great number. To avoid the restraint of a long train of attendants, he was frequently carried in a litter into the city,[2] and he refused to give his consent to a decree which appointed the celebration of his name, and acts of munificence, with games in the circus,[3] besides those already observed in honour of his birth.

He acts as chief magistrate in various cities of the empire. In his own third consulate he acted only during four months, but he was attentive, during that period, to the duties of the office. Though he would not engross at Rome honours which were an object of ambition to the principal and most respectable senators, he always paid the other cities of the empire, in which he prolonged his visit, the compliment of assuming the title and personally discharging the functions of chief magistrate. He acted as prætor in Etruria; as dictator, ædilis, and triumvir in different cities of Latium; as archon at Athens; as first civil officer at Adoia, in Picenum, whence his family took its origin; and in his own country.[4]

His encouragement of the arts and sciences. Hadrianus was a generous patron of the arts and sciences, in all of which he was himself a proficient, and which flourished during his reign. He delighted in the society of learned men, and admitted also to his intimacy the first artists of the age; and at his table intellectual enjoyment took place of the gross and sensual indulgence for which so many of his predecessors had been notorious. His biographers have thought it worth while to record the only dish for

[1] Et in senatu et in concione sæpe dixit: ita se rempublicam gesturam, ut sciret Populi rem esse, non propriam.—Spart. 8.

[2] Dion Cassius. [3] Spart. 8.

[4] Ibid. 19. If Spartianus means Italica, this does not agree with Dion's assurance that he did not revisit his own country. He may perhaps, however, have taken the office in absence; probably, in this case, during his residence at Tarragona.

which he showed a preference, a pheasant-pie.[1] In general, he did not drink any wine at dinner,[2] but he was no Cynic, and promoted cheerful conversation. A. D. 136.

His jealousy of men of eminence.

But the bane of Hadrianus was his ambition of passing for a universal genius, his desire of being pre-eminent in every branch of knowledge and every accomplishment. He encouraged learning, and promoted merit; he was fond of engaging men of talent in conversation, of contending with them in composition on poetical or scientific subjects, and of propounding questions, as, for example, in the college of Alexandria, and on other more private occasions, and he delighted in solving those proposed to him;[3] he was unwilling to retain professors in situations for which they had not sufficient capacity,[4] yet he was peevishly impatient of the reputation even of those whom he had himself brought forward, if it came in competition with his own. Amongst several whom Spartianus mentions as having felt the effects of his displeasure, was Favorinus, whom he had particularly distinguished; a Gaul by birth, but, by his own account, a Greek in acquirements, and one of the first philosophers and orators of his time. How he fell into disgrace we are not informed, unless it was on account of his reputation for astrology,[5] a science to which Hadrianus was partial. The author just quoted has preserved an anecdote of him, which shows that he was something of a courtier. To some of his friends, who upbraided him with yielding to the emperor in argument, when he had the best of it, he replied, "You deceive yourselves, my friends; would you not have me believe in the superior learning of a man who is backed by thirty legions?"[6] This Favorinus had sufficient address to escape punishment also; he had refused to discharge some public trust at Arles, his native place, and the matter was carried before Hadrianus, who was little disposed to acknowledge his exemption. Favorinus came into court, and protesting that his master, Dion Chrysostom, had appeared to him in a dream, and commanded him to serve his country like a good citizen, withdrew his suit, and promised to obey.[7] The emperor was much displeased, but was obliged to pardon him. When the Athenians, aware that Favorinus was in discredit with Hadrianus, threw down his brazen statue, which had been erected in their city, he exclaimed with great unconcern, "Socrates would have been glad to get off as cheaply." Dionysius of Miletum was less discreet.[8] Hadrianus had made him a Roman knight, given him the government of a province,

[1] Tetrapharmacum de fasiano, sumine, pernâ et crustulo.—Spart. 21.

[2] Dion Cassius.

[3] We have followed M. de Tillemont's interpretation of the text (Spart. 20), "Propositas dissolvit;" which Crevier understands, "solved his own problems."

[4] Crevier pretends that he rewarded them for their incapacity, to spite men of greater eminence. But the passage (Spart. 16) evidently means that he got rid of them in a handsome way.

[5] Preserved in Aulus Gellius.

[6] Spart. 16.

[7] Dion Cassius.

[8] Philostr. Dion Cassius.

A. D. 136. and procured his admission into the academy of Alexandria; but having afterwards patronised his rival Heliodorus, and made him his principal secretary, Dionysius could not conceal his pique and mortification, and observed to him, "Cæsar may bestow honours and favours upon you, but he can never make you an orator," a remark which Hadrianus did not forgive. This unfortunate jealousy, so unworthy of a great mind, made Hadrianus act inconsistently, and tarnished the glory which his magnanimity otherwise would have deserved. He forgot as emperor the injuries he had received as a private individual;[1] he gave no ear to the accusations of treason which had been pardoned by Trajanus; but the same prince who, on his accession to absolute dominion, had generously met his bitterest enemy with a reassuring salutation, was not proof against the taunt of a rival in knowledge. Apollodorus, the celebrated architect, who had planned most of the public buildings of Trajanus, was conversing with that prince on architectural subjects, when Hadrianus joined in the conversation, and made some not very appropriate observation: "Go, and paint thy gourds, for thou truly art ignorant of these matters,"[2] cried the petulant architect. Hadrianus was at that time in the habit of amusing himself with this style of painting. When afterwards he had the power in his own hands, he passed sentence of banishment on the unsuspecting Apollodorus for some trifling offence, and still bearing in mind the contempt he had shown for his skill in architecture, and desirous to prove to him that a beautiful edifice could be raised without his assistance, he sent to him in his exile a plan of the temple of Venus and of Rome, which he had built himself. It was a noble building, and was one of the objects which attracted the admiration of the emperor Constans, when he came to Rome; but it had great faults. Hadrianus desired Apollodorus's opinion, and the architect, not intimidated by disgrace, gave it sincerely. He wrote word to his imperial rival that he should have made his temple loftier and larger, that it might have been a more conspicuous object from the Via Sacra, which it overlooked, and have served as a receptacle for machinery, which, secretly concealed there, might have been suddenly introduced with great effect into the adjacent amphitheatre.[3] The statues, too, which were in a sitting posture, were too large in proportion to the temple; "for," added he, "if the goddesses should rise, and wish to take the air,[4] they could not get out." Hadrianus could not forgive the boldness of a rival architect, who had opened his eyes, and those of the

Interview of Apollodorus the architect, and Hadrian.

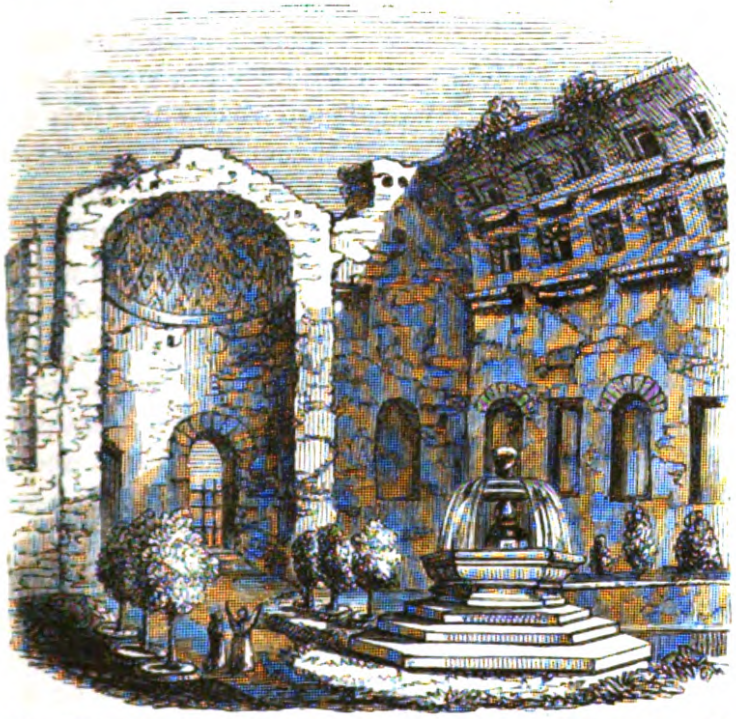
[1] Spart. 17.

[2] Dion Cassius.

[3] Xiphilin's translation has Templum Veneris, quod Romæ fecit, but in the original the passage stands τοῦ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τῆς τε Ῥώμης ναοῦ τὸ διάγραμμα, κ. τ. λ.; and it is called at this day the Tempio di Venere è Roma.

[4] Crevier says, the niches were so small, that if they rose they would break their heads; we translate literally from Dion Cassius, αἱ γὰρ αἱ θεαὶ, ἔφη, ἐξαναστήσασθαί τε καὶ ἐξελθεῖν ἐθελήσωσιν οὐ δυνηθήσονται.

world, to a mistake which it was too late to correct, and Apollodorus paid for his triumph with his life. This temple, of which part of the vault remains, has stood amid the wreck of the ancient city as a monument of the weakness of Hadrianus its ruins crown an eminence by the side of the Via Sacra, close to the Colisæum, and every Roman Cicerone, in pointing it out to the stranger as the work of a royal architect, relates the luckless fate of Apollodorus. A. D. 136.



Temple of Venus and of Rome. *Overbeke, Les Restes de l'Ancienne Rome.*

Hadrianus was not above aiming at singularity in criticism, for we can hardly suppose, in so finished a scholar as he is proved to have been by the united testimony of all his biographers,[1] a perverse and vitiated taste. Not content with affecting an obscure and antiquated style in his own writings and conversation, he pretended to prefer Antiochus of Colophon, a poet not much known even in those days (though mentioned with some commendation by Horace, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Quinctilian), to Homer; Cato the elder to Cicero; Ennius to Virgil; Celius, the historian, to Sallust; and he spoke slightingly of Plato. Spartianus affirms that he was possessed of considerable humour, but the only traces of it which are preserved are a parody on some lines of the poet Florus,[2] and his reply to a man His humour.

[1] Dion Cassius, Spart., Eutrop., Aurel. Vict.

[2] Spart. 16.—

Florus.

Ego nolo Cæsar esse,
Ambulare per Britannos,
Scythicas pati pruinas.

Hadrianus.

Ego nolo Florus esse,
Ambulare per tabernas,
Latitare per pruinas,
Culices pati rotundos.

A. D. 136. who presented himself again with dyed hair to make a request which his grey locks had failed to obtain. Hadrianus, instantly recognising his petitioner, disappointed him by observing, "I have just refused it to your father."[1]

His curiosity. If the inquisitive disposition of Hadrianus had only sought gratification in visiting all the spots of the globe which he had found mentioned in books;[2] if it had only been indulged in scrutinizing the conduct of the public functionaries, and the integrity of his immediate officers, it had added to his fame. But his curiosity extended to the transactions of common life, and encouraged a system of espionage amongst his attendants. Having heard that a wealthy Roman had received a letter from his wife in the country, complaining of his forgetting her amid the gaiety and dissipation of the city, he took occasion to reproach the tardy husband with his bachelor revelries: "What!" cried the astonished citizen, "has my wife written to you, as well as to me?"[3] But we may attribute much more serious consequences to this weakness, of which his newsmongers doubtless took advantage, by poisoning his mind against those who were high in his favour. Tatianus, whose bloody counsels we have noticed, does not inspire much pity, but he had been his guardian; and we cannot otherwise account for the decreased favour of his successor, Martius Turbo, of Similis, or of Catilius Severus.

Turbo, who had done such signal service in the field against the Jews and the Moors, was no less indefatigable in his command of the household troops; he was courteous, but firm; and attended day and night upon the emperor, to whose request that he would spare himself, he replied, "A general should die standing."[4] Similis, venerable in years and character, who, when a centurion, had reproached Trajanus for giving him the precedence of the præfects who were also waiting for an audience, had accepted the office of Prætorian præfect unwillingly, and resigned it voluntarily. Having spent the intervening seven years between his retreat and his last illness in the country, he wrote an epitaph for his tomb, by which it does not appear that he recollected his residence at court with much satisfaction: "Here lies Similis, who existed many years, and lived but seven." To Catilius Severus[5] Hadrianus had intrusted the præfecture of Syria, when he left that country to return as emperor to Rome.

His want of affection for Sabina. Septicius Clarus, the successor of Similis, and Suetonius Tranquillus, his principal secretary, were not dismissed without just

[1] Jam hoc tuo patri negavi.—Spart. 20.

[2] Spart. 18. [3] Ibid. 16.

[4] Τον ἵσταμενον ἑστῶντα ἀποθνήσκειν δεῖ.—Dion Cassius.

[5] Tatianus was proscribed. We do not find that Turbo lost his situation; Dion does not even mention that he lost Hadrianus's favour. The passage in Spartianus is, "Catilium Severum Turbonum et graviter insequutus est." The latter was præfect of the city in the last year of the reign of Hadrianus, and lost his situation as hereafter mentioned.

cause. These sycophants thought to curry favour with their master by treating the empress disrespectfully, but though Hadrianus had frequently said that, if he had been a private individual, he would have repudiated her on account of the asperity of her temper,[1] he had too much right feeling to let the mean insolence of his dependants pass unpunished. His unkindness to Sabina[2] is said to have been the cause of her death, but he did not extend his want of affection for her to her match-making aunt. For Plotina, who died about the eleventh year of his reign, he actually mourned nine days,[3] and paid great respect to her memory. He built a magnificent temple in honour of her at Nismes, in Gaul, and wrote an elegy in her praise. A. D. 136.



Plotina.

Hadrianus was passionately fond of hunting, and so eager in the chase that he broke his collar-bone; and, on another occasion, paid the penalty of his impetuosity by a serious fracture of his thigh. He was so strong and active, that he once killed a wild boar with a single blow,[4] and he often despatched a lion with his own hand.[5] He called a town which he had founded in Mysia, Adrianotheræ, because he had a pleasant chase and killed a bear in the neighbourhood. He was a lover of dogs and horses, and graced the monument which he erected to the memory of his favourite hunter, Borysthenes, with an inscription written by himself. Dion Cassius asserts that he never allowed his passion for the chase to interfere with the execution of public business; but in his early youth he indulged it to a blamable excess,[6] for it was on that account that his guardian, Trajanus, recalled him from Italica, and kept him under his own eye. His love of hunting.

Hadrianus had faith in magic,[7] and was himself a student of that imaginary science. It had been foretold to him, when tribune in the Mysian army, that his star promised him the empire. He afterwards consulted several oracles on the subject, and became so great an adept in astrology that, as Spartianus gravely affirms, he was in the habit of writing down in the calends of January all that was to happen throughout the following year, and even mentioned in this

[1] Spart. 11.

[2] Aurel. Vict. Her death preceded Hadrianus's only a few months, so that the effect of his unkindness upon her health was not very rapid.

[3] Dion Cassius, who asserts this gravely. Venandi usque ad reprehensionem studiosus.—Spart. 1.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Spart. 26.

[6] Dion Cassius.

A. D. 136. almanac of his existence the exact hour of his death.[1] Dion Cassius seems to imply that the self-devotion of Antinous in Egypt had some connection with Hadrianus's tampering with the magic arts.

He falls into a decline.

Hadrianus did not long enjoy the result of his exertions for the real interests of the empire, in the retreat of his Tiburtine villa. His health had suffered from fatigue and variety of climate, and he was there attacked with a vomiting of blood,[2] which threw him into a decline, and at last terminated his life. As soon as his disorder became alarming, he began to be anxious, as he had no children, to adopt a successor.[3] He thought of Servianus, of Fuscus, his grandson, and of several others, but he found some objection to all of them; and, at last, fixed upon L. Ceionius Commodus Verus, a most unpopular choice, which the personal beauty of Commodus, his literary acquirements, or possibly some compunction for the fate of his grandfather, Nigrinus, alone could have prompted: for though descended from an ancient and illustrious family, his delicate health and effeminate character rendered him totally unfit to conduct the affairs of an empire. He was a professed voluptuary;[4] his capacity for business was but moderate; and his only redeeming recommendations were his princely form, the elegance of his writings, whether in prose or verse, and his inoffensiveness.

Character of Commodus Verus.

His adoption by Hadrianus.

Such as he was, however, Hadrianus, to the regret and surprise of his friends and of the senate, adopted him,[5] under the name of Lucius Ceionius Commodus Ælius Verus Cæsar; he gave Circensian games to celebrate the choice; made an ample largesse to the soldiers and to the people; and personally attended the rejoicings, as much as the state of his health would permit. The new Cæsar was created prætor, honoured with the consulship, and sent to govern the province of Pannonia.

Hadrianus repents his choice.

He obtained some credit in his command, and in consequence of his prospects and the partiality of Hadrianus, attention was paid to every request contained in his letters. But when Hadrianus found that the health of his adopted son rapidly declined, and that he was so feeble and enervated as to be incapable of military exercises,[6] he began to repent his choice; and, alluding to the deification which generally followed the decease of the Cæsars, observed to his friends, "I have adopted a god instead of a son."[7] He was much chagrined at the disappointment of his plans, and often repeated, on the subject of Verus's health, "We have thrown away three million sesterces,

[1] Spart. 15. [2] Dion Cassius. [3] Spart. 26. [4] Ibid. Æl. Ver.

[5] The year of Commodus's adoption is matter of dispute among the learned. Spartianus says he was created prætor and consul after this event, from which it is argued that he had not been consul before. But as he was consul under his own name, L. Ceionius Commodus, in 886, and again the next year under that of Ælius Verus Cæsar, it is probable that he was not adopted until 887, or the end of 886.

[6] Scutum solidius jactare. See Casaub. Æl. Ver. [7] Spart. Æl. Ver.

and have leaned against a rotten wall, which cannot support ourselves, much less the republic."[1] He entertained thoughts of making a new arrangement for the succession, as he afterwards confessed; but the death of Verus anticipated the necessity of superseding him. A. D. 138.

On his return from Pannonia, he had composed an eloquent oration of thanks to his adoptive father, which he was to deliver in the senate on the 1st January, A. D. 138. The anxiety, occasioned by Hadrianus's observations concerning him, which the courtiers had repeated, increased his debility, and he took a composing draught the preceding night, in order that he might deliver his speech with effect, but which probably only accelerated his end, for he died in his sleep of an effusion of blood.[2] Hadrianus grieved for his adopted son as a good father, though not as a good prince; for the death of Ælius Verus relieved the empire from the prospect of the miseries attendant on absolute power in the hands of a feeble voluptuary. He forbade any public mourning,[3] which would have been an inauspicious interruption of the festival of the New Year; but Verus was buried with all the honours of imperial rank, and statues of him were erected in many of the cities of the empire. Death of the adopted Cæsar.

Feeling that his own end was approaching, Hadrianus hastened to make a new adoption,[4] and sending for the principal senators, thus addressed them, as they stood by his bedside: "Nature has denied me a son, but you have supplied that want by law, and the chances are more in favour of adoption, which should be the result of superior merit in its object, than of birth, which depends on fortune. I had fixed on Lucius Commodus,[5] who was such a son as I wished for; but the Fates have taken him from us. I have found another, whom I now give you: one, noble, mild, courteous, and of good understanding; removed alike from the impetuosity of youth and the slowness of old age; one who has been trained up in reverence for the laws, who has shown in authority an attachment to the customs and institutions of his country, and is neither ignorant of the duties of an emperor nor likely to abuse the power. I speak of Aurelius Antoninus, who is at this moment overwhelmed with unpleasant business, and has never, I am certain, aspired even in thought to the empire; but I trust that he will not decline my invitation, supported by yours." Adoption of Antoninus, Feb. 25th, A. D. 138.

Antoninus,[6] best distinguished by his surname Pius, was thus

[1] Spart. Hadr. 23; Æl. Ver. 6.
[2] Spart. Æl. Ver. 5.
[3] Spart. Hadr. 24.
[4] Dion Cassius; Spart. 24.
[5] Echard supposes Hadrianus to have made this oration on the adoption of Commodus; but he, according to Dion Cassius, speaks of the death of Commodus, and dilates upon the merits of Aurelius.
[6] Spartianus calls him Arrius Antoninus; and Julius Capitolinus, in his life of him, Titus Aurelius Fulvius Boionius Antoninus: but he is easily distinguished by his surname of Pius. It was the fashion of the age to assume a variety of names.

A. D. 138. adopted; and Hadrianus, not satisfied with securing the succession by one wise choice, as if to atone for having intended to trust the welfare of his subjects to so unfit a ruler as Commodus, required Antoninus to adopt in his turn Marcus Annius, a most distinguished youth, distantly related to himself, and afterwards celebrated as the emperor Marcus Aurelius, and Verus, the infant son of the deceased Cæsar, for he wished the republic, he said, to have a branch of the Veri;[1] but on account of his seniority and relationship to Hadrianus, Marcus, who was a lad of seventeen, was to rank as the eldest son. Antoninus was immediately appointed the emperor's colleague in the proconsular and tribunitial power.

These adoptions took place on the 25th of February, in the last year of Hadrianus's reign, and, though most acceptable to the senate and the empire at large, created, as promotion of the most deserved always will do, individual discontent. Catilius Severus was amongst the number of murmurers, and was removed in consequence from the præfecture of the city.

Execution of Servianus and Fuscus.

After his first choice, Hadrianus had ordered the execution of Servianus, and his grandson Fuscus.[2] The former, who was ninety years of age, was accused of bribing the slaves of the palace, of placing himself in the imperial chair, and of affecting to show that old age had not impaired his vigour, to secure the good will of the guards. Fuscus,[3] his own grand-nephew, was charged with fomenting disturbances, by attending to omens that encouraged him to aspire to the empire; an accusation that came with a very ill grace from Hadrianus.

Death of Sabina.

Sabina died about this time, and it was reported she had poisoned herself, in consequence of her husband's ill-treatment. Her open declaration[4] that she had taken pains to avoid becoming a mother, that the world might not be cursed with a ruler descended from the emperor, does not incline us to lay the whole blame of the matrimonial discord to the charge of Hadrianus. In the mean while, the emperor's disorder increased; the curse of Servianus,[5] who in his last moments had besought the gods that he might wish for death and not obtain it, seemed to hang over him. Aware how much public business, with which he was occupied to the last, was impeded by his illness, he frequently exclaimed that an emperor should die in the full possession of his faculties, and not on a sick bed; but he invoked death in vain. He sought relief at Baiæ,[6] but his sufferings became intolerable, and he entreated his attendants to despatch him. As they refused to comply, notwithstanding his promises of impunity and reward, he sent for Mastor, a Jagyzian slave, who had formerly attracted his notice by his boldness in the chase, and commanded

[1] Spart. Æl. Ver. [2] Dion Cassius; Spart. Hadr. 23.
[3] Echard calls Fuscus Hadrianus's nephew; Dion Cassius, Servianus's grandson. He was both, as Servianus was brother-in-law to Hadrianus.
[4] Aurel. Vict. [5] Dion Cassius. [6] Spart. 25.

him to kill him, laying his breast bare, and pointing to a spot which Hermogenes,[1] his physician, had told him was vital. The Jagyzian drew his weapon, but his heart failed him, and he fled. Antoninus, who had been sent for from Rome, having removed all instruments of self-destruction, Hadrianus was now left to complain that he could inflict death upon others, but not upon himself. A. D. 138.

At length the remedies, which had given intervals of ease to the dropsy with which he was afflicted, failed of effect. Hadrianus, repeating the popular saying, "Many doctors kill the king," refused to observe any longer the prescribed diet, and death, which he so much desired, was the consequence. He expired on the 10th of July, A. D. 138,[2] having lived sixty-two years, three months, and seventeen days, and reigned nearly twenty-one years.[3] In his last moments his corporeal sufferings did not exclude the feeling of a soul within him; and some recollection of the appeal of the Christian bishops may possibly have been confused with his hopes of the pagan Elysium and dread of Tartarus, when he composed the inquiring lines— Death of Hadrianus, July 10th, A. D. 138.

Poor little, pretty, fluttering thing,
Must we no longer live together?
And dost thou prune thy trembling wing,
To take thy flight thou know'st not whither?
Thy humorous vein, thy pleasing folly,
Lie all neglected, all forgot,
And pensive, wav'ring, melancholy,
Thou dread'st and hop'st thou know'st not what![4]

The death of Hadrianus was the cause of unaffected and deserved regret throughout the empire; but the intelligence was received at Rome with gloomy pleasure; the senators, sorrowing for the cruel loss of some of the most esteemed amongst them, hastily resolved to abolish his acts, and execrate his memory. Affection of Antoninus for his adoptive father.

But after the funeral obsequies had been performed in Cicero's villa at Puteoli, Antoninus returned to Rome,[5] and repaired to the senate, which he reminded of the wisdom and beneficence of his adoptive father, and by his influence and arguments, but principally, perhaps, by the fact that, secreted by himself, the supposed victims of Hadrianus's cruelty were living to resume their places, persuaded the senators to give all honour to his memory, and to rank him amongst the gods. Notwithstanding their temporary indignation,

[1] Dion Cassius.

[2] Spart. 26; Dion Cassius.

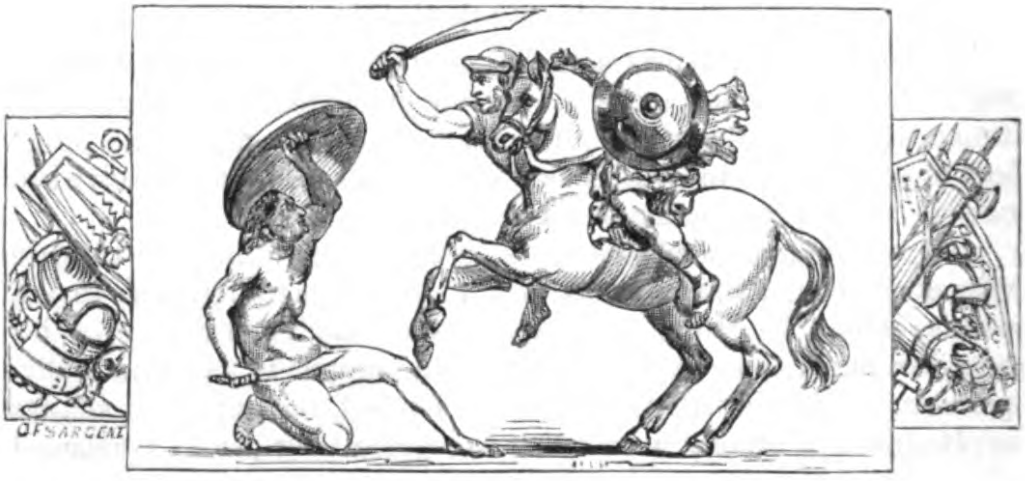
[3] There is a difference of a year between Spartianus and Dion Cassius; we follow the latter.

[4] Animula, vagula, blandula,
Hospes comesque corporis,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca,
Pallidula, rigida, nudula?
Nec ut soles, dabis jocos.

[5] Dion Cassius, Hadr. et Tit. Ant.; Spart. Hadr. 23, 27; Jul. Cap. Tit. And. 5.

A. D. 138. none of his predecessors, if we except Trajanus, had so well deserved these honours. If, instead of succeeding to that emperor, and having Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius for his own immediate successors, his reign had fallen earlier, he would have shone forth as a model of excellence. Yet even where he really stands, we find much to praise, and comparatively little to blame.[1]

[1] Some of Hadrian's own declamations were extant down to a very late period. He further wrote the history of his own life, from which some statements are quoted by his biographer, Spartianus, and which was edited by his freedman, Phlegon. The Latin Anthology (Ep. 206–211, ed. Mayer) contains six epigrams by Hadrian, and six others in Greek are preserved in the Greek Anthology; but none of them display any real poetical genius; they are cold and far-fetched. Our sources of information respecting the life and reign of Hadrian are very poor and scanty; for the two main authorities, Hadrian's own work and another by Marius Maximus, are lost, and on the whole we are confined to Spartianus's life of Hadrian, and the abridgment of the 69th book of Dion Cassius by Xiphilinus.—Leonard Schmitz, Ph. D., F.R.S.E. See 'Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biog.'





Coin of Antoninus Pius.

CHAPTER VII.

TITUS AURELIUS FULVIUS BOIONIUS ANTONINUS PIUS.

FROM A. D. 138 TO 161.

THE conquests of Trajanus in the east were splendid and extensive, but his successor wisely abandoned those claims which the remoteness of the vanquished nations would have made it difficult to enforce. The policy of Titus Antoninus aimed chiefly at the preservation of peace; endeavouring to convince mankind that the ambition of Rome sought not any additional dominion, although her dignity would speedily avenge any act of offensive aggression. But the legions which were now to defend her honour, differed materially from those which had gradually extended her frontiers in the days of republican freedom. The science of tactics had made great progress in the time of Trajanus and his successor: the legions were largely recruited by bands of provincial auxiliaries, of whom some were trained to the severe exercises of Roman discipline, while others were suffered to retain those arms and that mode of warfare which national habits had rendered familiar.[1] The cavalry of the emperors were no longer composed, like that of the ancient republic, of the noblest youths of Rome and Italy, who, by performing their military service, prepared themselves for the offices of senator and consul, and solicited, by deeds of valour, the future suffrages of their countrymen.[2] Trajanus and Hadrianus formed their cavalry from the same provinces and the same class of subjects which recruited the ranks of the legions: the peace establishment of the latter emperor amounted to thirty legions, each containing 6,830 Romans, and 5,700 auxiliaries: to these if we add 20,000 Prætorian guards quartered

A. D. 138.

Military state of the empire on the accession of Antoninus.

[1] Vegetius, ii. 2; Arrian.

[2] Livy, 42, 61.

A. D. 138. in the capital, two fleets established permanently at Ravenna and Misenum, a squadron of ships at Frejus, and the vessels constantly employed on the Rhine and the Danube, the computation of the whole force by land and sea will amount to 450,000 men.[1]

Foreign policy.

The conduct of the empire towards its extensive provinces was marked by liberal and sound policy; the barbarians whom its power subdued were generously admitted to the blessings of civilization, of law, and of polity; and wherever civil institutions were found already existing, they carefully regulated them after a Roman model. The freedom of the city, so widely communicated in the age of the Antonini, was connected with important rites, relative to marriage, testamentary bequests, and inheritance. Distinguished merit in the provinces found easy access to the capital. Political ambition or military talent, which might have obtained in remote districts opportunities of disturbing the tranquillity of the empire, were attracted to Rome, incorporated in the army or the senate, and thus engaged to defend her interests. "Ye, yourselves," says Tacitus, recording a speech addressed to the Treviri, "frequently command our legions; ye, yourselves, govern these and other provinces: nothing is exclusive or denied."[2] In like manner, those who had the desire and capacity to seek distinction by the cultivation of literature, flocked from various countries to this central point of union, where the course of genius might be directed by the contemplation of the most finished models, where able rivals might kindle emulation, and where successful exertion might be rewarded by the patronage of an opulent court, or encouraged by the praise of an enlightened metropolis. Spain herself sent forth Seneca, Lucan, Martial, Quinctilian, Florus, and Columella. Almost every period of the Roman history would furnish some names of celebrity to illustrate this subject. If we confine our attention to that age to which the series of historical events has conducted us, it will be seen, that the wisest aphorisms of stoical virtue were uttered by a Phrygian slave, and recorded by a philosopher of Bithynia: Galen came from Pergamus to enlarge the stock and improve the arrangement of medical science; Dion Cassius was attracted to Rome from Nice; Appian from Alexandria; and the restless curiosity of Apuleius from a remote province of Africa. Perhaps the world



Galen.

[1] See Gibbon, c. i. and the authorities on this subject there quoted.

[2] Ipsi plerumque legionibus nostris præsidetis; ipsi has aliasque provincias regitis: nihil separatum clausumve.—Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. 74.

at that time would have been more benefited if these lights had been left to illuminate each his separate sphere, and yet posterity may have gained something from the concentration of their lustre: not that any advantage of this kind, either immediate or remote, was contemplated by Rome, but the circumstances arose naturally out of her policy towards her colonies. Her great and paramount object in establishing these settlements was to add strength to the parent state. Accordingly, their destination was not determined by the will of individuals, by caprice or accident; they were not settled in distant lands, where absence might efface the memory of their original descent, or where danger might drive them to form foreign alliances; they were not planted like solitary fortresses, to defend their possessions or extend their territory by their own internal strength alone; but they were framed rather like the regular progressive bulwarks of a fortified city, each part lending support to the rest, and all combining to defend the citadel.[1] In pursuance of the system, not to aim at foreign colonization till this compactness and solidity of the parent state at home should enable it to maintain more remote conquests, which the march of empire gradually obtained,[2] no colonies were planted beyond the bounds of Italy, before the time of the Gracchi. Each colony became, as it were, Rome in miniature:[3] the safety of the new establishment was secured by a military force, equipped with its full complement,[4] and regularly arrayed under its tribunes and centurions, its eagles and its standards; they went forth not merely to occupy a settlement, but to take up a military position, and the foundation of the concord of the new colony was laid in that unanimity of feeling and mutual affection which might be supposed to exist among men who were embarked in the same profession, and had shared the same dangers. As the Persians, when they emigrated into Hindustan, were careful to take with them a portion of the sacred fire, so the colonists carried a portion of the parent earth, to consecrate their new abode:[5] their pious caution transferred with equal anxiety the solemn auspices and other rites of religion:[6] local names even, to which they had long been accustomed, were not forgotten; and thus those feelings of patriotic valour, which were connected with the Capitol and the Campus Martius, were still kept alive by the sight of their mimic representatives.[7]

A. D. 138.

Colonization: its objects and its system.

The advantage which a state derives from its colonies and tributary subjects depends much on the art of engaging their affections: hence the Romans extended to both such kindness as might secure their fidelity without compromising the honour and safety of the metropolis.[8] The Latin colonies[9] had the right of suffrage: and they who

Advantages of Colonization.

[1] Cic. de Lege Agr. ii. 27.
[2] Velleius Paterc. ii. 15.
[3] Aulus Gellius, xvi. 13.
[4] Tacit. lib. xiv. c. xxvii.
[5] Ovid, Fasti, iv. 820.
[6] Cic. Phil. ii.
[7] Velser.
[8] Claudian. in sec. Cons. Stil. 150.
[9] Appian, de Bel. Civ. 26.

A. D. 138. had held any public magistracy in their respective settlements were entitled to enter the lists of ambition at Rome as citizens. In the case of the Grecian colonies, the oppression of the parent state, the heterogeneous nature of the new people, and the distance which separated the two parties, often produced, not the factious insurrection of an inferior state, which could be quelled as soon as the arm of superior force was interposed to chastise its rebellious subjects, but the deliberate opposition of a powerful rival, determined to obtain complete independence. But the privileges which Rome conceded were balanced by those which she withheld: the former were calculated to excite the gratitude of those on whom they were bestowed, but had no tendency to encourage the hope of independence, or suggest the practicability of separating from the metropolitan state. The similarity of many political and religious institutions, the arrangement of the orders of society, the titles of equestrian and senatorial dignity, the names of the various magistrates, were all adapted to keep Rome continually in view. The natural result was, that the ablest minds were allured from the provinces to the capital, because they found there a more ample theatre for display, and more valuable prizes to reward successful exertion.

Family of Antoninus.

If this subject needed additional illustrations, they might be found in the family and the person of Titus Antoninus. This emperor was descended from an ancient line, which migrated from Nismes in Languedoc, and settled at Lavinium. His maternal grandfather, Arrius Antoninus, was consul A. D. 69; the same, probably, whose talents and integrity in the discharge of his public duties are honourably mentioned by Pliny.[1] His daughter, Arria Fadilla, married Aurelius Fulvus, by whom she had Titus Antoninus, A. D. 86. At the age of thirty-four he was made consul, and afterwards held the office of proconsul in Asia, with as much reputation as his grandfather. On his return to Rome, Hadrianus admitted him to his friendship and his council, and afterwards adopted him as his successor.



Statue of Antoninus Pius.

The very first actions of the reign of Antoninus proved the superior excellence of his disposition, and obtained for him that distinguished and enviable

[1] Lib. iii. Ep. 3.

title[1] by which he is so advantageously known to posterity. Although he was suspicious of a conspiracy, and several of the disaffected had been already denounced to him by name, he forbore to institute any proceedings against them, being unwilling, as he said, to commence his reign by deeds of prosecution and punishment. A. D. 138–161. His clemency.

The historical documents of Dion Cassius relating to this period have perished. Xiphilinus mentions this loss, and endeavours to supply the defect by researches into other works; but, if we may judge from the scantiness of the materials collected, his sources of information were not numerous: moreover, the biographical notices of Antoninus Pius are by no means abundant; the most authentic and valuable are to be found in the 'Meditations'[2] of his adopted son, Marcus Aurelius; and it is just to add, that, as far as we can form an opinion from other writers, the language of affection and gratitude in this panegyric, does not exceed the just limits of impartialtiy.

Hence we learn much of the public and private character of Antoninus; and, indeed, a reign so pacific as his was gives us little else to notice. With all his capacity for government, he seems to have been naturally not ambitious of power; and yet we find that neither his unaspiring habits nor his literary tastes were allowed to prevent a vigorous application to affairs of state: his deference for the political institutions of his country was joined to a scrupulous observance of her religious rites.[3] Public measures he communicated to the senate in person, and to the people by decrees: men of merit had free access to his presence without any fear that an emperor's vanity should thwart their pretensions, impede the exercise of their talents, or enviously reject that advice or knowledge which age, experience, or local information might enable them to communicate. Though the foresight of Antoninus was acute, his inquiries patient and extensive, and his judgment sound, yet if it seemed that any of his public measures might be so modified as to admit further improvement, the suggestions of his counsellors were weighed without partiality, and adopted without reluctance. His parental care extended to the remotest provinces of the empire; as if he really considered them as outlying branches of one great family, of which he was the head. Those who levied the taxes were commanded to do it with moderation, and those who paid them were encouraged to make known any cases of unjust exaction. Due severity was exercised towards those who abused their interest at court to recommend or promote the unworthy, while liberal gifts and a continuance of power rewarded the judicious use of it. Thus Gavius Maximus, who was celebrated for his exemplary discipline, held, during twenty years, the office of præfect of the Prætorian guards. Deficiency of historical authorities for his reign. Wisdom of his government.

Nor did Antoninus disdain to seek the instruction of the ablest jurisconsults, and by their assistance to regulate and improve the His laws.

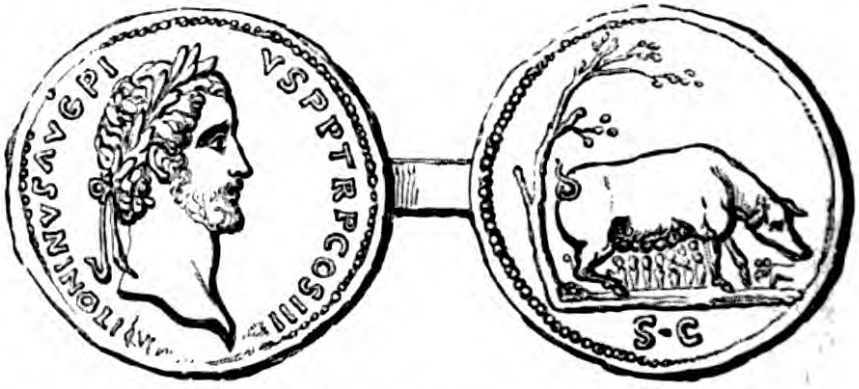
[1] Dion; Appian. [2] Lib. i. c. xiii. [3] Capitolinus.

A. D. 138–161.

courts of judicature at Rome. It is said we owe to him the law which forbids a criminal to be tried twice for the same offence; and he certainly directed on equitable principles the inheritance of property, in cases where a father was a Roman citizen and the children were not. The reputation of his justice, joined with the fear of his power, made several eastern nations submit their disputes to his judgment, and abide by his decision: thus he settled Rhætalus in the kingdom of the Bosporus;[1] Pacorus was appointed to rule over the Lazi in Colchis; and the Armenians and Quadi consented, in electing their monarch, to admit the arbitration of Antoninus. At an early period his character and conduct, in all the social relations of life, had so endeared him to his friends, that he acquired great wealth by legacies: this enabled him, on his accession to the throne, to distribute an ample largesse to the troops, and yet to decline entirely, or remit in part, the customary offerings of tributary states. The games and public spectacles he exhibited were sufficiently splendid to gratify his taste and secure his popularity; still they were not conducted on such a scale of extravagance as to leave no funds for works of durability and public benefit. He expended money on the harbours of Gæta and Terracina: at Puzzuoli the tomb of Hadrianus was finished, and quinquennial games established to his memory. Several cities in Ionia, Greece, and Syria, received money at the hands of Antoninus, to be laid out in ornamental and useful buildings; and Nismes, the birth-place of his family, owes to him two of her noblest works of art, the Amphitheatre and the Pont du Gard. Yet was not the generosity of the emperor extended without discrimination; he took away several pensions which his predecessor had granted, closing the door against importunate idleness and poverty, to open a wider avenue

Foreign arbitrations.

His magnificent liberalities.



to the claims of unmerited distress, or distinguished services. Philosophers and rhetoricians were attracted to his court by kindness and patronage; and when the capital was, at various times, afflicted by calamitous visitations of famine, fire, and inundations, the suffering citizens were extensively relieved by the princely munificence of their sovereign.

[1] Capitolinus.

A. D. 138–161.

Private virtues of Antoninus Pius.

Such was the justice and such the liberality of Antoninus Pius; and when we turn from the view of these imperial virtues, to contemplate the traits of private character, there is much to excite our interest and command respect. His form was well proportioned, and so tall, that in old age he required stays for his support;[1] his countenance was majestic, and his conversation affable and agreeable; exalted rank did not prevent enjoyment of the intercourse and equality of friendship, and his attachments, which were formed with deliberation, were maintained with fidelity. His habits of life were temperate even to abstemiousness, his establishment simple, and he was contented either to use the comforts of life with moderation, or relinquish them with indifference. He taught his successor, M. Aurelius, that it was possible for an emperor to divest himself, in great measure, of the ceremony, the pomp and circumstance of power, without diminishing the usefulness, or degrading the character of a monarch. Possessing a calm and equable temper, he was more indulgent to the faults of others than to his own; wise without the pride of learning, grave without austerity, and a philosopher without the affectation of singularity, or the coldness of stoical apathy. When M. Aurelius was once blamed for shedding tears at the untimely death of one with whom he had been educated, Antoninus said, "Suffer him to weep, for neither the wisdom of a sage nor the dignity of a prince requires us to eradicate the feelings of a man." We learn from a story recorded by Philostratus, that this emperor united to his other merits a readiness to forgive injuries, which is the more remarkable, inasmuch as this virtue did not occupy a prominent place in the scheme of pagan morality. During his proconsulate in Asia, he arrived at Smyrna, and occupied the house of a sophist, Polemo, who happened to be absent; the sage on his return was little pleased at the presence of his exalted guest, and exclaimed so loudly against the grievance, that Antoninus, to pacify the complainant, quitted his house at midnight. On the death of Hadrianus, the same Polemo came to Rome to pay his respects at court; a jocose allusion to his former inhospitality was the only reproof he received; the emperor ordered an apartment to be prepared for him, and added, "Let no one turn him out."

Anecdote of Polemo.

Such a character as we have here described deserves part, at least, of the concise and comprehensive panegyric of an author, removed, by the distance of time at which he wrote, beyond any imputation of flattery:—"Scarcely was his character spotted by any stain of vice. So admirable was his excellence in the administration of government, that unquestionably he lived without an equal."[2] Still it must be confessed that the claim of Antoninus to this spotless purity cannot be

[1] Sed quum esset longus et senex incurvareturque, tiliaceis tabulis in pectore positis fasciebatur ut rectus incederet.—Jul. Cap. 13.

[2] Hunc ferè nulla vitiorum labes maculavit (Aurel. Victor, De Cæsaribus). Tantæ bonitatis in principatu fuit ut haud dubiè sine exemplo vixit (Ibid. Epitome).

A. D. 138–161. established, for prevalent example, and, perhaps, an unhappy marriage, led him to indulge in irregular pleasures. His wife, Faustina, will only escape censure when she passes without observation. This empress was, probably, the most licentious woman of the age, except her daughter: the reverse of the medals of the former bear the image of Pietas, those of the latter the figure of Pudicitia; possibly, to make amends for the little influence which these goddesses were suffered to exert over their conduct. Antoninus, who like Hadrianus is accused of carrying[1] inquisitiveness to a fault, could scarcely be ignorant of the vices of his wife: perhaps he dissembled his knowledge of guilt which he was ashamed to perceive, and yet unable to correct; at all events, the immorality of Faustina did not prevent her deification; the ruins of her temple still remain at Rome, a model of architectural taste and a monument of superstitious folly.

Licentiousness of the Empress Faustina.



Faustina.



Reverse of a Coin of Faustina.—*Visconti, Iconographie Romaine.*

Death of Antoninus, March 7th, A. D. 161.

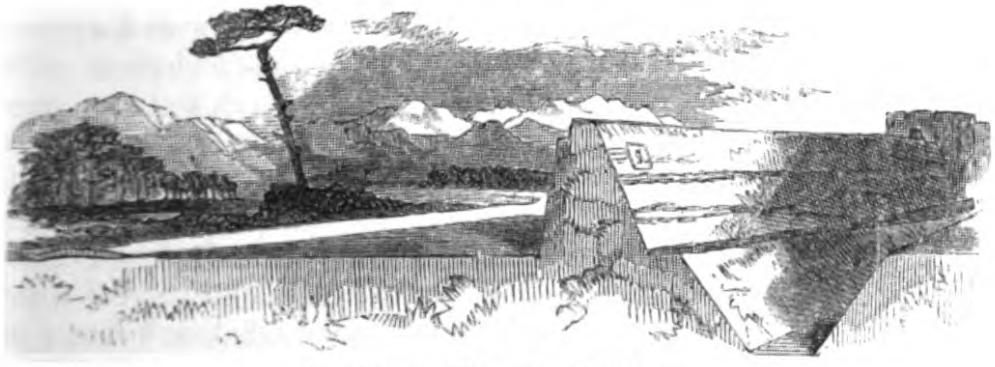
Antoninus died at the advanced age of seventy-five, in the twenty-third year of his reign, A. D. 161. His illness was brief and not painful, and even during a short period of mental aberration, which occurred in its progress, from the words which he uttered, it was plain that state affairs continued to occupy his thoughts. The confidence he felt in the virtues of his successor, the certainty that the care of the empire was to be transmitted to one who had been trained by his precepts, and would imitate his example, made the last mo-

[1] Julian.

ments of life calm and easy. Marcus Aurelius had indeed been educated under his own inspection; no pains had been spared to collect about the young prince those whose knowledge might form his understanding, or whose virtues might improve his disposition, and the care of Antoninus was abundantly rewarded by a grateful and affectionate attachment. His daughter, Faustina, had been betrothed to Lucius Verus, the son of that Ælius whom Hadrianus originally intended for his successor; but this engagement was subsequently broken off, and Faustina became the wife of M. Aurelius: for, although Pius had two sons, he preferred the welfare of Rome to the interest of his family. He was quæstor in A. D. 139, and the next year we find him, at the request of the senate, made consul, and invested with the title of Cæsar. By sharing the confidence, the councils, and the power of Antoninus, he learnt the arts of government, and later events called into play the exercise of his military talents. A. D. 161. Education of Marcus Aurelius.

The tranquillity of this reign was little interrupted either by domestic tumult or foreign war: the Moors in Africa rose in arms, but the insurgents were soon dispersed. Lollius Urbicus chastised the rebellious Brigantes, who then inhabited Northumberland, and a wall to repress more northern invaders was carried from the Frith of Forth to the Frith of Clyde.[1] Such annals of this period as we possess, are, for the most part, barren of public events: the most interesting and important of them relate to the progress of Christianity, which belongs to another portion of our work.

[1] An interesting account of this wall, and of other Roman antiquities in Scotland, is contained in Stuart's Caledonia Romana, 4to, Edin. 1852.



The Roman Wall across Scotland.



Triumph of Marcus Aurelius.
Bartolo, Admiranda Romanarum Antiquitatum.

CHAPTER VIII.

MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS PHILOSOPHUS.

FROM A. D. 161 TO A. D. 180.

A. D. 161. **Association of Lucius Verus in the imperial power.**

M. AURELIUS succeeded peaceably to the vacant throne. One of his first acts was to admit to an equal participation of the imperial power the son of Ælius Verus, who, at the request of Hadrianus, had been adopted by Antoninus Pius. This monarch, however, respected the wishes of his benefactor only so far as was consistent with his duty to the public; and, accordingly, since the young prince showed neither virtue, talents, nor, indeed, any merit, except a frank and easy disposition, he was not brought prominently forward into public life. His subsequent conduct proved the wisdom of Antoninus; and it is not easy to determine the reason which induced M. Aurelius to depart so immediately from the system of his predecessor. Perhaps, as the austerities of philosophy had impaired his health, and he still wished to devote his leisure to study, he might hope to find in Verus a colleague, whose bodily vigour would enable him to support the fatigues of war, and who might also devote some time to the despatch of public business. But the pursuit of pleasure was more agreeable to the disposition of Verus: he would, probably, have been neither good nor useful in that comparative privacy to which the wise policy of Antoninus destined him; but, at least, his vices would have found a less ample field, and his example would have been less extensively

pernicious. Perhaps, also, Aurelius, in admitting a partner of his power, was willing to give his beloved philosophy the credit of such a sacrifice; and, accordingly, we find the flatterers of the day complimenting the emperor on his unexampled generosity. The two emperors shared the consulate during the first year, distributed, in concert, the customary largesse to the troops, and jointly assisted at the apotheosis of their deceased benefactor. A. D. 161.

The reign commenced prosperously: a philosophical monarch was likely to make a nation happy, and Verus, at first, conducted himself with that decent submission to his colleague's will, which feelings of gratitude and a sense of inferiority prescribed. M. Aurelius, in order to strengthen the ties of friendship by those of consanguinity, promised to Verus his daughter, Lucilla; but, at this time, the appearance of foreign war delayed the alliance. Vologeses, king of the Parthians, rose in arms, to assert his claim to Armenia: having defeated the Romans under Leverianus, near Elegia, he proceeded further to make a descent on Syria.[1] Aurelius, thinking his colleague might be more useful in the field than in the cabinet, despatched him towards the seat of war; but the pursuit of amusement was more attractive to Verus than the dangers of the camp, or military fame, and thus his progress was frequently delayed by the charms of conviviality or the pleasures of the chase. At length he reached Antioch, and, on pretence of superintending the supply of provisions for the army, he passed four years amidst the licentious indulgences of that luxurious capital:[2] in the mean time the command of the troops was committed to three generals of courage and ability, Statius Priscus, Martius Verus, and Avidius Cassius. The details of this war have not been accurately transmitted, but we learn from Dion, that the success of Cassius was brilliant and complete. He awaited the attack of Vologeses, repulsed his army, harassed his retreat, gained possession of Seleucia, and proceeded so far as to destroy the royal palace of Ctesiphon. The two emperors triumphed for the success of their generals in the east, and accepted, from the flattery of the soldiers and the senate, the pompous titles of Parthicus and Armeniacus.

War with Parthia.



Marcus Aurelius.

Its successful termination.

Verus, though he had now espoused Lucilla, returned to Rome reluctantly; for habits of licentiousness indulged at Antioch, made him unwilling to brook restraint, and his indolence, extravagance, and

[1] Dion. [2] Capitolinus.

A. D. 161. debauchery, were practically reproved by the activity, temperance, and frugality of M. Aurelius: the zeal of the latter, the equability of his temper, his attention to the despatch of public business, the patience with which he listened to the prolixity of judicial causes, lest haste should interfere with the interests of equity, or apparent carelessness should shake the confidence of the people in their monarch; his disposition to lenity wherever the offender might be reclaimed, united to inexorable firmness wherever punishment seemed necessary, his deference to the senate, his reluctance to oppress the people by taxes, and his generous expenditure in patronising literature and relieving distress, combine to form a character of high pagan excellence, deserving more commendation than Mosheim is disposed to bestow. "Mark the misfortune of the times of Marcus," says he, "than whom no one of the emperors is esteemed more just and wise: a prince—by no means a bad one—used to feed his mind with philosophical meditations, not very inquisitive as to what might be transacted in the empire. Meanwhile, the magistrates followed with impunity their own will, and most shamefully violated those laws which they appeared to venerate." And again, "It may be doubted whether Marcus was so great a man as most persons thought him formerly and now think him: that he was a good man, though very superstitious, I am unwilling to doubt; but I do doubt whether he can deserve the title of a good emperor and prince." It must be confessed, that the persecution with which he harassed the Christians was a flagrant crime, which no reasons of policy, no principles of justice or humanity can excuse. M. Aurelius could not be ignorant of the celebrated 'Apology' composed by Justin, or of the edict issued by Antoninus, in their favour. Yet cruelty certainly formed no part of his disposition: he interfered to prevent bloodshed in the sports of the gladiators by substituting foils for swords; and his public address to the army, on the rebellion of Cassius, which we shall soon have occasion to notice, closes with sentiments of forgiveness and mercy, which would do honour to the followers of a purer faith. Cassius,[1] indeed, was prevented, by death, from experiencing the emperor's clemency; but the generous pardon extended to his family and followers, fully proved the sincerity of Aurelius's professions. The main cause therefore of the Christian persecution must be sought for in the emperor's attachment to the reigning system of philosophy, an attachment which commenced almost in the days of infancy, and acquired strength with his maturer years: at the age of eight he was initiated among the Salii, and administered, in succession, the various offices of the sacred college, as Vates, Præsul, and Magister,[2] In his twelfth year he put on the philosophic gown, and at this early age carried his voluntary austerity so far as to injure his health for life. The most distinguished sages, among whom were Cornelius

Virtues of Marcus Aurelius.

Persecution of the Christians.

[1] Dion. [2] Capitolinus.

Fronto, Herodes Atticus, and Apollonius the Stoic, were selected A. D. 161. to conduct his education;[1] and so great was the veneration which he felt for his instructors, that their images were placed in his chamber, and he decorated their tombs with flowers.[2]

Probable causes of this persecution.

It cannot be doubted, that at a court, wherein the avenues of favour lay open to learning, many would attempt to impose on Aurelius by the garb of philosophy and the language of virtue. Now, in one point both the real and pretended sages would agree, namely, in exasperating the emperor against the Christians, by traducing their character, customs, institutions, and principles, and by misinterpreting their motives whenever they could not deny facts; for the superior virtues of the Christian converts, their active benevolence, their patient forbearance and fortitude, the purity of their morals, and their zeal in spreading widely the light of truth, made them an object of hatred to the heathen philosophers. Again, the Christian writers attacked the pretensions, and exposed the inconsistencies of these pretended sages, some with invective and some with derision. Tatianus, for instance, ridicules their affected disregard of death, and asks how their pretended contempt of the good things of this life can be reconciled with their alacrity in frequenting the court, and their readiness to accept pensions; "and yet," adds he, ironically, "your wisdom, in this respect, is to be commended, lest you should seem to have cherished your beards and neglected your dress for nothing." Such shafts of satire, though they would wound only the worthless professors of philosophy, had certainly no tendency to conciliate the best among her votaries, and they would all view, with feelings of anger, the rapid progress of the new religion.

Causes of the opposition to Christianity.

All these causes would contribute to unite the teachers of the pagan schools against the followers of Jesus Christ. The influence of the former over the mind of Aurelius may be traced to early habits, confirmed by the prejudice of the age and the pride of learning; and though in his mind contempt might hold the place of anger, still its effects were equally inimical to the Christians. Lastly, we may observe, that the crime urged against them by ignorance and malice was a crime of serious magnitude, and well calculated to awaken the vigilance of the civil magistrate; they were charged with hatred to the whole race of mankind, and the accusation rested on their refusal to participate in the rites of pagan worship. "Not so much," says Tacitus,[3] "on the old accusation of setting fire to the city, as on that of hatred to mankind." And Pliny, "Nor did I doubt that their stubbornness and inflexible obstinacy ought to be punished, whatsoever might be their religious tenets."[4] Now, the

[1] Letters from the former, with the replies of M. Aurelius, were lately discovered in the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

[2] Zonaras.

[3] Ann. 15, 44.

[4] Neque enim dubitabam qualecunque esset quod faterentur, certe pertinaciam et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri.—Lib. x. Ep. 97.

A. D. 161. friendly intercommunity of worship among the heathens was so firmly established by custom, that inflexible obstinacy in refusing this, seemed not only contemptuous to the deities, but directed also towards the dissolution of civil society.[1] Charges such as these, urged with earnestness and exaggeration by persons who had the readiest access to M. Aurelius, will tend to account for his conduct, and, in some degree, may extenuate his guilt.

War with the Marcomanni and Quadi.

If Verus was unwilling to exchange the luxurious enjoyments of Antioch for a residence at Rome, still more reluctant was he to leave Rome and encounter the perils of war. Scarcely had the two emperors triumphed, when the Marcomanni, the Quadi, and other nations, who had long been forming a confederacy, rose in arms. The resources of Rome were little prepared to resist opponents so formidable. Notwithstanding the preceding period of peace, the treasury was exhausted, insomuch that the jewels of the crown and court furniture were sold by public auction, in order to raise supplies. Besides this deficiency, the army which had pursued the flying Parthians, suffered subsequently by sickness: the plague spread its devastations over the empire, and the capital was afflicted by the additional calamities of inundation and famine. Under these circumstances, M. Aurelius recruited the troops by enlisting slaves and gladiators, and by engaging mercenary soldiers in Germany. He determined, also, that Verus should accompany him to the field, thinking, perhaps, that his continuance at Rome might be more mischievous than his presence in the camp.

The accounts in the Augustan historians of this war with the Marcomanni, are composed without precise dates or due arrangement, and will be read with little interest. We learn that the two emperors went to Aquileia, and that two years were passed in occasional skirmishes, without any decisive battle. At the end of this period

Death of Verus.

A. D. 166. Verus died suddenly at Altinum; Aurelius consequently returned to Rome and conducted the body of his deceased colleague to the magnificent mausoleum of Hadrianus; his departure gave new hope and courage to the Marcomanni, though at that time they were pretending

A. D. 170. to desire peace: but the next year the emperor returning to Aquileia, pushed his conquests with vigour and success, and defeated the Jazyges in two battles; the last of which was fought on the frozen waters of the Danube.

A. D. 174. The Thundering Legion.

A battle which took place with the Quadi derives importance and interest from the discussions it has raised among the writers of ecclesiastical history. Dion details the circumstances, and calls the victory which the Romans gained wonderful (παράδοξος), or rather the gift of God. The substance of his account is, that the Quadi, having enclosed the Romans in a defile where no supply of water could be obtained, occupied every strong post, and left their enemies to perish

[1] Warb. Div. Leg. book ii. sec. 6.

by thirst, heat, and famine. Courage was now useless, and escape seemed impossible, when suddenly the clouds collected, water descended in torrents, with hailstones and hot thunder-bolts; the fire, however, did not injure the Romans, while the Quadi derived no benefit from the rain; on the contrary, the flames seemed to burn more fiercely, so that some attempted to extinguish them with their own blood, and others fled to the Romans as to the only place of safety. It is said that Arnuphis, an Egyptian magician, who was with Aurelius, invoked with certain incantations the aerial Mercury and other genii, and by their aid drew down the rain. Xiphilinus, who lived in the eleventh century, and abridged the latter part of Dion Cassius, interrupts the narration at this point, and accusing the historian of wilful misrepretation, proceeds to relate, that in the army of M. Aurelius there was a legion of Christians, and, in this exigency, the efficacy of their prayers having been mentioned to the emperor, he desired they would exert it in behalf of the army. Their supplications were graciously heard by God, who at the same moment struck the Quadi with lightning, and relieved the Romans by rain; whereupon M. Aurelius, being greatly astonished, published a decree honourable to the Christians, and gave this legion the name of the 'Thundering Legion.' It is said that a letter from him on this subject is still extant. A. D. 174.

Controversy on the 'Thundering Legion.'

These observations of Xiphilin have raised a controversy which has been conducted at some length by Messrs. Moyle[1] and King. The former seems to have the advantage in extent of research and conclusive reasoning. His remarks are arranged under the following heads:—

First, it is highly improbable there should have been in the army of Aurelius a whole legion composed of Christians, for their numbers at this period do not sanction such a supposition; and the military oaths tendered to the soldiers on enlistment contained an idolatrous recognition of the pagan deities.

Secondly, the Thundering Legion did not take its name from this battle, for Scaliger has proved it to be as old as the days of Trajanus.

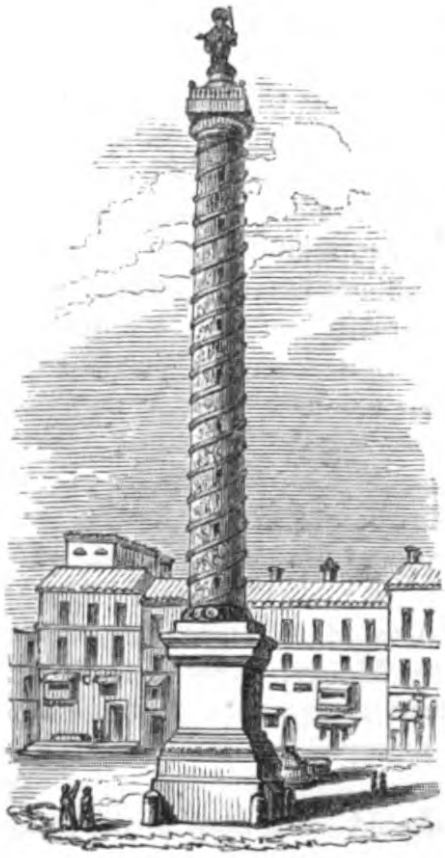
Thirdly, Aurelius thought himself indebted for his deliverance to his own pagan gods, and not to the God of the Christians; for on a pillar still standing, is represented the figure of Jupiter Pluvialis, and a medal has been found struck, A.D. 174, bearing on one side a bust of Aurelius, and on the other the words Religio Antonini, encircling a Mercury: besides, Claudian and other writers ascribe the victory to the pagan divinities, even in their address to Christian emperors,—

omne Tonantis
Obsequium Marci mores potuere mereri.

[1] The Miracle of the Thundering Legion examined.—Moyle's Works, vol. ii.

A. D. 174. This they would scarcely have done if a pagan emperor had therein recognised the power of the Christians' God.

As to a letter said to have been written on the subject, none of the early writers pretend to have seen it; and that which is now extant has been proved by Joseph Scaliger to have been a forgery, composed probably about the fifth century. Nor did Aurelius, in consequence of this battle, publish any edict in favour of the Christians.[1] For the Alexandrine 'Chronicle' speaks of the persecution terminating in the first year of Commodus: moreover, in the first book of M. Aurelius's 'Meditations,' which was written after the battle with the Quadi, mention is made of the obstinacy and sufferings of the Christians in a manner which seems to imply a continuance of the persecution; beside, the martyrs suffered at Lyons the most horrible cruelties subsequently to this battle, and it is improbable that this would have happened if Aurelius had ascribed his deliverance to the Christians, or had issued an edict in their favour.



Column of Marcus Aurelius.
Overbeke, Les Restes de l'Anc. Rome.

Moreover, none of the writers of the second and third centuries mention the circumstance of the battle as miraculous, except Apollinaris and Tertullian:[2] the latter was an author of more genius and eloquence than sound judgment: his reasonings are often subtle, rather than solid; and his learning did not save him from the errors of credulity. Theophilus, who wrote only seven years after the pretended miracle, and Origen, who certainly would have urged it against Celsus, are alike silent. Arnobius and Lactantius do not mention it in their works; and even Cyprian, though an admirer of Tertullian, yet leaves out this story. Neither does Eusebius give testimony decidedly in favour of any miraculous interference on the part of Providence; his account is given as the substance of the

Authors who wrote on this subject.

[1] Proofs of the prevalence of persecution may be found in the various Apologies which appeared in this reign. Justin speaks of the unjust and unreasonable proceedings of the Roman governors everywhere. Theophilus of Antioch and Tatian, Apollinaris, Athenagoras, and Melito of Sardis, employed in the cause of true religion "the manly arms of rational argumentation." [2] Mosheim.

common report, and concludes thus: "On these points let each one judge for himself"—*ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὅπη τίς ἐθέλῃτιθέσθω.* A. D. 174.

These and other observations of Mr. Moyle, replete with much learning, and urged with considerable force and ingenuity, tend to this conclusion, that the fact of the Romans having been refreshed by rain at the time the Quadi suffered from lightning is true, and that the relief was critical and accounted by both parties supernatural. The pagans, we have seen, ascribed it to the interference of their deities, while the Christians were not unwilling to think and assert that the deliverance was miraculous, and owing to the efficacy of their prayers. It is acknowledged on all hands that the relief afforded was very seasonable, though the circumstances do not seem to warrant the application of the word 'miraculous' in its strict sense.

The consequences of the victory were very advantageous to M. Aurelius; many of the barbarians sued for peace; the safety of Pannonia was secured; and an invasion of Marcomannia was planned, when the appearances of civil rebellion diverted the attention of the emperor from the prosecution of foreign conquest. We have seen that in the early part of this reign Avidius Cassius was one of the generals who conducted the Parthian war successfully. The severity of his discipline, although occasionally pressed beyond the line of necessity, justice, and humanity, was yet well adapted to improve and control an army to which the luxuries of an eastern capital were more agreeable than the rigours of a Roman camp: still his personal character, together with his military talents and success, endeared him to the troops, and Verus had long since cautioned Aurelius not to trust him too far.

Rise of Avidius Cassius.

The reply of the latter, if genuine, is a singular specimen of imprudence under the garb of magnanimity, justified on principles of fatalism.[1] "I have received your letter filled with jealousies unbecoming our rank and such a government as ours. If the gods destine him to the empire whom you exhort me to guard against, we shall not be able to prevent it though we should be never so fain; for you know the saying of our grandfather Hadrianus, 'No man ever killed his successor.' If, on the contrary, Avidius fights against the decrees of fate, he himself will meet his destruction without our cruelty bringing the reproach of it upon us."

His rebellion.

At length, on a false report of the emperor's death, Avidius Cassius raised the standard of rebellion, and the provinces within Mount Taurus soon acknowledged his dominion. When the revolt was generally known, M. Aurelius in a noble speech, addressed to his army, expressed his sorrow that no respite was allowed between the dangers of foreign war, and the discord of civil rebellion; a rebellion the more atrocious because it originated in the faithlessness and treachery of a false friend. His own victory he considered to be

[1] Crevier.

A. D. 174. certain, and he regretted that death might prevent the rebel Cassius from experiencing his clemency. The subsequent conduct of the emperor (as we have before remarked) showed the sincerity of these professions; for, though Cassius fell by the hands of his own officers, those who shared his guilt were not implicated in his fate; and M. Aurelius even wrote to the senate, lest, in the zeal of their loyalty, the crimes of a rebellious subject might be visited on his innocent family.

The emperor now proceeeded into the east, thinking his presence might be useful in those districts which had been the scene of the late insurrection. In this expedition, Faustina, his wife, died—an empress whose name has been handed to later times as a byword of licentiousness and infamy. Her excesses were viewed by her husband with a stoical indifference, false in its principle, degrading and mischievous in its effects: her memory was publicly idolized, and her character extolled in the book of 'Meditations,' in a style which argues the extremity of folly and dissimulation. From Syria, M. Aurelius went into Egypt; and, at length, having established order in the various districts through which he passed, and having founded at Athens professorships in various branches of polite learning, he returned for two years to Rome: a gorgeous triumph celebrated the extent and splendour of his conquests, and the people had reason to applaud the liberality of their emperor. His time was now divided between the care of public affairs and a vain attempt to amend the disposition and curb the vices of his son, Commodus. Although he had already experienced the evils and impediments which arise from a worthless partner in power, the feelings of the parent prevailed over the wisdom of the magistrate. Commodus was very early invested with the title of Cæsar: at the age of fifteen, he was admitted to the tribunitial power, and, lastly, raised to the same dignity with Aurelius himself. Being thus exalted beyond the restraint of authority, and the necessity of dissimulation, he abandoned himself to sensual pleasures and illiberal pursuits. At this time war again broke out on the banks of the Danube; and the Quintilii being unable to check the barbarians, Aurelius, taking Commodus with him, left Rome to assume the command in person: success attended the expedition; a great battle took place, in which the Marcomanni, Quadi, and Sarmatæ, were routed: their complete subjection now seemed inevitable, when M. Aurelius was seized with sickness, which in a few days terminated his life at Vienna. His latter days were embittered by the vices of Commodus, by whom parental authority and example were alike disregarded, and whom parental indulgence had fostered to be a private and public scourge. Dion calls this period a transition from the Golden to the Iron Age; and, indeed, the reign of Commodus is a scene of guilt and misery, which the historian contemplates with disgust, and is glad to dismiss with brevity.

Death of Faustina.

Commodus associated in the empire.

A. D. 178. Second war with the Marcomanni.

Death of Antoninus. A. D. 180.



Commodus and Crispina.—*Museum Florentinum.*

CHAPTER IX.

COMMODUS AND PERTINAX.

FROM A. D. 180 TO A. D. 193.

SECTION I.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS.

No sooner was Aurelius dead than Commodus became anxious to proceed to Rome. But Pompeianus, who had married Lucilla, the widow of Verus, and sister of the new emperor, persuaded him to postpone a measure so like an ignominious retreat, and to preserve during a decent interval at least the appearance of warfare. In the same year, however, a treaty, neither honourable nor advantageous, was hastily concluded with the barbarians; Commodus returned to the capital, and the son of an emperor, long beloved and sincerely regretted, was naturally received with the joy and acclamations of enthusiasm. At first, amidst a mad career of gross licentiousness and vulgar amusement, he left affairs of state to the management of his father's friends. Their counsels, however, were soon disregarded; and the evils of a corrupt government, combining with other causes, produced discontent, and discontent conspiracy. Among the ring-leaders was his sister Lucilla, whose pride was wounded in being obliged to yield to Crispina, his wife: the execution of the plot was intrusted to an assassin, who, waiting for the emperor in a narrow avenue leading to the theatre, aimed a blow at him, exclaiming, "The

A. D. 180.

Conspiracy of Pompeianus.

A. D. 180. senate sends you this:" perhaps, he might have succeeded had he struck in silence; but the utterance of these words alarming Commodus, saved his life, and created a deep and lasting hatred against the whole body of the senate. The assassin was put to death, Lucilla was banished to Capri, and numbers, whose wealth and character tempted the avarice or raised the suspicions of the emperor, became the victims of his unsparing cruelty.

Herodian and Dion differ respecting the names of some who were engaged in this conspiracy, and disagree widely respecting the character of Perennis, who was at this time the reigning favourite. Dion professes to write from his own knowledge; and being on the spot, he had the best means of information, without any inducement to deceive his readers. He condemns Perennis for having contrived the death of his predecessor Paternus, but adds, that his public measures tended to the welfare of the empire, while his private character was alike free from avarice and ambition. Herodian, on the contrary, accuses this minister of making the passions of Commodus subservient to his own designs, by awakening suspicious jealousy, and thus procuring the death or banishment of those who had been the friends of Aurelius. His object was to possess himself of the throne by corrupting the army, and to this end his son was placed over the troops in Illyria: at length, his treachery was discovered, a deputation of soldiers from Britain demanded his death, and accordingly he was sacrificed to appease their fury. The dangers of the empire, however, were not terminated by his death; disffection had spread over the legions, and an attempt of Maternus, a private soldier, who headed a band of deserters, and projected the assassination of Commodus during the celebration of the festival of Cybele, was so ably conceived, that he must have been successful but for the treachery of an accomplice.

Ministry of Perennis.

Conspiracy of Maternus.

But neither duty nor danger could draw Commodus from the sports of gladiators or the pleasures of debauchery. Cleander, a Phrygian slave, who had rendered himself useful to his master's vices, soon succeeded to the place and influence of Perennis: under him the pardon of guilt, and the enjoyment of office, might equally be purchased, and no traffic was too base or corrupt if it filled the coffers of the minister. During three years the empire was drained by his rapacity; but his insatiable avarice attempting to keep up the price of corn by monopoly, so exasperated the populace that they besieged the palace, till Commodus sacrificed his favourite to preserve himself. It was not easy, however, to awaken the emperor from his dream of luxury, and the tumult wellnigh cost him his own life. It was to the entreaties of his favourite concubine that he at last granted the head of his minister.

Ministry of Cleander.

As tyranny naturally produced conspiracies and tumults, so these increased the cruelty of the tyrant; not only did the best and noblest

Crimes of Commodus.

citizens become the victims of his suspicion, revenge, and avarice, A. D. 180.
but his very amusements were stamped with a character of incredible ferocity; and the dream of his mother, Faustina, during her pregnancy, that she was delivered of two serpents, one of which far exceeded the other in savageness of nature, appeared amply verified in her surviving son. It is an unpleasant task to record the insane crimes of a ferocious sensualist, who possessed the means of unlimited indulgence; but the truth of history demands that facts should be adduced to avouch for the proverbial infamy which attaches to the name of Commodus. His disposition to cruelty was early manifested; even, at twelve years of age, he ordered an unhappy slave who had the care of his bath to be thrown into the furnace, because he had miscalculated the temperature of the water. By an artifice of his tutor, the prince's anger was satisfied without the death of his victim. His amusements, when not ferocious, were illiberal and unbecoming of his station; and he excelled in various mechanic arts as well as in the qualifications of the buffoon, the gladiator, and the charioteer. His unnatural lusts were shamelessly exhibited in the face of day; and his favourite minion, who was afterwards assassinated by popular rage, ostentatiously accompanied him in the very car of triumph on his first return to Rome as emperor. His private hours were distributed between three hundred beautiful concubines, and as many boys of every rank and province; and not satisfied with this unbounded gratification he heightened the stings of lust by incest. Protracted banquets wore away his nights, and (to adopt the strong phrase of one of his biographers) he glutted himself with the whole resources of the empire.[1] Even his jests were distinguished by cruelty. In celebrating the rites of Isis, the master of the Roman world appeared with a shaven crown, and bore in his arms an image of the dog Anubis; with this, as opportunity offered, he repeatedly struck the heads of the priests who accompanied him, many of whom, also, he compelled to wound themselves to death, by turning into reality the mock beating of the breasts with which they were used to lament their god. The lame and halt were selected as his antagonists in the arena; and these, dressed up as mimic giants or monsters, he assailed with a club or transfixed with arrows. Though luxurious in his dress, frequently resorting to the bath eight times in the day, scattering gold-dust in his hair, and, from the fear of admitting the approach of a razor in the hand of another, singeing off his beard, he was especially proud of exhibitions of personal strength, and frequently butchered victims with his own own hand in the garb of a sacrificer. Among the flatteries of the obsequious senate none pleased him more than the vote which styled him the Hercules of Rome; not even that which annexed to him the titles Pius and Felix, or which

Savage cruelty of Commodus.

[1] Cum potaret in lucem, helluareturque viribus Romani Imperii.—Lampridius, 3.

A. D. 180. offered to abolish the name of the eternal city, and substitute for it Colonia Commodiana. Seven hundred and thirty-five times did he exhibit as a secutor; and he considered his glory at its height, when the name of Paulus (the most celebrated of this species of gladiators) was inscribed on the imperial statues.

Assassination of Commodus. A. D. 192.

After thirteen years of unmitigated oppression, his favourite, Marcia, ultimately became the instrument by which the Roman world was delivered from its odious master. She discovered from some private notes of Commodus, that herself, Lætus, the Prætorian præfect, and Electus, the chamberlain, were on the list devoted to death: a conspiracy was immediately formed, Marcia administered poison to the emperor, and, lest the measure should not prove effectual, the deed was completed by suffocation.



Pertinax and his Family.—*Visconti, Iconographie Romaine.*

SECTION II.

PUBLIUS HELVIUS PERTINAX.

A. D. 193: FROM THE 1ST OF JANUARY TO MARCH.

A. D. 193. No sooner was the throne vacant than Lætus and the rest of the conspirators determined on offering it to Pertinax, one of the few friends of Aurelius who had escaped the cruelty of Commodus.[1] Capitolinus accuses him of being at first acquainted with the plot; but the suddenness of its execution, the testimony of Dion, and the character of Pertinax himself, all combine to make this imputation improbable.

Early life of Pertinax.

Pertinax had early chosen the profession of arms, and his whole life, with the exception of the period of the administration of Perennis, when he retired into Liguria, was passed in active and honour-

[1] Julian.

able employment; at different times, he was invested with military command on the Danube, in Syria, and in Britain; and when he was subsequently appointed to hold civil offices at Rome, he discharged their various duties with integrity, prudence, and fidelity. The successive appointments by which he rose to be master of the Roman world are related by Capitolinus; and Gibbon justly remarks, that their order is worthy of preservation as expressive of the form of government and the manners of the age. 1. He was a centurion. 2. Præfect of a cohort in Syria, in the Parthian war, and in Britain. 3. He obtained a squadron of horse in Mœsia. 4. He was commissary of provisions on the Æmilian way. 5. He commanded the fleet upon the Rhine. 6. He was procurator of Dacia, with a salary of 1600*l.* a year. 7. He commanded the veterans of a legion. 8. He obtained the rank of senator. 9. Of prætor. 10. With the command of the first legion in Rhætia and Noricum. 11. He was consul about the year A. D. 175. 12. He attended M. Aurelius into the east. 13. He commanded an army on the Danube. 14. He was consular legate of Mœsia. 15. Of Dacia. 16. Of Syria. 17. Of Britain. 18. He had the care of the public provisions at Rome. 19. He was proconsul of Africa. 20. Præfect of the city. A. D. 193. Offices held by Pertinax.

A visit at midnight from the ministers of Commodus seemed to indicate a summons to death, rather than the offer of a throne: when, however, Lætus had related the origin and event of the conspiracy, and urged Pertinax to assume the purple, the latter reluctantly consented. The next step was, to secure the support of the army; and though the Prætorian guards were little pleased with the death of an emperor under whom they had enjoyed more license and indulgence than the well-known character and discipline of Pertinax allowed them to hope in future, yet, agitated by the emergency of the moment, and tempted by the promise of an ample donation, they took the oaths of allegiance. On the next morning the senate assembled; and while the populace were expressing their joy at the death of Commodus in the exclamations and outrages of vindictive fury, the conscript fathers inflicted on his memory every mark of scorn and detestation. His statues were overthrown, his memory declared infamous, and his body dragged by a hook into the stripping-room of the gladiators, as the utmost malignity which vengeance could offer. Pertinax modestly stated his desire to abdicate his recent dignity in favour of some one of nobler birth and higher pretensions; since age and infirmity disqualified him from duly discharging its duties: the senate, however, confirmed by their tribute of sincere approbation the choice made by Lætus and the army. The new emperor applied himself immediately to rectify abuses which had grown up under the late government: he replenished the exhausted treasury by retrenching superfluous expenses, and by the sale of those articles of luxury which had ministered to the vices and extravagances of his His wise government.

A. D. 193. infamous predecessor. The plan of his private expenditure was frugal without meanness, and his manner of receiving his friends affable without unbecoming familiarity. Such a system pursued in public and in private, however agreeable to the few remaining friends of virtue, was little adapted to conciliate those who remembered with regret the festivity and revels of Commodus. Lætus, who procured the elevation of Pertinax, was also the cause of his destruction. At his instigation the disaffected troops besieged the palace, conscious of their power, and certain of profiting in any tumultuous disturbance by the bounty of their friends, and the plunder of their enemies. Pertinax, either hoping to awe them by his presence, or determined to meet his faith with fortitude, presented himself before them. A feeling of shame, the consciousness of guilt and ingratitude, now arrested their progress: the pause, however, was but momentary, and the virtuous Pertinax, after a reign of eighty-seven days, was massacred by an army too vicious to admire his excellence, and too powerful to acknowledge his authority.

His assassination, March 26th, A. D. 193.





Septimius Severus and his Family.—*Visconti, Iconographie Romaine.*

CHAPTER X.

LUCIUS SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

FROM A. D. 193 TO A. D. 211.

THE sceptre, which was wrested from the dying hands of Pertinax, A. D. 193. passed for a short time into those of Didius Julianus; an individual who had no recommendation, besides his great riches, to the power and rank which were thereby conferred upon him. But, as the few occurrences which took place in his reign respected the movements of his successor rather than his own plans for conducting the government, we have not thought it necessary to devote a separate head to the brief and troubled period during which he occupied the throne.[1]

State of the empire after the murder of Pertinax.

The death of Pertinax was indeed followed by events which supplied to the Roman people the most melancholy evidence that their liberty no longer existed, even in name; and gave rise, at the same time, to the painful apprehension that the affairs of their country were thenceforth to be directed by the caprice and selfishness of an armed democracy. These anticipations would undoubtedly have been realized, had not the stern character and unbending firmness of Severus checked the progress of military domination, punished the seditious insolence of the Prætorian guards, and by strengthening at once the authority of the sovereign and of the laws, secured the peace of the empire, and the due balance of its several parts.

No sooner had the Prætorians completed their rebellion, by the murder of the emperor, than they resolved to derive from the crime

[1] Spartian. in Did. Julian. c. i. 2; Dion Cassius, lib. lxxiii.; Herodian. lib. ii.

A. D. 193. The imperial throne exposed to sale, and purchased by Didius Julianus.

which they had committed all the advantages that the ambition of one class of citizens, and the timidity of the rest, encouraged them to expect. Having fortified their camp, and thereby precluded all direct communication, either with the senate or the people, they instructed one of their number to mount upon the rampart, and proclaim that the vacant throne was immediately to be exposed to sale, and would be given to him who should make the most liberal offer. The first who presented himself as a purchaser of the bloody spoils of Pertinax, was his father-in-law, Flavius Sulpicianus, a member of the senate, and præfect of the city. But scarcely had he time to specify the donation by which he meant to gratify the cupidity of the soldiers, when a formidable competitor appeared in the person of Didius Julianus; who, incited by the ambitious vanity of his wife and daughters, determined that the imperial purple should not be disposed of at a low or unworthy price. He hastened to the camp, where Sulpicianus was still urging his bargain with the mercenary guards; and, finding that the latter had offered such a sum as would have allowed to each soldier about a hundred and sixty pounds of our money, he instantly declared his readiness to make an addition of fifty pounds more to every individual. He suggested, at the same time, that were his rival exalted to the empire he might be induced to exercise the very power with which they had clothed him to avenge the death of his son-in-law: a consideration which, added to the extravagant terms on which he had consented to purchase their suffrages, decided the judgment of the Prætorians in favour of his claim. The gates of the camp were immediately thrown open to the successful candidate; where, with loud acclamations, he was declared emperor, and received the allegiance of its turbulent inhabitants. At the request of the latter, he appointed as their commanders, Julius Flavius Genealis and Tullius Crispinus, and promised to forget, or to forgive, the competition which he had sustained at the hands of Sulpicianus.[1]

Indignation of the people.

The transactions now described, are said to have taken place within a few hours after the murder of Pertinax. Sorrow and indignation continued to fill the streets of Rome, when the Prætorians, in order of battle, entered the city to conduct the new emperor to the senate-house, and afterwards to the palace of the Cæsars. The resentment of the people broke out in various acts of violence against the venal soldiery. They attacked them from the tops of the houses with stones and abusive language; upbraiding them as traitors and enemies of their country: while the latter, eager to preserve the life of Julianus, at least until he should fulfil the conditions upon which he had been raised to the empire, surrounded him with their shields, and at length placed him in safety in the midst of the trembling and

[1] Spartian. c. iii.: Dion Cassius, lib. lxxiii.: Ne Sulpiciano aliquid noceret, quod imperator esse voluisset.

degraded senate. This obsequious assembly was compelled to express its approbation of everything which had been done; to confirm the election of the camp; and even to congratulate the country on the happy event which had called it together. They conferred upon Didius all the offices and dignities which belonged to the imperial estate; enrolled his family in the order of patricians; and, finally, bestowed upon his wife and daughters the highest titles that were ever borne by the female members of a reigning house.[1] A. D. 193.

Character of Julianus, and discrepancy of historians.

Our only authorities for the life of Julianus are Dion Cassius, Herodian, and Spartian. The first of these historians was a personal enemy of the emperor; whose character and motives he uniformly represents in the most unfavourable light. Herodian likewise was a contemporary, and influenced by sentiments not more friendly to the reputation of Didius. The last of the three annalists, on the contrary, seems to take pleasure in opposing the statements of his two predecessors; and hence he exhibits the conduct of Julianus in colours much more attractive, both before he rose to the fatal eminence to which his ambition aspired, and during the short period that he was allowed to retain possession of it. We are informed by Dion, that when the successor of Pertinax entered the palace, the first object which struck his eyes was the mutilated body of that sovereign; which, instead of treating with the decent honours which belonged to the remains of a friend and of a prince, he passed by with neglect, or spurned with derision. He viewed, with equal contempt, the plain dishes which had been prepared for the imperial table, and gave orders that an entertainment of great expense and delicacy should forthwith be got ready, as more suitable to his station, his wealth, and his refinement. It is added, that he played at dice while the corpse of his predecessor lay unburied under the same roof—issued instructions for the acting of a dramatical piece, in which the celebrated pantomime, Pylades, might display his wonderful talents, and had recourse to every method by which he might escape reflection on the past, and repel the numerous fears and anxieties which could not but connect themselves with every prospect of the future.

But Spartian refuses his belief to this account, as being founded entirely on false report, maliciously circulated by the enemies of Didius: asserting, that the new prince did not taste food in the palace until the body of Pertinax had been carefully removed; that he displayed a thoughtful, and even melancholy, frame of mind throughout the whole evening; and that, so far from spending the night in mirth and jollity, he gave way to the most serious reflections on the critical situation in which he found himself placed, and on the steps which it might be necessary for him to adopt. Nor were his

[1] Spartian. in Did. Julian. c. iii.: Uxor, etiam, Mallia Scantilla, et filia ejus, Augustæ sunt appellatæ.

A. D. 193. Disaffection of the people, and fears of Didius.

fears excited without a sufficient reason. On the throne of the greatest empire in the world, he saw himself without a friend, and even without a counsellor. The Prætorians themselves were ashamed of the prince whom their avarice had induced them to elect; nor was there a citizen who did not regard his elevation with disgust, as an indelible stain on the Roman character. The higher orders, whose conspicuous station and ample possessions exacted the strictest caution, dissembled their sentiments, and met the affected civility of their new sovereign with smiles of complacency, and expressions of duty. We composed our looks, says Dion Cassius, and endeavoured to appear joyful, whilst our hearts were torn with grief and rage. But the people at large, who were not influenced by similar motives, gave the freest vent to their passions. When Didius on the following day, issued forth from the palace, they loaded him with the coarsest invectives. They invoked upon his head the wrath of the gods; prayed that the sacrifice which he was about to offer up might be blasted under his hands; and concluded by rejecting the largess by which he hoped to conciliate their esteem, or bribe their acquiescence. Conscious, meanwhile, of their own weakness, and looking upon the guards who surrounded the capital rather as enemies than as friends, they implored the aid of the legions which served in the provinces, and besought them to deliver the empire from the burden and disgrace with which it was now oppressed.

They invite the provincial legions to give them aid against the Prætorians.

In such circumstances all the arts of Julianus proved fruitless, and he could not long shut his eyes to the fate which awaited him. The indignant appeal of the Roman people first reached the banks of the Danube, where Severus commanded an active and devoted army, and was soon afterwards conveyed to the shores of Syria and of Britain, where Pescennius Niger and Clodius Albinus exercised, respectively, a similar power. The intelligence that the throne of the Cæsars had been disposed of by public auction, drove the three armies to a simultaneous revolt; while the generals more eager, perhaps, to occupy the place of Pertinax than to punish his murderers, resolved, without delay, to conduct their forces into Italy, where alone they could effectually redress the grievances of their countrymen.[1]

Julianus, who had not the slightest apprehension respecting the fidelity of the legions in Britain and Illyricum, confined all his fears to the Syrian army under the command of Niger. When, indeed, he heard that Severus was about to take the field against him, he proceeded to the senate in the greatest consternation, and demanded that the proconsul in Pannonia should be declared a public enemy,

[1] Dion Cassius, lib. lxxiii. pp. 835, 836; Herodian. lib. ii. p. 486. Spartianus quotes the following verse, as expressive of the opinions entertained of the three generals:—

Optimus est Fuscus (Niger), bonus Afer, pessimus Albus.

and even that every soldier who after a certain day continued to follow his standard should be pronounced to have forfeited his life. Meanwhile, at the head of his corrupted and faithless guards, the feeble emperor had recourse to such means of defence as suggested themselves to his unpractised mind; marching the several cohorts, amid the execrations and laughter of the people, from the camp to the ground where they were wont to exercise, and from that ground back again to the camp. A. D. 193.

As the competition of the three generals, already named for the sceptre of the Roman empire, involved that country once more in the horrors of civil war, we shall follow the example which is set before us by Ælius Spartianus, and give a short account of their character, their history, and the grounds of their respective pretensions.

Character of Pescennius Niger.

Of Pescennius Niger we may confidently assert, that he was the most popular commander of his age. Owing few advantages to birth, the eminence to which he rose was altogether to be attributed to his personal merit and professional talents. His courage and success in the conduct of several arduous campaigns, recommended him to the favour of Marcus Aurelius, and even of the less penetrating Commodus; both of whom were taught to regard him as one of the ablest officers to whom they could intrust the interests of the public service. He was raised to the consulship by the unanimous recommendation of the army which had fought under his command; taking precedence of Severus, who, in the same year, was appointed his colleague. He was next elevated to the government of Syria, where his wise administration procured for him the esteem of the soldiers, and the love of the natives. His rigid discipline improved the valour and confirmed the obedience of the former; whilst the gentle Asiatics were charmed with the mildness and affability of his manners, and particularly with the countenance which he bestowed upon their pompous superstition, in the ceremonies of which he is reported to have taken an active part.



Pescennius Niger.

His resolution to revolt.

No sooner had Didius purchased the throne, than the voice of the Roman people invited Niger to assume the imperial purple, and to revenge the death of Pertinax. The wishes of the legions coincided with those of the citizens; prompting the wavering general to declare

A. D. 193. his sentiments, and to receive from their hands the insignia of his high office, as master of the East and of the West. Ascending the tribunal, accordingly, he reminded his troops that the empire had been shamefully exposed to public sale, and bought by a man who boasted no distinction besides that which arises from the possession of gold: that their countrymen in Italy were calling aloud for vengeance, and had even named the person whom they thought the fittest to remove the disgrace which recent occurrences had affixed to their character: and that as such an undertaking, on their part, could have no honour were they not solicited to engage in it by those whose interests were most at stake, so it would betray an equal want of courage and of patriotism, were they to reject the prayers of the many thousands of citizens who now implored their assistance. "I have, therefore," he continued, "judged it proper to consult you, and to have your opinion as to what is most expedient to be done, on this critical and very important conjuncture. I shall now be determined by your advice; and in pursuing the path which you shall point out, our fortunes will be inseparably linked together. If success shall crown our efforts, the glory and happiness resulting from the restoration of our country's honour, will be enjoyed by you not less than by me."

His want of energy proves his ruin.

This address was received by the soldiers, as well as by the inhabitants of Antioch, with the loudest acclamations. They proceeded to salute the proconsul Emperor and Augustus, and to invest him with the purple and such other badges of supreme authority as suited the circumstances under which the election had taken place. The new monarch, attended by a numerous train, went immediately to the principal temples of the city, to return thanks to the gods; from these he was conducted, with the same pageantry, to his house, which he found adorned with branches of laurel, civic crowns, and all the other emblems of imperial dignity which distinguished the habitation of the Cæsars. The hopes which Niger reposed in the co-operation of his oriental allies were, in like manner, completely realized. All the provinces of Asia Minor, from the Syrian Gates to the Ægean Sea, approved the choice of the legions. The princes, too, who exercised a delegated power beyond the Euphrates, congratulated the Roman general on his elevation, and offered him their homage and their services. Ambassadors arrived at Antioch from the remoter kings and states, who made haste to acknowledge him as, at once, their master and protector. Pescennius listened to their professions of loyalty, but respectfully declined the assistance of their arms; relying upon the stability of the position which he had already attained, and cherishing the assurance that he would be everywhere received as the undisputed ruler of the Roman world.[1]

Herodian suggests, that the mind of Niger was not capable of resisting this sudden tide of fortune. He flattered himself that his

[1] Herodian. lib. ii. p. 501; Dion Cassius, lib. lxxiii. p. 842.

accession would be undisturbed by competition, and unstained by civil blood; and whilst he enjoyed in imagination the vain pomp of triumph, he neglected to secure the means of victory. Instead of entering into a negotiation with the powerful armies of the West, whose resolution might decide, or, at least, must balance, the mighty contest; instead of advancing, without delay, towards Rome, where his presence was impatiently expected, he trifled away, in the luxury of Antioch, those precious moments which were diligently improved by the active spirit of his rival.[1] In a word, his security was his ruin, and his confidence of success paved the way to a complete and irretrievable overthrow; but before we describe the more politic conduct of Severus which led to this result, we shall devote a few sentences to the character and situation of Clodius Albinus, the governor of Britain. A. D. 193.

History and character of Clodius Albinus.

This distinguished commander derived his pedigree from some of the most illustrious families of the old republic. At a very early period of life, he manifested a strong inclination for the military profession; and having received an appointment suitable to his rank, he soon merited the esteem of the emperor Antoninus. He commanded the legions in Bithynia at the time when Avidius Crassus revolted against Marcus Aurelius. On this important occasion, his fidelity to his prince was the means of preventing a great effusion of blood, as well as of confining the spirit of disaffection to the particular province in which it originated. He likewise distinguished himself in the reign of Commodus, by bringing to a successful issue several battles against the barbarians on the Rhine and on the Danube. Such services entitled him to the honours and confidence of the command which he held when Didius Julianus usurped the empire; and his civil rank, though not so clearly ascertained, appears not to have been inferior to that which he had earned as a soldier. Still, it is difficult to form a just idea of his true character. Under the philosophical cloak of austerity and self-denial, which, in his age, was sometimes assumed to supply the place of virtues which no longer existed, he stands accused of concealing most of the vices that degrade human nature.[2] But his accusers, it ought to be remembered, are those venal biographers whose interest led them to decorate the fortune of Severus, and to trample upon the ashes of an unfortunate rival. Temperance, or, at least, the well-studied appearance of that quality, recommended him to the good opinion of Aurelius; and it does not appear that the governor of Britain ever served the son of that emperor, either as the minister of his cruelties or as the associate of his dissipation.

When employed in Britain, he is said to have received from the

[1] Spart. in Pescenn. Nig.; Herodian. lib. ii. p. 518.

[2] Spart. in Clod. Albin.; Dion Cassius, lib. lxxiii. p. 837; Herodian. lib. ii. p. 513; lib. iii. p. 521.

A. D. 193. Confidence placed in him by Commodus.

latter prince a confidential communication, acquainting him with the treasonable designs of some discontented generals, and authorizing him to declare himself the guardian and successor of the throne, by assuming the title and ensigns of Cæsar. In the life of this commander, written by Capitolinus, the letter of Commodus is recorded at full length; though, we must add, that there are circumstances connected with its production which, in the opinion of several competent critics, have rendered its authenticity extremely questionable. But it is clear, that Albinus declined the dangerous honour, which would have marked him for the jealousy, or involved him in the approaching ruin, of his imperial master. He courted power by nobler, or, at least, by more specious arts. On a premature report of the death of the emperor, he assembled his troops; and, in an eloquent discourse, deplored the numerous evils of despotism, described the happiness and glory which their ancestors had enjoyed under the consular government, and declared his firm resolution to procure once more for the senate and people their wonted and constitutional authority. This popular harangue was answered by the loud acclamations of the army, and received at Rome with a warm sentiment of gratitude and hope. Safe, both in the possession of a province, which was removed, by its local situation, from any sudden ebullition of caprice on the part of the sovereign, and, also, in the attachment of a body of men, formidable alike for their discipline and their numbers, Albinus heard unmoved the chidings of Commodus, maintained towards Pertinax a studied reserve, and declared loudly and firmly against the usurpation of the contemptible Julianus. The convulsions which, upon this latter event, shook the whole of Italy, gave a renewed consequence to the patriotic feelings which he was supposed to cherish, and to the liberal maxims upon which he professed to reinstate the government. Had he been on the spot, and ready to avail himself of the opening affections of the people, he might have mounted, with equal ease and safety, the throne from which Didius must have been compelled to descend. But his distance from the seat of power, and the delay inseparable from the transportation of a large army from Britain to the Italian shores, and, above all, the rapid movements and active vigilance of Severus, rendered his hopes and his advantages altogether illusory.[1]

His revolt from Didius Julianus.

Biographical account of the emperor Severus.

Lucius Septimius Severus, whose schemes now demand our attention, was a native of Africa, and descended from an equestrian family. Upon coming to Rome in early life, he received the benefit of a liberal education, and was subsequently raised to the dignity of a senator by the favour of Marcus Aurelius. His youth, it is said, did not escape untainted by the impurities which disgraced the capital; and on one occasion, it is added, he was tried for a flagrant crime at the tribunal of Didius Julianus, whom he afterwards deposed

[1] Spart. in Clod. Albin. c. ii.; Dion Cassius, lib. lxxv. p. 851.

and murdered. Having held the usual offices which qualified a candidate for the consular chair, Severus was intrusted with several military appointments of great honour and importance. He served in Africa, in Spain, and in Gaul, and, finally, obtained one of the most desirable commands in the empire, that, namely, of the legions employed in Pannonia, to defend the banks of the Danube against the inroads of the barbarous tribes who dwelt beyond it. A. D. 193.

His determination to punish the murderers of Pertinax, and to succeed him.

When the news was conveyed to him that Julianus had ascended the imperial throne, rendered vacant by the assassination of Pertinax, he resolved to seize the opportunity which was thereby presented for gratifying the ambition which had long lurked in his bosom. The memory of the late emperor was dear to the legions of Pannonia, because, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, they had often advanced to victory under the guidance of his standard, and had learned, from his personal conduct, the most valuable parts of their profession as Roman soldiers. Severus lost no time in taking advantage of this reverence and affection for their murdered prince. He painted in the most lively colours the horrid crime which had been committed upon the body of a distinguished general, as well as upon the majesty of Rome. He unfolded in his speech the intolerable insolence of the Prætorian guards, their want of principle, and their effeminate weakness; he promised to his soldiers a donative exceeding in amount that with which Julianus purchased the crown, and he concluded by exhorting his willing auditors to assume their arms, and vow a complete revenge.

The rapidity of his march into Italy.

Less powerful motives than those presented by Severus, would have been found sufficient to animate the soldiers of Illyricum to engage in an enterprise which promised to gratify at once their anger and their avarice. Their ardour induced them to salute their chief on the field by the names of Emperor and Augustus, to which he requested them to add the popular appellation of Pertinax, whose assassins they had undertaken to punish. That the warmth of their zeal might not evaporate by delay, he gave immediate orders to prepare for the march; and, calling to mind a saying of Augustus, that a Pannonian army might in ten days appear in sight of Rome, he resolved by a celerity proportioned to the greatness of the occasion, to revenge Pertinax, depose Julianus, and receive the homage of the senate and people, before his competitors could be apprized of his success, or even of his designs. During the whole expedition, he scarcely allowed himself any time for food or for sleep; marching constantly on foot, and sharing with the meanest of the soldiers all the fatigues and privations incidental to so rapid a movement. Crossing Pannonia and the Alps with unabated speed, he descended into the plains of Italy before it was known that he had left his camp on the Danube.

The wretched Didius, whom the revolt of Niger had filled with

A. D. 193. Miserable efforts of Didius.

terror, was still more alarmed when he heard of the insurrection in Illyricum. He thought himself prepared to dispute the empire with the governor of Syria; but in the sudden and irresistible invasion of the Pannonian legions, he saw his inevitable fate. He perceived at once, says Spartian, what the consequences would be; predicting that neither himself nor Niger should reign long, but that the supreme power must necessarily fall to the lot of Severus; who, in the exercise of it, he added, would deserve more than either of them, the hatred of the higher orders, and the detestation of every man in the empire. But still desirous to protract the term of life and of government, he implored the senate to interpose its authority in his behalf, to declare the Pannonian general an enemy to his country; to induce the soldiers to withdraw from his standard; and to supersede him in his command by the appointment of a successor. Besides these public steps, Didius is said to have had recourse to the more unjustifiable means of assassination; and to have employed for this purpose a centurion named Aquilius, who had already given proofs of his talent by the murder of several senators.

Position and conduct of Severus.

But the decrees of the senate and the arts of the assassin were equally disregarded by Severus, who during his march did not once put off his armour, and was, at the same time, constantly surrounded by a chosen band of six hundred devoted soldiers, who never lost sight of his person till they saw him enter in safety the gates of Rome. Julianus, therefore, had no resource, but in the doubtful courage and fidelity of the Prætorians. Fear and shame prevented them from immediately deserting his standard; but they trembled at the name of the Pannonian legions, commanded by a resolute and experienced general, and rendered hardy by combating with the barbarians on the frozen banks of the Danube. Accustomed to earn their pay by dictating to their masters, rather than by serving them, the corrupted soldiers at Rome could not endure the fatigues of war, to which they had long been disused; for in pursuance of the policy of Augustus, who maintained his active armies on the frontiers, the guards who surrounded the city had, it is probable, never seen an enemy, and had ceased of course to practise any other tactics, than such as were necessary for the pacific duties of a palace. Dion accordingly informs us, that they were almost entirely ignorant of every military art. The enraged elephants, whose uncouth appearance, it was hoped, would strike terror into the army of the north, threw their unskilful riders; while the awkward evolutions of the marines, drafted from the fleet of Misenum, were an object of ridicule and contempt to the populace.[1] Julianus, meanwhile, distrustful of the skill not less than of the honour of his troops, began to fortify the city, and even to prepare his palace for the casualties of a siege; and in these occupations his fear and anxiety found a suitable employment, until Severus had

[1] Dion Cassius, Epitom. Xiphil. p. 307.

passed the valleys of the Apennines, and was already giving a little needful repose to his legions in the district of Interamnia, about seventy miles from the capital. A. D. 193.

Death of Julianus, and accession of Severus.

As the last expedient which seemed likely to avert the danger with which he was threatened, Didius instructed the senate to appoint Severus his colleague in the empire. But the latter was determined to reign alone, and, accordingly, by means of emissaries, whom he had sent from the army into Rome, he laboured to seduce the guards from their allegiance to Julianus; promising that, if they would abandon their pusillanimous ruler, and give up the actual murderers of Pertinax to the punishment which they deserved, he would pardon the rest of their number without farther inquiry. The fickle Prætorians, whose show of resistance was an unwilling tribute which they paid to regard for character, and to their fear of the conqueror, gladly complied with the proposed conditions; surrendered the greater part of the assassins, and made known to the senate, that they no longer bore arms against the governor of Pannonia. That body, therefore, immediately assembled at the request of the consuls, declared the throne vacant; placed Pertinax among the gods; and unanimously resolved that Severus should be received as the lawful sovereign of the Roman people. Julianus, at the same time, was condemned to suffer instant death. A tribune and some soldiers were commanded to execute the sentence; who, finding the irresolute old man in a private chamber of the palace, severed his head from his body in the midst of unavailing and unmanly lamentations.[1]



Didius Julianus.

Caution and policy of Severus.

These steps were taken while the new emperor was yet at a considerable distance from the capital, and there is no doubt that they proceeded more from the terror of his power, than from any affection for his person. Amid their preparations to celebrate his accession, the Roman people could not conceal their suspicions of his character, and their uneasiness at his approach. There was no order of the inhabitants who had not some cause to dread his anger. The senate had lately passed against him an intemperate decree; the multitude had unequivocally manifested their preference of Pescennius Niger; and the Prætorians, notwithstanding his secret assurances, could not divest themselves of apprehension with respect to his ulterior designs.

[1] Dion Cassius, Epitom. Xiphil. p. 309.

A. D. 193. Nor was the conduct of Severus calculated to remove their fears; for although the voice of the senate had declared in his favour, and their hands had already removed the principle obstacle to the gratification of his wishes, he continued to advance in a hostile attitude, and to adopt the same measures, as if he had been passing through the country of an enemy.

He disbands the prætorian guards.

The result, indeed, proved that his precautions were dictated by the intention of effecting a very important object. It was not enough that he had gained the suffrages of the Prætorian guards; he resolved to deprive them of the power of repeating so nefarious a transaction, as that which placed Didius on the throne. For this purpose, he issued an order to those haughty and venal troops, that they should hold themselves in readiness to receive him upon his approach to the city, in a large plain near the walls, without their arms, and only arrayed in the habits of ceremony in which they were wont to attend the emperor. Their compliance on this occasion arose from their just fears, not less than from a sense of duty; but, as the Roman soldiers never wore offensive armour, except when in the field, or about to engage an enemy, the Prætorians could not reasonably question the peculiarity of the instructions under which they now acted. No sooner, however, were they drawn up in front of the imperial tent, than the Pannonian legions advanced with levelled spears, and surrounded their whole body; upon which, Severus mounted the tribunal, and, with a menacing look and angry voice, reproached them in the bitterest terms with the murder of Pertinax, with their shameful behaviour in the sale of the empire, and particularly with their perfidious and cowardly conduct to the individual, whom they had so unworthily raised to the throne. He reminded them, that no punishment which he could inflict was adequate to the enormity of their offences, and that it was only out of his great clemency, and from an invincible reluctance to shed the blood of Romans, that he was induced to spare their lives. But as a friend to his country, he subjoined, he could no longer permit them to retain the important trust which they had so often betrayed; he therefore disbanded them with every circumstance of ignominy, deprived them of their splendid dress and ornaments, and banished them for ever from Rome, adding a solemn declaration, that if any one of their number should be found within a hundred miles of the capital, he should be instantly put to death.[1]

He enters Rome as a conqueror.

The Prætorians made no attempt to oppose the execution of this command. Severus, indeed, to prevent the effects of any sudden impulse of rage or of despair, had sent a detachment of his Illyrians to occupy their camp, and seize their arms, and thereby to secure the full accomplishment of his patriotic intentions. After this act, which

[1] Spart. in Sever. Imperator. c. v.–vii.; Dion Cassius, *ubi supra*; Herodian. lib. ii.; Spart. in Nig. et Julian.

savoured not less of justice than of political wisdom, he made prepa- A. D. 193.
rations for his formal entry into the city; which was conducted in a manner, combining so much magnificence with military pomp, as to impress the citizens with mingled awe and respect. The army passed the gates in order of battle; displaying colours, which had witnessed their triumphs over the most formidable enemies of Rome; and carrying the standards of the degraded Prætorians in an inverted position, denoting that those masters of the imperial throne had ceased to enjoy power. On the following day he convened the senators, whom he addressed in a mild and plausible speech; setting forth the motives which had induced him to relinquish the tranquillity of a private station, and to charge himself with the weighty cares of the commonwealth. He drew the outlines of an excellent plan of government. which he informed them it was his resolutiion to pursue on all occasions, with the concurrence and support of the national council. He praised the general adıninistration of Marcus Aurelius, which, he assured them, was to be the model of his own; and in assuming the name of Pertinax, he gave a pledge that he would likewise revive the wise and temperate policy of that emperor. He expressed the greatest abhorrence of all arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings; and protested that so far from lending an ear to informers, those enemies of social peace and confidence, he would at all times visit their officiousness with the severest punishments. He even bound himself by an oath, not to take away the life of any senator without the consent of the whole body, and gave orders that his resolution should be inserted among their decrees; branding with eternal infamy the person and descendants of every individual, whether prince or subject, who should be found guilty of violating so humane a statute.

Professions of the new emperor.

His auditors listened with an incredulous silence; the more discerning part of their number being perfectly convinced that the real character of Severus, which combined cruelty with dissimulation, would soon belie his fair professions. Their fears were soon proved to be too well founded; for no emperor ever put to death so great a number of senators, and among others the very noblemen who, at his desire, moved for the decree which was meant to secure their lives. It was with more unfeigned satisfaction, therefore, that they proceeded to perform the last rites to the memory of Pertinax, whom they had loved, and whose loss they continued to regret. Severus pronounced his funeral oration with an effecting eloquence, and perhaps with a sincere grief; and, by extolling the virtues which had secured their esteem, he endeavoured to satisfy the Roman people, that in himself they had found a worthy successor to the power and dignity of the empire. Dion Cassius, who assisted at the ceremony of the imperial apotheosis, takes pleasure in reciting the minutest details of the funeral pageant; but Severus, who acted his part in the ritual with becoming

A. D. 193. gravity, and every suitable demonstration of sorrow, had no sooner discharged a duty, which reasons of state as well as the superstition of his countrymen required at his hands, than he threw aside the civic robes, and again buckled on his armour.[1]

He temporizes with Albinus, and gains him over to a fatal neutrality.

Aware that both Niger and Albinus had entertained hopes of succeeding Didius Julianus, and that the former, in particular, had been called to the throne by the united voice of the citizens of Rome, he required not to be told that he would soon have to defend in the field of battle against experienced generals, the sceptre which he had wrested from the dying hands of a feeble old man. As soon, therefore, as he had appointed his two sons-in-law to the consulship, and formed a Prætorian guard out of the most faithful and robust of his Illyrian cohorts, he turned his thoughts to the necessity of meeting Niger before he should advance into the Italian provinces. But before he set out from the capital, he resolved to secure the neutrality of Albinus; who, while the emperor was engaged in his eastern war, might have crossed over from Britain, occupied the vacant seat of empire, and opposed his return even from a successful campaign, with the authority of the senate, and the force of his unbroken legions. With this view, he wrote to the governor of Britain a letter filled with expressions of confidence and attachment; entreating him to take a share in the burden of government, and to assume the title of Cæsar, as the next heir to the crown. Albinus, who was of an open, credulous disposition, allowed himself to fall a victim to the arts of his rival; and forgetful at once of his patriotic professions, and his jealousy of supreme power, he accepted the precarious rank which was offered to him as the reward of his abstinence. Severus, on his part, omitted nothing which could give to his deceitful favour all the appearance of sincerity. He caused the agreement, between him and the governor of Britain, to be ratified by a decree of the senate; coined money with the name and impression of the new Cæsar; appointed him his colleague in the consulship for the ensuing year; ordered statues to be erected to him; and, in a word, granted him all the flattering honours and distinctions which could remove suspicion. Till the contest with Pescennius was decided, the crafty emperor treated the person whom he had doomed to destruction with marks of esteem and regard. Even in the despatch which communicated the news of his victory over Niger, he addressed Albinus as the 'brother of his soul and of his empire,' and entreated him to preserve the armies and the republic faithful to their common interest. But it is added by the same historian who relates the facts now stated, that the messengers who were intrusted with this letter, were desired to accost the Cæsar with respect, to solicit a private audience, and to plunge their daggers into his heart. It was not until Albinus discovered this flagrant instance of perfidy, that he perceived

[1] Dion Cassius, Epitom. Xiphil. p. 309; Spart. in Sever.; Herodian. lib. iii.

the necessity to which he was reduced of defending himself by arms against the head of the empire.[1] A. D. 194

In undertaking the war with Niger, the imperial commander displayed his usual talent and foresight. He sent a strong body of troops from Illyricum to occupy the most important places in Thrace; equipped the fleets at Ravenna and Misenum to convey his legions into Greece; and even despatched an armament into Africa, in order to keep up a communication between the capital and those countries on the southern shore of the Mediterranean, whence it derived a large portion of its provisions. It was his intention to carry hostilities into Asia, before Pescennius could have an opportunity of penetrating his designs, or of assembling such an army as might enable him to dispute their execution. He resolves on war with Niger, and gains an advantage over his troops.

But Niger was roused from his dream of confidence sooner than his rival had anticipated; and, summoning his forces at the most convenient station, he passed over into Europe, and established his head-quarters at Byzantium. After a fruitless attempt at negotiation, in which it is probable neither party was sincere, the sword was first drawn in the neighbourhood of Perinthus. The action appears not to have been of any farther consequence, than that, as it was begun by the troops of Niger, it afforded a pretext to his wily antagonist, for declaring the governor of Syria an enemy to his country. Severus, still convinced that the fate of the empire must be decided in the Asiatic provinces, sent his army across the Hellespont. Landing near Cyzicus, they found the enemy prepared to receive them, under the command of Æmilianus the proconsul. A battle ensued, in which the generals of Severus gained an important victory. The legions of the East were broken and dispersed, and Æmilianus fled first to Cyzicus, and afterwards to another city in the interest of his master, where, at the instigation of the conquerors, he was cruelly put to death.[2]

This defeat awakened at once the fears and the resentment of Niger. Stimulated by the desire of revenge, he posted into Bithynia, where he had left a powerful reserve; and collecting the scattered remains of the army which had fought under Æmilianus, he resolved to try his fortune once more in the field. The hostile generals met near Nicæa. Candidus acted as the lieutenant of Severus, and Niger commanded his own troops in person. The conflict which followed, is described as having been very obstinate and bloody, but victory at length declared for the emperor. Pescennius, in consequence of his loss, found himself compelled to relinquish Bithynia, Galatia, and Cappadocia, and to seek a defensive position offered by the strong ground in the neighbourhood of Mount Taurus. The advance of the victorious army was for some time successfully checked by the Syrian Niger's army again worsted.

[1] Spart. *ubi supra*.

[2] See Dion Cassius, and the writers of the Augustan History.

A. D. 194. legions, who availed themselves of the natural inequalities of the country to erect works, and to guard the defiles which opened into the plains. A violent storm at length accomplished what the spears of the Illyrian warriors could not effect. The troops of Niger were driven from their strongholds, and forced to continue their retreat through the unprotected fields of Cilicia.

This unfortunate commander meanwhile had raised considerable levies in the province of Syria; among which were found nearly all the young men at Antioch, who were firmly attached to his person and his cause. Their zeal, however, was not supported by those military qualities which distinguished the veteran cohorts to whom they were to be opposed; nor rendered effective by that sedulous discipline, which not unfrequently supplies even in young troops the want of experience in actual warfare. Niger chose for his encampment a plain near the city of Issus, not far from the spot whereon Alexander obtained his great victory over the host of Darius. Anulinus and Valerius were now at the head of the army of Severus; officers of high reputation in the service of the empire, and heartily devoted to the interests in which they were engaged. The conflict which ensued was conducted with much skill and resolution on both sides; and although a professional reader might find many questionable particulars in the account which is given of it by Herodian and Dion Cassius, it admits not of any doubt that victory continued long suspended between the rival chiefs, and that it did not finally declare in favour of Severus, until more than twenty thousand of his adversaries were cut to pieces. The vanquished leader fled from the field of battle to Antioch, where his mild government had rendered him very popular; but finding that city in great consternation, he determined, as it was thought, to seek an asylum among the Parthians, to whom, as tributaries or allies of the Roman people, he had found various opportunities of showing kindness. Whatever might be his intentions, the activity of the conqueror prevented him from realizing them; for a party of horsemen, who were sent in pursuit, overtook him before he could pass the Euphrates, slew him on the spot, and cutting off his head, carried it back in triumph to their camp on the Hellespont.[1]

Niger defeated and slain.

Reduction of Byzantium.

This signal victory would at once have put an end to the war in the east, had not Byzantium, the only regular fortress at that time on the shores of the narrow sea which divides Europe from Asia, received within its walls the routed adherents of the Syrian governor. A strong garrison, and a fleet of five hundred ships which anchored in its roads, enabled the city to resist the power of Severus during a blockade of three years. The citizens and soldiers were animated with equal resolution; and as many of the latter despaired of obtaining pardon from the enraged conqueror, they determined to bury

[1] Dion Cassius, Epitom. Xiphil. pp. 312, 313.

themselves in its ruins, rather than fall into his hands. The strength of the place was rendered still more available by the skill of an engineer named Priscus, who employed in its defence all the mechanical powers which were known to the ancients. But famine at length triumphed over all the resources of art and of courage, and Byzantium, at the end of the third year, was compelled to open her gates to the besiegers. The magistrates and soldiers were put to the sword, its walls were levelled with the ground, its privileges were withdrawn, and for many years the future capital of the empire was known only as an open village, subject to the jurisdiction of Perinthus; and thus, as Dion Cassius remarks, the Roman people sacrificed to the revenge of Severus the only bulwark which then existed to defend their frontiers against the inroads of their barbarian enemies. I saw it, exclaims that historian, in such a state of ruin and desolation, as would have made any one conclude, that it had been reduced not by Romans but by savages.[1] A. D. 195.

Cruelty of Severus.

The most ardent among the eulogists of Severus have not ventured to describe him as a generous enemy. The sons of Niger, who with their mother had been detained at Rome as securities for his fidelity, were first driven from the city, and afterwards put to death. The emperor exercised a similar severity upon all who, whether from necessity or inclination, had taken part with his rival in the Asiatic war; confiscating the estates of individuals, and depriving the free towns of their ancient honours and immunities. Even the common soldiers, dreading his vindictive temper, fled in large bodies into Parthia and the adjoining countries; carrying with them the arts and discipline of the west, which, as Herodian observes, afterwards proved of great advantage to the Orientals in their wars with the Romans.[2]

He advances in Mesopotamia A. D. 196.

During the siege of Byzantium, the emperor employed his victorious legions in Syria and Mesopotamia; punishing such states as had supplied auxiliaries to Niger, and impressing the terror of his arms upon all whose faith he had reason to suspect. His main object in crossing the Euphrates was to carry relief to Nisibis, which had been invested by certain tribes of Parthians, who, taking advantage of the civil war, which distracted the councils of the empire, attempted to expel their invaders from all provinces eastward of the great river. But history has not preserved any particulars of this campaign possessed of the slightest importance. We are merely told, that after accomplishing a laborious march through the sandy waters of Mesopotamia, he relieved Nisibis, ravaged the neighbouring country, and upon placing a garrison in the city just named, retraced his steps towards the west, where he had a more formidable enemy to encounter in the person of Albinus.

This commander, it should seem, had continued during the war

[1] Spart. in Sever. Imperator. c. viii.–x.

[2] Herodian. lib. iii.

A. D. 196. between Niger and Severus, to repose confidence in the professions of the latter, and to consider himself as his colleague and successor on the throne. Dion Cassius relates, that as soon as the emperor, by his victories over the governor of Syria, had secured possession of the crown, he thought proper to withdraw from Albinus the title of Cæsar, as well as all hopes and dignities which that title conferred. He adds, at the same time, that the British general, not satisfied with an inferior place in the government, had assumed the rank of Augustus; a step which alarmed the jealousy of Severus, and completed the misunderstanding which had already made too great a progress to be any longer concealed. But this writer does not appear to have believed with Capitolinus and Herodian, that any attempt was made upon the life of Albinus by hired assassins, or that the rupture which took place had its immediate origin in the detection of a plot so atrocious. The ambition of the reigning prince, perhaps, and his determination to enjoy an undivided power, may be regarded as sufficient motives for the conduct which he adopted towards the governor of Britain; but on this occasion, as on almost every other emergency whereon he had time for deliberation, he contrived to place his adversary in the wrong, and even to load him with the imputation of the selfish views upon which his own policy was founded.[1]

Rupture with Albinus.

The writers of the Augustan History, though apparently unacquainted themselves with the actual condition of things which preceded the declaration of war between Albinus and Severus, leave on the mind of their reader a distinct impression, that the former was cajoled by the subtile policy of his more profound antagonist; and that it was not until a struggle for the ascendency had become altogether hopeless, that he began to perceive the necessity of having recourse to arms. His interest in the senate was not inferior to that of the emperor; and he was respected for his noble birth, and beloved for his mild disposition; but the power which the latter had acquired during his victorious career in the East, gave to his throne such a degree of stability, as must have rendered every attempt to shake it, in the capital, not less foolish than desperate.

The defection of Albinus announced.

Severus had not completed his march from Syria, when the defection of Albinus was announced to him. He appears to have been in Mœsia, at a town which Spartianus calls Viminatium, not far from
A. D. 197. the banks of the Danube; where he immediately conferred the dignity of Cæsar upon his eldest son, Bassianus, whose name he at the same time changed into Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. He likewise assembled his army, and made them acquainted with the resolution which had been adopted by the governor of Britain; against whose ingratitude and treachery he inveighed in the most poignant language. To animate their zeal still farther against the enemy of their

[1] Capitol. in Albin. c. xii.

country, he distributed amongst them a large donative; assuring them that greater rewards awaited them, when they should have put an end to their warlike toils, by the easy conquest of the British legions. A. D. 197.

Albinus resolves to contend for the empire.

Before Severus could reach Rome, Albinus had already advanced into the southern parts of Gaul, and was meditating the invasion of Italy. To prevent the native provinces of the Empire from being stained with civil blood, the former chief sent forward a detachment of his army with the utmost speed, to occupy the passes of the Alps, and thereby to check the advance of his adversary. He himself with the main body followed without delay; setting, as usual, an example of every military virtue, and infusing into the breasts of his men a degree of ardour which no difficulty or danger could repress. By this rapid movement, he defeated the design of Albinus, who probably wished to contend for the empire in the presence of the Roman people, and to afford to his friends in the city an opportunity of expressing their attachment to his cause, in a more efficient manner than by secret wishes and useless prayers.

Grief and apprehensions of the people on the renewal of the civil war.

In the meantime, says Dion Cassius, who was himself a member of the senate, the preparations for a new civil war struck the inhabitants of Rome with the deepest sorrow and alarm. Among so great a number of noble and wealthy individuals, there were many different interests, and as many different sentiments. Of the senators, some remained inactive, waiting the issue of events, and ready to bestow their allegiance upon the conqueror; others, attached by particular ties to Severus or Albinus, shared the fears and hopes of the two competitors. The common people, whose families were drained of their youth to fill the ranks of the contending legions, gave way to lamentation and despondency; and although supplied with the usual number of public entertainments, their eyes were blind, and their ears were deaf to everything which did not connect itself with the great stake which was about to be decided on the plains of Gaul. At the Circensian Games, where Dion was present in his official capacity, instead of cheering the performers or shouting upon the success of their favourite coursers, the multitude filled the air with prayers for the safety of the state, and with wailings for the thousands of precious lives, which were doomed to fall victims to the insatiable spirit of discord and of ambition.[1]

The two generals take the field. A. D. 197.

The war which ensued was not very protracted in its duration, nor diversified by a great number of events. A few skirmishes took place between detached parties of the two main armies, in which the troops of Albinus had generally the advantage. Dion Cassius mentions, in particular, an action in which Lupus, one of the generals who served under Severus, was defeated with considerable loss. But the fortune of the commanders was decided in a great battle, fought

[1] Dion Cassius, Epitom. Xiphil. p. 321.

A. D. 197. between Lyons and Trevoux, wherein both of them conducted their legions in person. The valour and professional skill of the troops on either side were equally distinguished; but the Illyrians, it was thought, enjoyed the benefit of greater talents, and a more varied experience in the person of their leader.

Battle near Lugdunum, in which Albinus is defeated.

Feb. 19th.

The victory was most obstinately disputed, and remained a long time doubtful. The left wing of Albinus's army, indeed, was soon repulsed and pursued to the camp; but the right wing, at the same moment, not only kept its ground, but inflicted upon its enemies a severe defeat, and nearly wrested the triumph from the hands of the emperor. In this extreme danger, Severus hastened to the relief of his men at the head of his hardy Prætorians; but, at first, so far from restoring the current of success, he saw his guards cut in pieces, and had his own horse killed under him. Undismayed by this disaster, he rallied the fugitives by his authority and example, placed himself in their front, and advanced sword in hand against the British cohorts, determined to check their progress, or to die at their feet. The conflict was thus resumed with the utmost fury; shame and despair inflamed the courage of the imperial legions, while the conquerors, who, through eagerness to complete their advantage and secure the victory, had fallen into some confusion, were not able to withstand the renewed assault. Still the fortune of the field continued in suspense, until Lætus, who commanded the cavalry of Severus, made a vigorous charge upon the wavering line of the enemy, and completed their disorder. This officer is represented by Dion as having declined, in the early part of the day, to take any share in the action; being desirous that the two rivals should destroy one another, and make room for his own pretensions to the supreme authority, should the throne become vacant. But when he saw that Severus must ultimately prove the conqueror, he resolved to redeem his character from the imputation of criminal inactivity, and by a decisive stroke recommend himself to the master of the Roman people. His rapid onset produced the effect which he contemplated. The soldiers of Albinus could no longer keep their ground; but being routed at all points, they sought refuge within the walls of Lugdunum, the ramparts of which resisted for a time the impetuosity of the victors.[1]

He puts himself to death.

The unfortunate general found a temporary shelter in a private house near the banks of the Rhone. Convinced that his affairs were in a hopeless condition, and unwilling to expose himself to the vindictive temper of Severus, he resolved to put an end to his life. Employing for this purpose either his own hand, or that of a slave, he had nearly expired, when a party of horsemen discovered his retreat, cut off his head, and carried it to the conqueror, who immediately

[1] Dion Cassius, Epitom. Xiphil. p. 324; Spart. in Sever. c. xi.; Capitol. in Clod. Albin. c. ix.

sent it to Rome. The indignities which he committed upon the corpse of his rival have left a deep stain on the memory of Severus. He trod it under the feet of his horse, and then gave orders to throw it into the river. In like manner, after having put to death the wife and children of Clodius, he interdicted the honours of burial. A. D. 197.

Cruelty of Severus.

No motives of policy can justify such conduct; for although the flames of civil war have on many occasions been extinguished by the blood of the vanquished, a generous enemy does not extend his revenge to the dead bodies of his opponents, and more particularly to those of women and children. Nor was Severus incapable of repressing his resentment, for until the final decision of the contest, his cruelty was in a great measure restrained by the uncertainty of the event, as well as by the reverence which he pretended to bear for the senate. But no sooner did he find himself securely seated on the throne by the victory of Lugdunum, than the head of Albinus, accompanied with a menacing letter, announced to the Romans, that he was resolved to spare none of the adherents of his unfortunate competitor. He was irritated by the just suspicion, that he had never possessed the affections of the higher orders in the state, and he concealed his old grudge against them, under the recent discovery of some treasonable correspondence. He condemned, says Spartianus, forty-one senators to death, whose wives, children, and clients were involved in the same fate. In the Epistle just mentioned, which is preserved by Capitolinus, he says, "I have ended several wars to the advantage of the republic: I have filled the city with abundance of provisions; by my victory over Niger I delivered you from the horrors of a tyrannical government, with which you were threatened. And how have you expressed your gratitude to me for so many services? By preferring to me a lying African, whose mouth was ever full of deceit, and whose whole merit consisted in the claims which he made to the honours of high birth which he did not possess!"[1] It deserves to be mentioned, however, that though Severus yielded to his vindictive passions more than became a truly great man, he granted a pardon to thirty-five senators who had espoused the interests of Albinus; and, by his subsequent behaviour, endeavoured to convince them that he could forget the political offences of individuals, whose general character he found reason to respect.

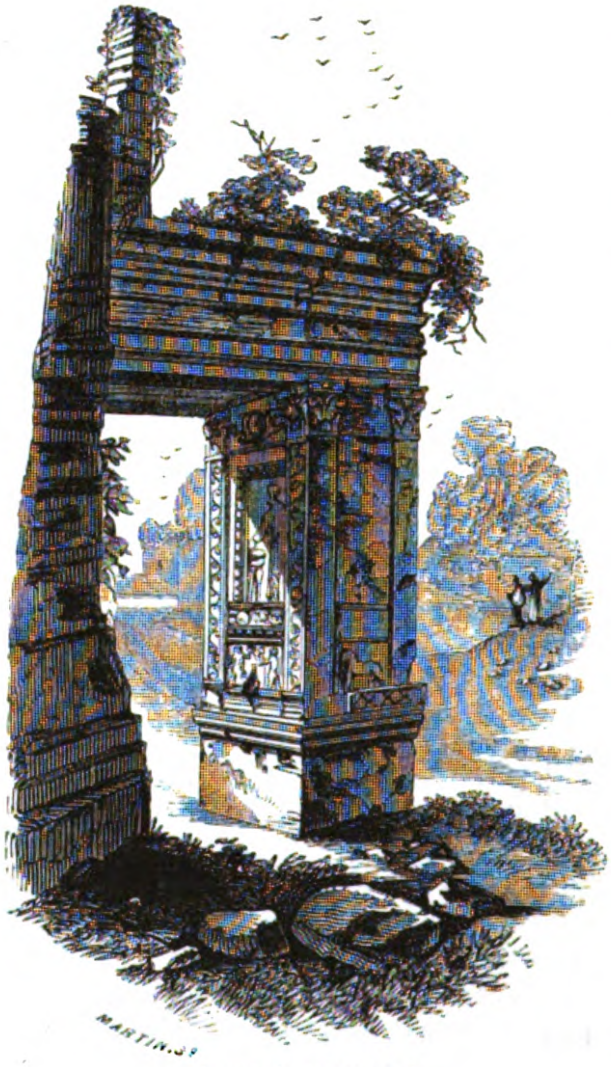
Restores the memory of Commodus.

Upon his return to Rome, after which the executions mentioned above are understood to have taken place, he gave his sanction to a measure the precise object of which has not, perhaps, been clearly ascertained. He knew that the senate detested the memory of Commodus, and yet, though the character of that emperor presented no qualities which Severus himself could approve, he resolved, nevertheless, to raise him to the rank of a divinity, and to appoint to him a priest and a festival. In the same spirit, he called himself the

[1] Spart. in Sever. c. xiii.; Capitol. in Clod. Albin. c. x.; Herodian. lib. iii.

A. D. 197. brother of that tyrant, and the son of Marcus Aurelius; an extravagance which is recorded in history, and perpetuated on the authority of contemporary medals.

The citizens of Rome, dazzled, perhaps, by the brilliancy of his exploits, and willing to appease the wrath of a master at once so powerful and so stern, went forth to meet him, carrying in their hands branches of laurel, and other emblems of triumphant peace, and prepared to do him all the honours which were usually conferred upon the success of an imperial commander. The senate, in like manner, received him with every demonstration of submission and respect; concealing their well-grounded fears under the outward expressions of joy. Severus, in the midst of the loudest acclamations, entered the city, went up to the Capitol, where he sacrificed to Jupiter: and returning thence to the palace, made known to the people how much he was satisfied with their loyalty, and gave them assurances of his favour and protection. It was against their superiors that he cherished the angry feelings which clouded his countenance, and which burst forth on the following day, when he made his appearance in the senate-house.



Arcus Argentarius.[1]

Threatens the senate.

In his first address to this illustrious body, which he had convoked, he gave intimation of the policy which he meant to pursue, by praising the rigours of Sylla and of Marius, and by describing the bad consequences which resulted from the clemency practised, in the day of their power, by Julius Cæsar and Pompeius. His severity, for a

[1] The Arcus Argentarius was presented to Severus by the Argentarii of that quarter of the city, in honour of Julia, the wife of Severus.

time, as was to be expected, corresponded to the examples which he proposed to follow: and so many men of rank fell under the hands of the executioner, or were deprived of liberty and fortune, that Geta, the youngest son of the Emperor, exclaimed that more persons would be sorry for the victory which had crowned the efforts of his father's house, than could partake in the joy for its success.[1] A. D. 197.

In proportion as he felt that his interests were slighted by the senatorial orders, he paid his court the more sedulously to the multitude and to the army. To the latter, in particular, his complaisance was extended so far as to merit the indignation of several historians. Herodian, for example, maintains that, by his largesses and concessions, he impaired military discipline far more than had been done by Commodus; and, forgetful of the venal and insolent spirit which he had found it necessary to check among the Prætorian guards, he encouraged among his followers the same habits which had already led to so much disgraceful insubordination. Flatters the soldiers, and increases their pay.

But Severus, while he pampered his soldiers in the capital, and allowed them to forget, during a short interval, the restraints and privations of active service, did not intend that they should be long idle. No sooner had he confirmed his government, and appointed the proper magistrates to administer the laws in his absence, than he resumed the war in Asia, which he had been compelled to leave unfinished when he marched to attack Albinus. Immediately, indeed, after the battle of Lugdunum, he is said to have despatched Lætus, with such forces as he could spare, to defend Nisibis against the Parthians, who had besieged it while he was employed in the west. He himself, before the end of the year in which he had defeated the British legions, followed with the greater part of his army; and having passed through Syria, he arrived in time to save the invested city, and to punish the fickleness or treachery of his oriental allies.[2]

It was his intention, in the succeeding summer, to establish the power of Rome beyond the Euphrates on a much firmer foundation than it had possessed since the days of Trajan. With this view, he strengthened his cohorts, built a great many transports and ships of burden, and, after the heat of the season was over, left the Syrian province with a formidable armament as well by land as by water. He carried with him the brother of the king of Parthia, whose knowledge of the country, he hoped, might at once facilitate his conquests and give confidence to the troops. Arriving at Babylon, he found that great city deserted. Thence he directed his progress towards Seleucia, which the inhabitants likewise relinquished, and allowed to fall into his hands. Ctesiphon was not reduced without Resumes the war in Asia. A. D. 198.

[1] Ælii Spartiani Antoninus Geta.—In civitate, ait, plures erunt tristes, quam læti, quod vicimus.

[2] Dion Cassius, Epitom. Xiphil. p. 325; Spart. in Sever. c. xv. xvi.; Orosius, lib. vii.; Herodian. lib. iii.

A. D. 198. a siege, and the loss of many lives. The Parthians, animated by the presence of their king, Vologeses, who had shut himself up within the walls, made a brave and protracted resistance; while the Romans, destitute of provisions, and compelled to subsist upon herbs and the roots of plants, were consumed by an epidemic disease which greatly thinned their ranks. But the resolution of Severus triumphed over all these obstacles. He persevered, and his exertions were at length crowned with success. The city was taken by storm. The slaughter and the booty were both immense, and the number of prisoners amounted to a hundred thousand. Vologeses escaped from the carnage, and owed his life to the swiftness of his horse; the assailants being too much exhausted by fatigue and sickness either to follow him in his flight, or to mark the place of his retreat.[1]

Captures Ctesiphon.

Severus assumed for this exploit the title of Parthicus, to which the flattery of his troops induced him to add the more questionable epithet of Maximus. He seized the same occasion for associating his two sons with him in the government; and though Caracalla was not more than eleven years of age, he was invested with the rank of Augustus, while upon his brother Geta, whose name was at that time changed to Antoninus, was conferred the distinction of Cæsar. The senate, informed of what had taken place, sanctioned by a formal deed the proceedings of the army, and thereby acknowledged the children of the emperor as the legal heirs of the crown.

The capture of Ctesiphon, which cost so much labour and blood, proved in the end a very fruitless acquisition; for the effects of an unhealthy climate, combined with a scanty supply of food, soon reduced the Romans to great extremities, and compelled them to abandon their conquest. Severus, therefore, to procure for his men the benefit of a cooler sky, marched them into Armenia, where he renewed the alliance which had long subsisted between the empire and the king of that country. But, that he might not return into Syria without accomplishing some object worthy of a place in the annals of his eventful reign, he resolved to reduce the city of Atra; which, besides having provoked his anger by taking part with Pescennius, had created to itself an imperishable fame by baffling the utmost strength and skill of the emperor Trajan. His intention was to attack it suddenly, and carry it by storm. But the inhabitants, aware of the resentment which they had kindled in the breast of the Roman commander, were so completely prepared for his assault, that they drove him off with great slaughter, as well as with the loss of all his warlike engines. Obliged to desist for the time, he resumed his march into Syria; resolved, however, to spend the winter in preparations for the siege of Atra, upon the people of which he meant to inflict a severe and final chastisement.

Besieges Atra, but is repulsed.

Having collected a great quantity of provisions and military stores,

[1] Dion Cassius, and Spart. *ubi supra.*

together with mechanical aids of every description, he turned his face once more towards the east, and encamped under the walls of the devoted city. But the inhabitants on their part were not less in readiness for a renewal of the contest. Being descended from a tribe of Arabians, they excelled in the use of horses, and in all the arts which render cavalry formidable in an open country. They formed, as it were, an invisible line around the entrenchments of the Romans, cut off their detachments, intercepted their supplies, and confined the legions to the ground which they covered with their tents. The garrison within were equally active in employing all the means of annoyance and destruction with which their rude warfare had rendered them familiar. They made frequent sallies, set fire to the engines which threatened their walls, and even poured down upon the heads of the assailants flaming pitch and poisonous liquids. A. D. 198.

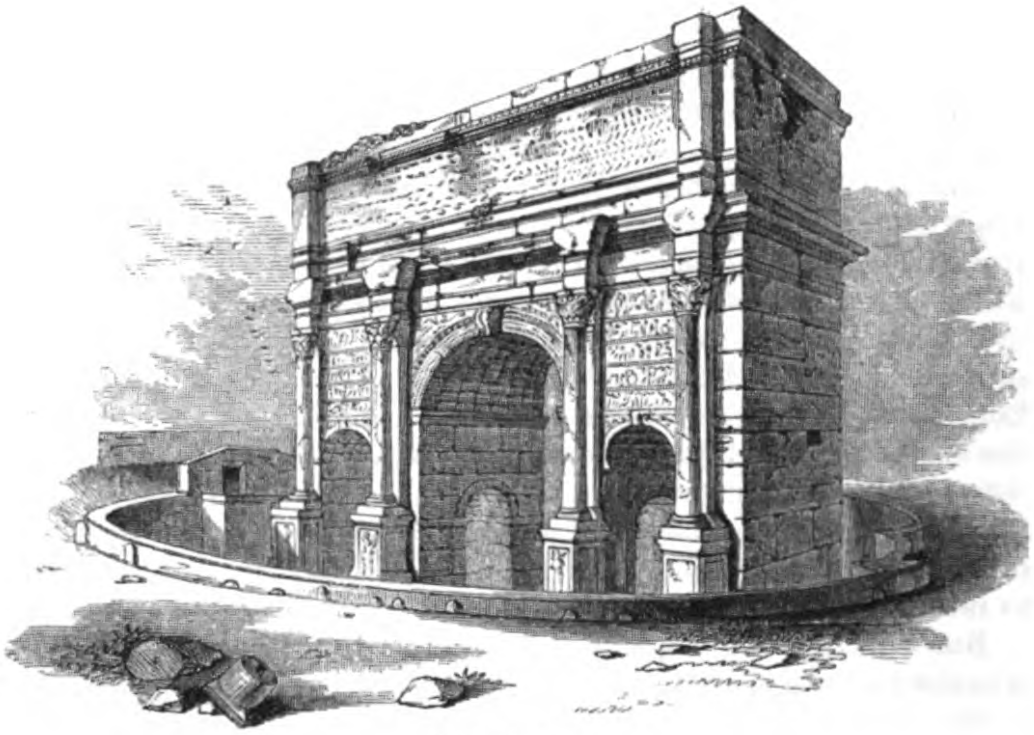
But the superior skill and formidable instruments of the Romans at length effected a breach in the fortifications; when Atra must have fallen, had not the avarice of Severus counteracted what his perseverance had achieved. He knew that the place contained immense riches, which, if it were taken by storm, must become the booty of the soldiers, but which, were the enemy to surrender upon capitulation, would belong exclusively to the imperial exchequer. For this reason, when the reduction of the city was about to be completed, he called back his men, in the hope that conditions would be immediately proposed. The Atrians, however, so far from submitting to terms, resolved to continue their defence; and, accordingly, repairing in the night the damage which had been done to their rampart, they laughed at the forbearance of the besiegers, and repeated a boastful defiance of their power. Severus, distracted with rage and disappointment, ordered his troops to resume their operations and carry the town; but, on this occasion, his commands were met with a positive refusal; the engineers turned their backs upon the walls, and the legionaries threatened to lay down their arms. Thus, after twenty days of toil and danger, and the loss of many lives, the Roman commander, in order to prevent the still greater evil of a general mutiny, was obliged to raise the siege. Raises the siege of Atra.

But although the emperor failed in this instance, his expedition into the east was, nevertheless, attended with results very favourable to the peace as well as to the stability of his dominions. Returning from Syria by the way of Egypt, he gratified his learned curiosity by visiting the most celebrated places in the latter country, and performed, at the same time, an office grateful to his followers, by paying to the ashes of Pompey the honours which were due to the memory of that unfortunate general. He examined in person the works of art which had long given a just celebrity to the kingdom of the Pharaohs, the statue of Memnon, the Pyramids, and the Labyrinth. He obtained access even into the temples of the gods and the sanctuaries of religion, Visits Egypt, A. D. 199.

A. D. 200. conversed with the priests on their mythology, and received lessons with respect to the doctrines which were contained in their sacred books. In recompense for this addition to his knowledge, he granted to the Egyptian people several important privileges, relieved them from burdens which had borne them down from the days of Augustus, and established at Alexandria a council of state, with powers not much inferior to those vested in the Roman senate.

Returns to Rome. A. D. 202.

After spending about six years in Asia he pursued his journey into Italy, through Syria, Cilicia, Thrace, Mœsia, and Pannonia. The senators, if Spartianus may be credited, made haste to decree to their victorious prince the splendours of a triumph; an honour which the increasing infirmities of age induced him to decline. A triumphal arch, however, attests at once the success of Severus over the Parthians, and the date of his return to Rome. The inscription upon it, which is legible at the present day, records, that it was erected in the eleventh year of the tribunitial power of Severus, coinciding with the two hundred and fourth year of the Christian era.



Arch of Severus.

Discord in the palace, and death of Plautianus, the Prætorian præfect.

The tranquillity which this warrior expected to enjoy in the bosom of his family, was soon disturbed by the ambition of his sons, and by the unpopularity of Plautianus, the Prætorian præfect. The latter is said to have made use of his exorbitant power to oppress the people, and to excite the vindictive passions of his master. By the marriage of his daughter with Caracalla, who had already, for some years, en-

joyed the rank of Augustus, he obtained admittance into the imperial household; where his pride, and the influence which he possessed over the emperor, rendered him an object of suspicion and dislike. The præfect could not be blind to the danger with which he was menaced, and, probably, for that reason might be induced to entertain designs in regard to the succession which could not fail to alarm the selfishness of the prince, and even to form some ground for the charge which he brought against him. Herodian, who appears not to have examined with suitable care the particulars of the accusation, yields to the impression which prevailed against Plautianus; while Dion Cassius, whose rank in the state afforded him an opportunity of sifting the accuracy of such rumours, satisfies himself with insinuating, that the Prætorian general gave way to hopes and desires which ought not to have entered his mind. The emperor's brother, at the approach of death, whispered into his ear some cautions respecting the views of Plautianus; the effect of which soon appeared in the diminished confidence of Severus, and in the restricted power of his favourite. Caracalla, who incessantly lay in wait for an occasion to ruin his father-in-law, seized the moment of suspicion and declining authority to lay before the emperor the most appalling evidence that the Prætorian præfect had entered into a conspiracy to murder all the male branches of the royal family. Plautianus, who was immediately sent for, made haste to the palace to learn the pleasure of his master. As soon as he entered, Severus gently upbraided him with his ingratitude, and with the violent nature of his intentions. It was in vain that the præfect asserted his innocence in the strongest terms. Caracalla seized a sword to run him through the body, but being admonished by a frown from his father, he gave orders to a soldier, who instantly performed the office of executioner. Plautianus fell dead at the feet of the sovereign, whose injudicious favour had led, step by step, to his destruction, and to the perpetual unhappiness of his own family.[1] A. D. 203.

Increased severity of the administration.

The unhappiness which preyed upon the mind of Severus, gave birth to many cruel acts of tyranny in the general administration of the government. Being naturally superstitious, he lent a ready ear to every rumour of magical incantation and unfavourable omens; and, with a degree of inconsistency which proves how confused the notions of the most learned pagans were in respect to the power or constancy of their gods, he, on some occasions, used the most unjustifiable means to defeat the accomplishment of their declared intentions. To illustrate this statement, as well as to describe the general insecurity of life and property which, at that period, prevailed among all classes of Roman citizens, Dion Cassius records an incident which could hardly be credited on any testimony less unimpeachable than that of an eye-witness.[2]

[1] Dion Cassius, and Spart. *ubi supra.*

[2] Dion Cassius, Epitom. Xiphil. p. 336.

A. D. 203. Death of Apronianus. A. D. 203 to A. D. 207.

Apronianus, the proconsul of Asia, was charged with high treason, merely because his nurse had dreamed, when he was a child, that he would one day be emperor. It was added, as an atrocious aggravation of this offence, that he had, in order to penetrate more deeply into the will of heaven, consulted soothsayers, and offered up impure or irregular sacrifices. Upon the simple announcement of these charges, which he was not allowed an opportunity either to disprove or to deny, he was condemned by the senate as an enemy to his country, and as a conspirator against the life of the sovereign.

But the main fact itself sinks into insignificance when compared with a circumstance which attended its progress through the court of justice. When the informations were laid before the senate, it was discovered that a witness, who had been examined concerning this criminal dream, upon being questioned in regard to the person who had related it, as well as with respect to those in whose hearing it had been mentioned, replied, that the individual chiefly implicated in the narrative was a bald-headed senator then present. Nothing could illustrate more forcibly the horrible excess to which tyranny was then carried, than the consternation into which the whole senate is said to have been thrown by the reading of this deposition. As the name of the accused person was not stated, Dion Cassius confesses that they all trembled, as well those among them who were bald, as those whose heads were well clothed with hair. I acknowledge, says he, that I could not help putting up my hand to feel whether I still retained my hair, and I observed that several others did the same. A circumstance which was afterwards specified, restricted the danger to a small number of individuals. It was declared, that the bald senator wore at the time in question the toga prætexta. The eyes of all were immediately fixed on Bæbius Marcellinus, who was very bald, and who, besides, was invested with the office of curule ædile at the period referred to in the evidence. Marcellinus rose up, and said, if the witness saw me on that occasion he will, without doubt, know me again. The informer could not identify the individual whom he had attempted to describe; and it was not till one of the members, desirous, perhaps, for his own sake, to put an end to the cruel uncertainty, pointed out Marcellinus, that the infamous wretch might select his victim. But no sooner was the accusation repeated than the unfortunate senator was seized, dragged to the place of execution, and put to death.[1]

Execution of Marcellinus.

Severus resolves to invade Caledonia. A. D. 207.

Severus, after a short residence in his capital, took refuge from the dissensions of his family and the intrigues of state in the stirring scenes of a foreign war. He passed over into Britain, with the view of securing the northern boundaries of the Roman province against the incursions of the Caledonians, and of the other barbarous tribes, who dwelt between the wastes of Northumberland and the Grampian

[1] Dion Cassius, Epitom. Xiphil. p. 336.

mountains. He had hoped, also, that the love of military glory might exalt the ambition of his sons, and chase from their breasts those malignant passions which at once disturbed his domestic repose, and ever and anon threatened to tear the commonwealth in pieces. His success against the foreign enemy was much more complete than his scheme for restoring fraternal concord. He repressed the wandering savages of Caledonia, confined them by a wall and rampart to their barren hills, and even taught them, by repeated chastisements, to respect the power of the empire, and the arts of civilized life; but he did not succeed in subduing the fierce temper of Caracalla, nor in moderating the peevish resentment of Geta. When his triumph over the Britons was accomplished, Severus found that he had not yet made any progress in uniting his sons in a common interest, or in establishing between them the bonds of harmony and peace. A. D. 208.

Account of the Caledonians by Dion Cassius.

The account which is given by Dion Cassius of the northern parts of Britain betrays much ignorant credulity. The inhabitants are represented as living in the very lowest state of barbarism, without houses or agriculture, and so totally unacquainted with the arts, as not to be able to provide themselves with clothes, or shoes, or any of the most common comforts of society: and yet they are described as possessing an efficient body of cavalry, well armed and appointed, and, moreover, as bringing into the field of battle a great number of chariots, the riders of which were so well trained as to be formidable even to the Roman legions. Some distinction, perhaps, ought to be admitted between the *Mœatæ*, the natives of that comparatively level country which stretches from the Tweed to the narrow neck of land which separates the estuaries of the Forth and Clyde, and those ruder clans who preferred the inheritance of the steep and barren mountains, which constitute the frontier of Caledonia Proper. Still, there can be no reader who does not, at once, perceive the absurdity of attributing to a people the use of wheeled carriages and a regular system of military tactics, and of denying to them, at the same time, the knowledge necessary to construct a house, or to protect their limbs with a garment. The information on which Dion wrote must have been either very imperfect or very ill understood, when he relates, that the inhabitants of ancient Scotland were wont to pass whole days up to the chin in water, and that they had discovered the composition of a species of food, the smallest morsel of which, not larger even than a bean, proved a substitute for all other meat and drink for several days together.[1]

They ask peace and forgiveness of the emperor.

The historian subjoins what is, indeed, much more probable, that the barbarians, terrified at the approach of the emperor towards their country, sent messengers to beg his forgiveness, and to solicit peace. But Severus, regardless of their promised fidelity, or desirous to

[1] Dion Cassius, Epitom. Xiphil. pp. 337, 338; Spart. in Sever. c. xviii.; Herodian. lib. iii.

A. D. 208 to A. D. 211.

carry the conquest of Britain farther than any of his predecessors, refused to receive their submission. Leaving his younger son to command in the Roman province, he himself, with Caracalla, marched northward at the head of the legions. It is mentioned, that he was carried in a litter, being so much enfeebled by the gout as not to be able to sit on horseback.

The progress and losses of Severus.

The difficulties which he had to overcome were very great, and must have conquered the resolution of a mind less firm than that of Severus. He was obliged, says Dion, to cut down forests, level mountains, construct bridges over rivers, and form roads through fens and marshes. Nor had he an opportunity of revenging, in a regular engagement, the losses which were inflicted upon his troops by the incessant attacks of the enemy. The latter were too sensible of their inferiority in the art of war to present themselves in large bodies, or on equal ground. They chose rather to hang upon the skirts of their martial invaders, to cut off stragglers, or to draw them into snares by the prospect of booty; and, in this way, they prosecuted their petty warfare with so much success, that when the imperial commander had finished his campaign, and added a few leagues of useless territory to the empire of Rome, he found that his army was diminished by disease, or accident, to the amount of fifty thousand men. Consoling himself with the title of Britannicus, which he likewise conferred upon each of the princes, he retraced his steps towards the centre of the island.[1]

His triumph, such as it was, was soon disturbed by the restless spirit of the Caledonians, and by the intrigues of his ungrateful son Caracalla. This young prince, after failing in an attempt to excite the soldiers to mutiny, is said to have drawn his own sword against the person of his father. Irritated by such conduct, on the part of his kindred as well as of his enemies, Severus allowed himself to fall a prey to the corroding feelings of anger and disappointment. He invited his son to complete his act of meditated parricide; while, in respect to the revolted Britons who had abused his clemency, he expressed, in the words of Homer, his fixed resolution to exterminate them from the face of the earth :—

> Not one of all the race, nor sex, nor age,
> Shall save a Trojan from our boundless rage:
> Ilion shall perish whole, and bury all:
> Her babes, her infants, at the breast shall fall.[2] *Pope.*

Death of Severus. A. D. 211.

But death soon put an end to his sufferings and to all his plans for revenge. Having returned as far as York, he was attacked with a disease which he himself foresaw would, at no distant period, ter-

[1] Spart. in Sever. c. xviii.; Dion Cassius, Epitom. p. 340.

[2] —— Τῶν μήτις ὑπεκφύγοι αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον,
Χειρὰς θ' ἡμετέρας· μηδ' ὅντινα γαστέρι μήτηρ
Κοῦρον ἐόντα φέροι, μηδ' ὃς φύγοι. Iliad, lib. iv. v. 57–59.

minate his career. In the expectation of this event, he called for both his sons, whom he once more exhorted to be affectionate to one another, and to co-operate with mutual endeavours to strengthen the interests of their family, and the welfare of the empire. "I found the republic," said he, "in disorder and confusion. I leave it quiet at home and abroad, even as far as these remote provinces of Britain. I am now an old man, and rendered feeble by much suffering; but I bequeath to my two Antonini, my beloved children, an empire which, if they are good, will prove lasting and strong, but which, if they are bad, must be weak and precarious." Spartianus informs us, that he made, on this occasion, some very suitable reflections on the vanity of human ambition, and on the unsatisfactory nature of all earthly greatness. "I have been everything!" he exclaimed, "but what avails it now?" Ordering the urn in which his ashes were to be enclosed to be brought to him, he took it into his hands, and inspecting it narrowly, addressed it in these words, expressive at once of triumph and disappointment: "Thou shalt soon be the habitation of a man whose ashes the whole world was too narrow to confine."[1] A. D. 211.

He expired at York, 24th February, A. D. 211, at the age of sixty-six, after having reigned nearly eighteen years. His funeral rites were performed in that city, and honoured with the respectful attendance of the army, as well as of the principal inhabitants of the province; by all of whom the character of Severus was held in veneration, not less for his great talents than for his wisdom and justice in the administration of the government. The body was burnt, and his remains were conveyed by his sons to Rome, where they were placed in the sepulchre of the Antonini, whose memory he ever cherished with particular pleasure.

His character.

It has been found very difficult to obtain from the pages of ancient writers a fair or consistent representation of the character of Severus. One of the authors of the Augustan History applies to him an expression which was suggested by the effects which the conduct of the first Roman emperor had upon the fortunes of his country, namely, that it would have been well for the republic if he had never been born, or if he had never died.[2] This remark has in it, perhaps, more point than truth; for though Severus was no ordinary man, he nevertheless rather followed than directed the general current of events. He considered the Roman world as his property, and had no sooner secured its possession, than he bestowed the utmost care on the cultivation and improvement of so valuable an acquisition. Judicious laws, executed with firmness, soon corrected most of the abuses which, since the time of Marcus Aurelius, had infected every department of the state. It has been remarked, that in the administration of justice, the sentences of the emperor were characterised by attention, discern-

[1] Dion Cassius, Epitom. Xiphil. p. 344.

[2] Illum aut nasci non debuisse aut non mori.—Spart. c. xviii.

A. D. 211. ment, and impartiality; and if on any occasion he deviated from the strict line of equity, it was generally in favour of the poor and oppressed; not so much, perhaps, from any feeling of humanity, as from the natural propensity of a despot to humble the pride of greatness, and to sink all his subjects to the same level of absolute dependence upon his will.

His magnificence, and love of the arts.

His taste for public buildings and magnificent spectacles recommended him greatly to the Roman people. His unremitting care, too, that the capital of his empire should at all times be well supplied with provisions, confirmed the affection and gratitude of the citizens. He laboured to obliterate all traces of the suffering and devastation which had arisen from civil discord. The provinces enjoyed under his government the inestimable blessings of peace and security; and many cities in the remoter parts of the empire, restored by the munificence of Severus, have attested by public monuments the sense of their grateful felicity.

Indulgence to the army.

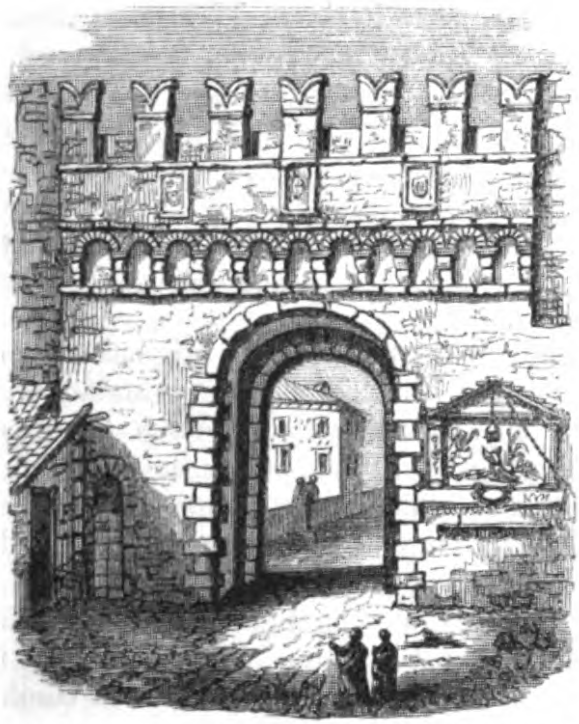
With respect to his management of the army, there is less ground for unqualified praise. Perhaps no degree of firmness nor of wisdom could have avoided the errors with which his command has been charged; for as the soldiers were the medium through which power was at the same time attained and preserved, an emperor was induced, by every motive which affects either the generous or the selfish feelings of our nature, to bestow wealth and dignity upon his troops. The main danger, moreover, arose from the number and power of the Prætorian guards, the very ministers and bulwarks of despotism; and Severus not only increased this part of the military establishment fourfold, but also added to its pay, and extended its privileges. He flattered himself that, as the Prætorians were draughted from the whole body of the army, provincials as well as native Romans, the legions would consider them as the representatives of their order, and be delighted with the honours which, from the rewards bestowed upon the guards, was reflected upon themselves; while, on the other hand, he cherished the hope, that the ready aid of fifty thousand men, superior in arms and professional experience to any force that could be brought into the field against them, would for ever crush the hopes of rebellion, and secure to himself and his posterity a perpetual possession of the empire.

Patronage of literature.

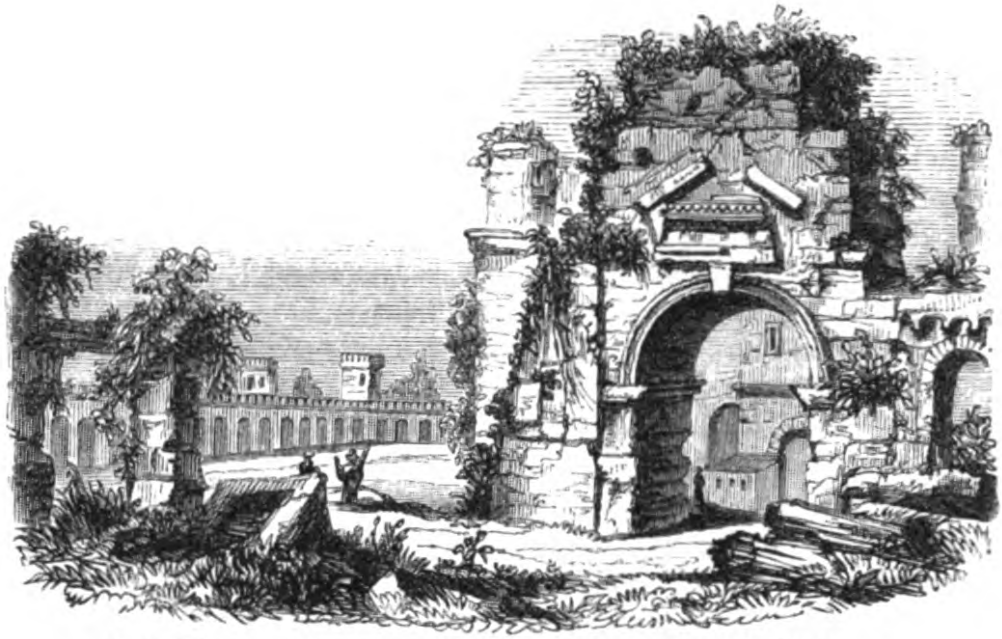
His memory has always been respected for the love which he showed to learning. The habits of a life spent chiefly in the camp were, no doubt, quite incompatible with any distinguished progress in science or in letters; but his taste, notwithstanding, induced him to spend his hours of leisure in the study of philosophy, and his penetration suggested to him the numerous advantages which would result to his government from the countenance of learned men. He was much devoted, it cannot be denied, to that perversion of natural knowledge which was known to the ancients under the name

of magic; and led away by the foolish persuasion, that accidental combinations of matter, or particular positions of the stars, could influence the fortunes of mankind, he had recourse to the various arts by which the sages of his time professed to lay open the future, and to render propitious the action of the elements. It is said, that he was determined in his choice of a second wife by the discovery that a young Syrian lady, whose name was Julia, had been born with a royal nativity; in other words, that those who could read in the position of the stars the secret pleasure of the gods, had announced that she was ordained to be the wife of a sovereign prince. He wrote in Latin, memoirs of his own life; a work of which Aurelius Victor praises the style not less than the fidelity. But Dion Cassius, who had better means for forming a correct judgment, does not give so favourable an opinion of this imperial autobiography; insinuating that Severus has not, on all occasions, paid the strictest regard to truth, and that in his attempts to vindicate himself from the charge of cruelty, he laid greater stress on hidden motives and refined views of policy than on the palpable facts which met the eye of the public.[1] A. D. 211.

[1] Dion Cassius, Epitom. Xiphil. p. 343; Spart. in Sever. c. xix.–xxi.; Aurel. Victor, p. 517.



Porta Fontinalis. *Overbeke, Les Restes de l'Ancienne Rome.*



Arch of Nero and Aqueduct of Caracalla. *Venuti, Antichita di Roma.*

CHAPTER XI.

CARACALLA, MACRINUS, AND HELIOGABALUS.

FROM A. D. 211 TO A. D. 222.

SECTION I.

MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS CARACALLA.

FROM A. D. 211 TO A. D. 217.

A. D. 211. Accession of Caracalla and of Geta.

It has been already mentioned that the original name of this emperor was Bassianus, derived from his maternal grandfather, who was priest of Apollo, in a city of Phœnicia. When Severus had ascended the throne, and resolved to perpetuate the crown in his family, he made his eldest son relinquish an appellation which denoted the humble, and even obscure, lineage from which he drew his blood, and assume the noble and respected names of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, which were associated in the mind of every Roman with the happiness and glory of the empire. It was from the fancy which the young prince manifested for a particular robe of Gaulish manufacture that the cognomen arose by which he is most commonly known in history. He not only used it himself, but recommended it to the soldiers, and even distributed it among the inhabitants of Rome; whence, as the national name of the gown in question was 'Caracalla,' the wit or contempt of the capital designated the young monarch by

a reference to his favourite dress. A similar proof of his frivolous A. D. 211.
disposition drew upon him the nickname of Tarantus, which was borrowed from a famous gladiator, whose reputation the heir of Severus valued more highly than the renown of all his father's victories in the East and in the West.[1]

Their discord.

The late emperor continued to cherish the groundless hope that his two sons, whom he invested with an equal and joint authority, would administer the government with mutual affection, and a due regard to the interests of the commonwealth; a proof that his natural acuteness failed him in the most important concern of his whole life, or that his partiality for two very unpromising youths had more weight in his decision than the peace and prosperity of half the globe. Such a divided rule, it has been well observed, would probably have proved a source of discord between the kindest brothers; it was therefore impossible that it could long subsist between two implacable enemies, who had no desire to accomplish either a reconciliation or even a compromise. Both seemed to be impressed with the conviction that only one could reign, and that the other must fall; and each of them, judging of his rival's design, by the sentiments which filled his own breast, thought it necessary to guard his life with the most unremitting vigilance. Herodian tells us, that during their journey from Britain to Rome, they neither lodged in the same house nor ate at the same table; and that, when they arrived in the capital, they divided between them the imperial palace, shutting up all communications which might connect their several apartments, and placing guards at their doors, as if the city had been threatened by an invading army.

Character of Geta.

Caracalla, even before the obsequies of his father were duly performed, wrought upon the avarice of the soldiers with the view of inducing them to declare for him alone, and to set aside his brother. But the troops, attached to the memory of Severus, and respecting his will in the destination of the empire, rejected the proffered bribes; looking upon themselves as the proper guardians of the two princes, to whom they owed an equal allegiance and affection. Geta tried other arts to supplant his more boisterous colleague. He had recourse to smooth speeches and plausible professions; and as he was naturally of a mild and, apparently, an open disposition, he did not fail to secure a great number of partisans. He inherited his father's taste for learning, promoted the study of the liberal sciences, and in all his amusements encouraged only such exercises as became a man of rank and refinement. Caracalla, on the other hand, was harsh and brutal, extremely passionate, and always more desirous to be feared than to be loved. He affected the airs of a rough soldier; and while others praised the pursuits of art or of literature, he thundered out his approbation of war and arms.

[1] Spart. in Caracall. c. ix.; Herodian. lib. ix.; Dion Cassius, Epitom. p. 344.

A. D. 211. The princes propose to divide the empire.

In a case where interests and dispositions were so diametrically opposed, it was in vain to expect the restoration of harmony. All the efforts of Julia proved unavailing; her entreaties and her tears were despised; and she at length began to perceive that the enmity which embroiled the palace and divided the army, could not be extinguished but by the death or distant separation of the two brothers. It is, therefore, surprising that she should have opposed herself to the only expedient which could have removed her apprehensions respecting the fate of her sons. Fatigued with their incessant quarrels, the young men themselves proposed to divide the empire, and to establish their thrones in different seats of government. Geta declared that he would be satisfied with Egypt and the Asiatic provinces, and would fix his residence at Alexandria or Antioch. The Propontis, a natural boundary between the east and the west, was to have fixed the limits of their respective dominions, while garrisons at Byzantium and Chalcedon would have been charged with the duty of preventing all such communication as might have endangered the repose of either country.

Prevented by Julia.

But the dismemberment of the Roman empire was opposed not only by Julia, who compared it to the dissection of her own body, but it was likewise deprecated by the chief persons in the commonwealth, who foresaw, in its division, the seeds of weakness and mutual distrust. Disappointed in this project, which the feelings of his subjects were not prepared to adopt, Caracalla resolved to rid himself of his colleague by means less scrupulous. He solicited an interview with his brother in the chamber of their common parent; where, by the hands of assassins, whom he had concealed for the purpose, he put him to death, notwithstanding the shrieks and struggles of the empress, who had clasped her unfortunate child in her arms. She even received a wound in her endeavours to prevent the murder; but the bodily pain which she endured was nothing, in her estimation, compared to the anguish inflicted upon her maternal sensibility, by an order from the brutal survivor to suppress every token of grief, and to conceal from the world that she was aware of the melancholy catastrophe which had just polluted and alarmed the palace of the Cæsars.[1]

Geta is murdered.

Caracalla gains the Prætorians.

This compulsory dissimulation on the part of Julia was necessary to accomplish the object which Caracalla had yet in view. Geta, he knew well, possessed a firm hold upon the affections of the army: on which account he determined to have recourse to stratagem, in order to divert their resentment until he should have an opportunity of addressing himself with flattery and an extraordinary largesse to their vanity and avarice. Rushing out of his mother's apartment with

[1] Herodian. lib. iii.; Dion Cassius, Epitom. Xiphil. p. 345; Spart. in Geta, pp. 5, 6.

an air of assumed terror, he exclaimed, that he had just escaped from the most imminent danger, and had with difficulty saved his life. Summoning his guards to attend him, he proceeded to the camp of the Prætorians, where he returned thanks to the gods for his miraculous escape, and entreated the wondering soldiers to join with him in offering up sacrifice to heaven for the continued preservation of the empire. He intimated, indeed, that his brother had not been as fortunate as himself; but congratulated them that one emperor still lived, ready to promote their interest and increase their comforts. He promised them a donative of ten thousand sesterces a man, doubled their daily allowance of provisions, and professed that the pleasure of his whole life would be to live amongst them, and his greatest honour to die in their ranks.[1] A. D. 211.



Caracalla.

The mercenary Prætorians could not resist such arguments as these. After passing a night in the camp, which he pretended to regard as the only place of safety, the emperor convoked the senate, to whom he delivered a speech, full of deceit and prevarication, relative to the event which had spread among the citizens so much fear and sorrow. He complained that his brother had laid snares to take away his life; and, accordingly, represented the death of Geta as an act of self-defence which could not be avoided, inasmuch as he was compelled to choose the painful alternative of removing a rival by violent means, or of falling himself a victim to a similar resolution. His auditors were far from being satisfied either with his motives or his reasoning; but having, perhaps, anticipated such a result, and being sensible that the government could not have been conducted advantageously by two princes whose sole study it was to oppose each other's views, they listened to the statement of Caracalla without any expression of impatience or of disapprobation. It was suggested to him, however, that in order to soothe the feelings of the people, and to atone, in some measure, for the crime to which political necessity had urged him, he should honour the memory of his brother with the usual apotheosis conferred upon deceased members of the imperial family. The consent of this unworthy son of Severus was characteristic of his fierce and contemptuous disposition. "Let him be a god," he exclaimed, "provided he does not come alive again!" In pity to the misfortunes of Geta, posterity has cast a veil over his vices. That

The senate listens to his defence.

Apotheosis of Geta.

[1] Dion Cassius, Epitom. p. 352; Herodian. lib. iv.

A. D. 211. young prince has been considered as the innocent victim of his brother's ambition, without a recollection that he himself wanted power rather than inclination to consummate a crime similar to that by which he was destroyed.[1]

Extravagance and cruelty of Caracalla.

The subsequent conduct of Caracalla is marked by so many features of extravagance, that it is impossible to account for it without the supposition of occasional insanity. His conscience appears to have been haunted by the most frightful phantoms; and he confessed that he often saw the indignant shades of his father and brother pursuing him with angry looks, and threatening him with the severest punishment for his cruelty and disobedience. His remorse for the murder of Geta frequently melted him to tears; and, while the fit of compunction was on him, he was wont to issue orders to put to immediate death certain of the individuals who had been concerned in that atrocious deed. Lætus, who is understood to have approved his determination to reign alone, was among the first who fell victims to his repentance. But, with the inconsistency of a madman and a tyrant, he embrued his hands deeply in the blood of those who were known to have been attached to Geta. Dion Cassius relates, that about twenty thousand persons, against whom no other charge could be brought than that they had been friends or dependents of the emperor's brother, were condemned to death in some one of the various forms in which it pleased Caracalla to inflict it. In this miserable proscription were included all who had served the prince, in a public or in a private capacity; his guards, his freedmen, his counsellors, the officers whom he had promoted, and the commanders whom he had employed. Virtue could not protect, nor could obscurity conceal the victims; and both sexes were equally exposed to the fatal resentment of the unfeeling and capricious despot.[2]

Death of Papinianus.

Among the thousands whose unmerited fate signalizes this reign of terror, a conspicuous place has been assigned by historians to Papinianus, whose death was lamented as a public calamity. During the latter years of Severus, this distinguished person exercised some of the most important offices of the state, and by his judicious advice kept the tenour of government within the limits of justice and moderation. Relying upon his virtues and ability, the emperor, when on his deathbed, entreated him to continue his services for the welfare of the commonwealth, and for the benefit of the imperial family. But Caracalla endured with impatience the influence of a character which controlled his own, and seemed more disposed, in all matters of public interest, to lead than to follow. In truth, the more assiduously Papinianus laboured for the good of the community, the more did he become an object of hatred to the jealous spirit of his master. He

[1] Spart. in Geta, pp. 6, 7.

[2] Dion Cassius, Epitom. Xiphil. p. 352; Herodian. lib. iv.; Spart. in Caracall. 4; in Geta, 6.

was deprived of the important office of Prætorian præfect, and divested of all military rank and authority. But as he was not less eminent as an orator and a constitutional lawyer than he was at the head of an army, the emperor applied to him, immediately after the assassination of Geta, to compose such a defence or apology for that nefarious deed as he might pronounce before the senate. The generous Roman made answer, that it was much more easy to commit a murder than to justify it; and that to assail the memory of the murdered person, was nothing better than to commit the crime a second time. Such freedom could not be pardoned at the court of Caracalla. The wrath which he had excited was only to be appeased with his blood; and, accordingly, a short time afterwards, the intrepid commander was put to death, together with his son, who had risen to the rank of quæstor, and who could be charged with no other offence but that of imitating his father's virtues.[1] A. D. 211.

Indignity inflicted on Fabius Cilo.

Not being able on all occasions to carrry with him the concurrence even of the brutal soldiery who executed his commands, the emperor found it necessary to cover his cruel intentions with the most consummate hypocrisy. For example, although he had resolved on the death of Fabius Cilo, he was compelled by popular indignation to relinquish his intentions, and even to applaud the excellence which he had wished to remove from his sight. Cilo had been one of the dearest friends of Severus; had served twice as consul; and having been appointed to superintend the education of the two princes, Caracalla affected to honour him as a second father. For these reasons, though he hated him as a monitor who had often reproved his vices, and blamed his conduct towards his brother, he could not openly give orders to put him to death. But a party of his devoted Prætorians, who were no strangers to his wishes, determined, by anticipating his commands, to earn a claim upon his liberality. Stimulated, as it were, by voluntary zeal in behalf of their chief, they seized Cilo while in the bath, plundered his house, and dragged him, with the utmost violence, through the streets, towards the residence of the emperor. The sight of such indignity inflicted on so good a man, roused the inhabitants to sedition. The city cohorts, in particular, whom he had commanded, assumed in his defence an air of so much determination, that Caracalla found it expedient to leave the palace in order to calm the tumult, and protect his venerable tutor. He threw his own robe round the naked body of Cilo, commanded the soldiers to desist from their meditated crime, and directed that they should be punished with death for proceeding so far without his authority. The Prætorians met their doom, says a native annalist, not because they had assaulted the ancient friend of Severus, but because they did not despatch him when he was in their power.[2]

[1] Spart. in Caracall. c. v.; Dion Cassius, Epitom. lib. lxxvii.

[2] Spart. in Caracall. c. iii. iv.; in Sever. c. xxi.; in Geta, c. vi.

A. D. 211. Other cruelties of Caracalla.

The reader of history cannot fail to regret, that the records of the Roman empire, for the period now under our consideration, are so closely connected with the personal character of its rulers; or rather, indeed, that the events which stand most prominently forward may be identified with the caprice, the extravagance, and the cruelty of the sovereign. But as such details are neither agreeable nor instructive, we shall not enter into them with the minute diligence of Spartianus and Dion Cassius. It cannot be interesting to any one to know that Caracalla condemned to death an aged lady, sister of Commodus and daughter of Marcus Aurelius, merely because she mixed her tears with those of the empress Julia upon the murder of Geta. Nor can it be more gratifying to learn, that he took away the life of his own cousin, because his name was Severus. In this instance, indeed, he added the most contemptible duplicity to his inhumanity. He sent to him a dish from the imperial table as a mark of his respect and friendship, and next morning gave orders for his immediate death. Pertinax, a son of the emperor of the same name, owed his destruction to an ill-timed joke. Being in the senate-house on one occasion when the prætor rehearsed the titles which Caracalla had been pleased to assume, and hearing the epithets of Sarmaticus and Parthicus, with others denoting foreign conquest, annexed to the imperial designation, he suggested that they should add the more striking honour of Geticus; an expression which was at once applicable to the Getæ, a people with whom the Romans had been at war, and to the unfortunate youth who had recently shared the empire. Pertinax, who was at no time a favourite, paid for this witticism with the loss of his head.[1]

The emperor leaves Rome, and engages in war on the Rhine.

Fortunately for Rome, her inhuman master was at length seized with the desire of martial renown, and resolved to conduct the legions in person against the barbarians beyond the Rhine. The occurrences of the war which ensued are very obscurely related; but it admits not of doubt, that, by means of the most abominable treachery, he succeeded in perpetrating an extensive massacre among the Alemanni; a valiant tribe, whom he himself acknowledged he could not otherwise subdue. Another horde, to whom Dion Cassius gives the name of Catti, admonished, perhaps, by the fate of their neighbours, defended themselves with so much bravery that Caracalla was glad to purchase, with a large sum of money, permission to retreat. Defeated by the men, he took revenge upon some females who had fallen into his hands, and who, though they preferred death to servitude, were all sold for slaves. He reaped no other fruit from his German expedition than the contempt of the natives, who plainly saw through all his pompous boastings, the cowardice and perfidy of his real character. The barbarians still more remote, encouraged by his imbecility, menaced him with war; finding that, though he

[1] Spart. in Caracall. c. x.

threatened them with utter extermination, he did not disdain to solicit their forbearance, and even to bribe them into peace.[1] A. D. 214.

Proceeds to the Danube, and passes into Asia Minor.

From the banks of the Rhine, Caracalla pursued his warlike career to the borders of the Danube; where he provoked the enmity of the Goths, whose manners and arms were at that time new to the Romans, and received hostages from the Dacians, who wished to avoid hostilities. Passing through Thrace, he arrived at the shores of the Hellespont; after which he sailed for Asia Minor, with the view of visiting Troy, and of doing honour to the heroes who had perished under its walls. He erected a statue to Achilles, and offered up libations upon his tomb. Smitten with disease, both in body and mind, he repaired to Pergamos, where there was a magnificent temple of Æsculapius, celebrated for the wonderful cures performed in it by the influence of that god. The effects of dissipation, and the disorders of an intellect which had never been well balanced, were ascribed to the incantations of the Germans, who, as his flatterers insinuated, being unable to oppose him in the field of battle, had sought their revenge in magic and witchcraft. From the evils under which he laboured, the emperor found no permanent relief in the professional fame of Æsculapius, nor even in the more powerful aid of Apollo and Serapis; the gods, says Dion Cassius, being less pleased with his offerings, costly as they might be, than they were incensed at his criminal conduct and impious designs.

Prepares to invade the Parthians.

During a winter spent at Nicomedia, he made great preparations for invading the Parthians and Armenians, who, it was acknowledged, had given him no provocation, and were even averse to war. The former people had recently lost their king, and were exposed at that moment to all the disadvantages which attend a disputed succession. The crown was claimed by two brothers, one of whom, Artabanes, obtained the ascendency; and being unwilling to hazard his acquisition in a doubtful war with the Romans, he complied with the conditions prescribed by Caracalla, and was allowed to occupy the throne of his father as a vassal of the great Western Empire.

Treachery to the kings of Edessa and Armenia.

The advantage which Caracalla thus took of the circumstances in which the Parthian prince found himself involved, might, perhaps, be justified by the example of better men, and might find an apology in the motives upon which sovereigns too frequently go to war. But his conduct towards the kings of Edessa and Armenia admits not of excuse on any principle recognised among civilized nations. He invited the former, whose name was Abgarus, to meet him at Antioch, to consult on matters connected with their common interest; and as soon as he had him in his power he loaded him with chains, and seized upon his territory. In a similar manner he entrapped the Armenian king, who, with his two sons, was detained as a prisoner while a body of troops was sent to take possession of his land. But

[1] Dion Cassius, Epitom. Xiphil. p. 353; Herodian. lib. iv.

A. D. 215. the people of that country, more numerous and warlike than the subjects of Abgarus, flew to arms in order to defend their property, and to avenge the injuries inflicted upon their monarch. In a battle which soon followed, they repulsed, with great slaughter, the Roman army which Caracalla had despatched against them, and compelled his feeble general to fall back upon Syria with the remainder of his broken and dispirited forces.

Boasts of his duplicity.

Though the perfidy of the emperor recoiled upon his own head, and involved him in disgrace which could not have occurred in an open and honourable war, he nevertheless took credit to himself for unbounded success and the most manly exploits. In a letter to the senate, he boasted of his triumph in having reconquered the East, and of his personal exertions in defying the effects of climate, and the obstacles of seas and mountains; reproaching, at the same time, the members of that illustrious council with their effeminacy and idleness, so unworthy of Romans, and of the glory which continued to follow their arms. It was perfectly well known, meanwhile, that the author of this boastful epistle never saw an enemy in the field, but that, while his lieutenants were ravaging one district, or retreating with shame from another, he was wallowing in the luxuries of Antioch, or seeking remedies for his bodily distempers.[1]

Caracalla is incensed at the people of Alexandria.

The cruelty and deceit with which he treated foreign princes, were in a short time surpassed by the barbarities which he exercised upon the citizens of Alexandria. His person and pretensions excited the ridicule of that facetious people; who, finding that he aspired to the fame of Achilles in respect of strength and beauty, and to the renown of Alexander the Great as a conqueror, could not repress their merriment when they saw in Caracalla a deformed figure of very small stature, and learned that his courage had never been shown, except in the murder of his friends and relatives. Their unseasonable wit sought vent even in the theatres and public places. Eteocles and Polynices were produced as types of Caracalla and Geta; and Julia, the mother of these last, was alluded to under the name of Jocasta.

Visits that city.

But they soon discovered reason to repent the liberties which they had taken with the ferocious tyrant. He announced his intention of repeating his visit, that he might at more leisure examine their works of art, and do honour to the genius and patriotic views of their immortal founders. Forgetting the ground of offence which they had given him, or hoping that it had altogether passed away from his mind, they made preparations to receive him with the utmost joy and magnificence. Concerts of music, illuminations, perfumes, garlands of flowers, and crowns of gold, were lavished with profusion. The sullen, vindictive monarch appeared to receive these tokens of loyalty with entire satisfaction. He went first to the temple of Serapis, where he sacrificed whole hecatombs, and burnt a pro-

[1] Dion Cassius, Epitom. Xiphil. p. 354.

digious quantity of incense upon the altar. He next repaired to the tomb of Alexander, where he made an offering still more costly, and not less flattering to the vanity of those who witnessed it. He pulled off his imperial robe, which was composed of the richest materials, his belt, which was covered with precious stones, and all the rings which were upon his fingers; and placing them on the coffin, or urn, which contained the ashes of the hero, devoted them to the memory of the greatest warrior that any age had produced, and whom he of all commanders admired the most.[1] A. D. 216.

Massacre of the inhabitants.

The scene which followed was truly horrible; but as Dion Cassius and Herodian differ materially in the details, there is ground to suspect that the narrative has been much exaggerated. According to the latter, Caracalla pretended a desire to form an Alexandrian phalanx, after the model of the famous Macedonian body; and, in pursuance of this object, he assembled all the young men of the city in a plain adjoining to the walls, where he surrounded them with his troops, and and put them all to death. Dion Cassius makes no mention of this atrocious slaughter, but merely relates that the emperor first murdered the most eminent of the citizens, who had waited upon him on his arrival, and whom he had invited to his table; that the soldiers afterwards spread themselves all over the city, and killed without distinction every person whom they found, of whatever age or sex; and that the massacre was so extensive that even Caracalla thought it necessary to conceal or diminish the number of the slain. It is said that he feasted his eyes with the sight from the summit of the temple of Serapis, whence, from time to time, he sent orders to the tribunes to increase the activity of the assassins. It was on this occasion, if Herodian is to be believed, that he consecrated to Serapis the dagger with which he had murdered his brother.[2]

Returns into Syria, and renews the Parthian war. A. D. 217.

Resuming the intention of an eastern campaign, he returned into Syria; but as he was at peace with all the nations which bordered on the Roman province, it was necessary to create a pretext for a quarrel before he could march his army into their country. With that view, he demanded in marriage a daughter of the king of Parthia, in the hope that she would be refused, and thereby justify an appeal to arms, or in the prospect, if his request were granted, of having a right to dictate in all affairs of government. Herodian states, that though the projected marriage was contrary to the established customs of the Romans as well as to those of the Parthians, Artabanes, after considerable hesitation, at length agreed to it. But the authority of Dion, in this instance, seems entitled to greater confidence. He assures us that the Parthian king, seeing through the unjust and ambitious designs of Caracalla, resolutely declined to sanction an alliance the consequence of which, he predicted, could not fail to

[1] Spart. in Caracall. c. vi.; Herodian. lib. iv.

[2] Herodian. lib. iv.; Spart. in Caracall. c. vi.; Dion Cassius, Epitom.

A. D. 217. prove both fatal and disgraceful to his subjects. The legions were therefore pushed forward into Mesopotamia without loss of time; and finding the low country of Parthia quite unprotected, they carried devastation over the greater part of it, plundering the cities, and destroying every monument of art and of independence. In the neighbourhood of the capital, the emperor observed some royal sepulchres, which he caused to be thrown open, and gratified his paltry resentment by scattering to the wind the dust of several generations of the Arsacidæ.

The king of Parthia had retreated beyond the Tigris, and taken possession of a line of strong posts, whereon he resolved to collect the military forces of his country, and to descend thence, like a storm, upon the Romans in the following spring. Meanwhile, Caracalla fell back upon Edessa, a town in Syria, to spend the winter in the voluptuous living peculiar to the orientals, to write magnificent letters to the senate descriptive of his victories, and to prepare his troops for a renewal of their conquests. But the career of his boasting and folly was now near an end. The author of his death was Macrinus, one of the Prætorian præfects, whose hatred he had provoked by many contumelies, and whose aspiring disposition had alarmed his jealousy. This commander, aware of the danger with which he was surrounded, resolved to anticipate the designs of his suspicious master; for which purpose he applied to Martialis, an officer of the guard, who had various reasons to be dissatisfied with Caracalla, and incited him, by the strongest motives of hope and fear, to revenge his wrongs on the body of the tyrant. During a march, accordingly, which the latter, attended by a detachment of the Prætorians, undertook to Carrhæ, where he meant to offer up a sacrifice in the temple of the moon, Martialis, seizing an opportunity when the emperor was quite alone, stabbed him with a poniard. The assassin was himself almost instantly put to death by a Scythian bowman belonging to the imperial guard, but not before he had the satisfaction of knowing that his personal enemy had breathed his last.[1]

Is assassinated by Martialis, May 8th, A. D. 217.

Unworthy and contemptible as Caracalla was, his loss was nevertheless deeply regretted by a large portion of the army. The Prætorians, already increased in number from ten to fifty thousand, bewailed in him a constant benefactor; for although the son of Severus was unprovided by nature with those qualities which are necessary to form a successful commander, he thirsted for military reputation with so strong an appetite, as to place the main study and pleasure of his life in the aggrandisement of the soldiery, whom he was pleased to regard as the instruments of his fame. The desire which he manifested to be thought like Alexander the Great, and to rival the exploits of that celebrated conqueror, led him into a thousand absurdities. It was not enough for him to form a Macedonian

His death regretted by the army.

[1] Dion Cassius, Epitom. p. 359; Spart. in Caracall. c. vi. vii.

phalanx of sixteen thousand men, all natives of Greece, and to appoint officers with names corresponding to those of the generals who served under the son of Philip. He was not satisfied with copying the dress, the armour, and the gait of his favourite warrior, and with erecting to him innumerable statues in all parts of the empire. He thought it, moreover, incumbent on him to persecute the Peripatetic school of philosophy wherever a single member of it could be found, merely because a rumour had reached his ears that Aristotle was privy to the death of Alexander. The accusation itself is admitted to have been a gratuitous calumny: but Caracalla thought otherwise; and in consequence of this notion, he not only gave orders that all the works of that great philosopher should be burnt; he farther insisted that every individual who was known to hold his opinions should be made responsible for the crime with which his memory is charged, and accordingly he issued instructions that the annual payments, and other advantages bestowed upon the Museum at Alexandria, wherein the doctrines of the Stagyrite were inculcated, should be forthwith discontinued.

A. D. 217.

His foolish imitation of Alexander the Great.

Mistaking the real points of excellence in the character which he was so desirous to imitate, he professed to take a great delight in military exercises which he did not understand; he dressed and armed himself like the meanest of the soldiers, mixed with them in their labours, and shared with them the same food; but as he chose for these manifestations of his zeal the time of profound peace, or the security of a summer encampment, his bustling activity had no other effect than that of exciting derision. Herodian adds, that he sometimes ground with his own hands the corn which was selected to make his bread, then kneaded the dough, baked it, and ate the fruit of his own toil. He condescended, on other occasions, to act the part of an ensign, and carry on his shoulders the heaviest standards of the legions. In a word, he thought himself an Alexander merely because he did the duty of a common soldier, by working in the trenches; and imagined that he could revive in his army the Spartan discipline, by tasting once or twice of coarse food, and by descending from the necessary dignity of his high station.

His contempt of learning.

Another bad consequence arising from his military affectation, appeared in a marked contempt for learning, and for all men of letters. The peaceful pursuits of the student, and the abstract researches of the philosopher, were regarded by him as an avowed dereliction of manhood; and on no occasion was he more delighted than when an opportunity occurred for expressing his deep and utter aversion for all the votaries of the Muses. He endeavoured to forget that he had ever heard the name of one of the sciences. The games of the circus and the fights of wild beasts were his favourite studies; and he boasted that in one day, after taking a share of other combats, he had killed a hundred boars with his own hand.

A. D. 217. Neglect of his civil duties.

To such a person the patience and self-command necessary for the administration of justice must have been extremely irksome. We find, accordingly, from Dion Cassius, that he avoided as much as possible this important part of his duty, and never, indeed, engaged in it but with reluctance and disgust. This historian, who was præfect of the city, and hence officially bound to assist the emperor in his decisions, tells us, that Caracalla frequently sent notice to the judges that he would be ready to hear causes, or hold a council, early in the morning. We failed not, says he, to be punctual to his orders, but he made us wait till afternoon, and sometimes till the evening. We remained without doors, not being permitted to enter even into the antechambers. At length, when we were called in, it was only to be informed, that it was no longer time to do business; and, indeed, we were often sent away without having had an opportunity of making the customary salutations. Whilst we were thus losing our time in waiting to no purpose, the prince was amusing himself with trifles, driving a chariot, fighting with wild beasts, or drinking, perhaps, with a gladiator. Dishes of meat and great vessels of wine passed before our eyes for the use of his guards, while it was manifest that he enjoyed a secret pleasure in the fatigue and delay which we were compelled to endure.

Affectation of zeal for morality and religion.

Did not the history of human nature abound with similar examples, we should be surprised to learn that Caracalla, amid his rank debaucheries, affected a great zeal for purity of morals. He punished adultery with death; and condemned to be buried alive four vestal virgins, one of whom himself had attempted to seduce. Nay, he attempted to set himself up not only as a reformer of religion, but even as a pattern of piety and godliness. He mistook, indeed, belief in magic for trust in Divine Providence, and his fear of punishment for a reverential awe towards the supreme ruler of the world. A slave to superstition himself, he denounced it as an unpardonable offence in all others; and Spartianus records, that several individuals during his reign were put to death for wearing round their necks a charm against intermittent fever.[1]

His extension of the privileges of Roman citizens.

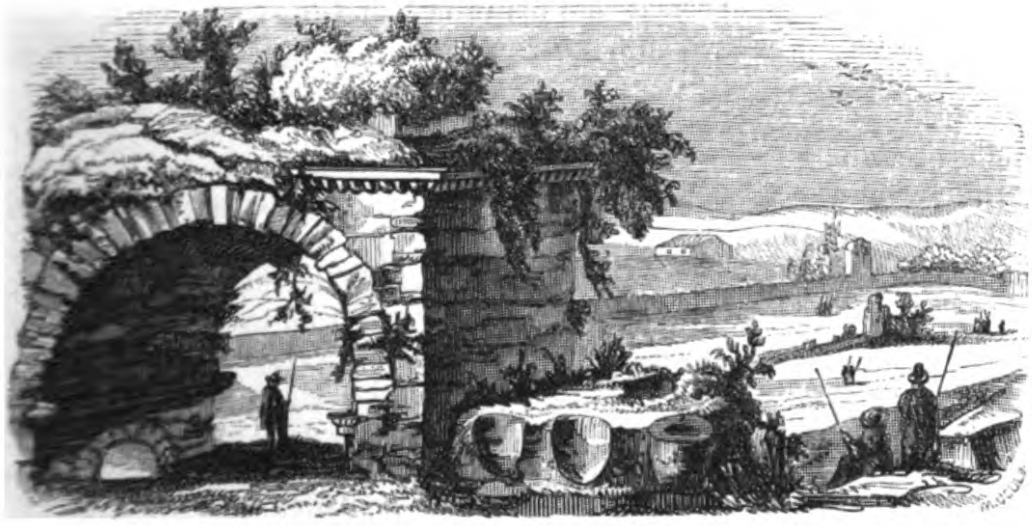
The government of Caracalla was rendered remarkable by a measure, the policy of which has been greatly questioned by writers on constitutional law, both in ancient and in modern times. We allude to the decree by which he threw open the rights and privileges of Roman citizens to all the inhabitants of the empire. The pride of the commonwealth had long restricted this honour to the native subjects of the original State, and it was not granted to the rest of Italy until after the struggle of a long and bloody war. The first emperors, Augustus and Tiberius, were equally sparing of this envied

[1] Damnati sunt eo tempore qui urinam in eo loco fecerunt, in quo statuæ, aut imagines erant Principis: Damnati sunt et qui remedia quartanis tertianisque collo annexa gestarent.—Spart. in Caracall. c. v.

distinction; and it was not until the weak and mercenary reign of Clodius had raised the provincials to an unwonted pitch of authority, that citizenship could be obtained with nearly an equal facility on both sides of the Alps. During the same administration the Gauls were admitted into the senate; a privilege which they ever afterwards retained: and at a later period, when the sovereigns themselves were chosen from among the colonists of Spain, and even of Africa, the line which separated the descendant of a Roman in foreign parts from an aboriginal native of the same country, became more and more evanescent, and at length entirely disappeared. Then it became customary to admit not only individuals, but whole provinces, to the freedom of Rome; and consuls who derived their origin from Germany, Syria, and the various districts of Asia Minor, were not unfrequently seen invested with the robes and the power which had awakened the ambition of Julius Cæsar and of Cneius Pompeius. Still there was a certain distinction between citizen and subject even in the colonies, till it was abolished by a solemn edict issued by Caracalla; after which, all persons not in a state of servitude acquired the rights and privileges of the former class, and there was no longer in the empire any denomination of people but slaves and Roman citizens. A. D. 217.

His supposed motive for that step.

The motive assigned by historians for this unprecedented extension of a privilege once so highly valued, is the increase of revenue which the emperor expected to arise from the vast augmentation of taxable subjects. Perhaps he was incapable of taking such a step on any generous principle; but it is more probable that this unpopular resolution was adopted from a wish to mortify the inhabitants of the capital, all descriptions of whom he most cordially hated, than to enlarge the income of the state, which he knew how to increase by more compendious means.



Circus of Caracalla. *Venuti, Antichita di Roma.*

SECTION II.

MARCUS OPILIUS MACRINUS.

FROM APRIL, A. D. 217, TO JUNE, A. D. 218.

A. D. 217. It has been already stated, that the death of Caracalla proceeded from the fears and ambition of Macrinus. An African soothsayer, impelled either by malice or by fanaticism, had announced, as the will of the gods, that the præfect just named and his eldest son were destined to reign over the Roman people. The prediction created so much uneasiness in the province, that the seer was immediately carried to Rome; where he was examined with the greatest care by those trusty persons whom the emperor had charged with the duty of discovering the favoured individual whom the stars had fixed upon for his successor. A regular report of this singular investigation was forwarded to the imperial court, then resident at Antioch; but Caracalla being engaged in a chariot race when the messenger arrived, the packet was handed to Macrinus, who presided over the civil department of State affairs. The intelligence with which he was thus supplied, acted upon his mind in two different ways; for he saw thereby placed before him the alternative either of wearing a crown, or of falling a speedy victim to the jealousy of his master. The choice he made, and the result of his decision, have been already recounted. He used the hand of Martialis to assassinate his prince, and to secure for himself a seat on the throne which neither nature nor education had qualified him to fill.



Macrinus.

Macrinus is greatly blamed by Dion Cassius for not using the influence which belonged to his office, in order to guide the election of the army to a proper person as the successor of Caracalla. But it ought not to be forgotten, that the Prætorian præfect, in all probability, had not less confidence than his sovereign in the efficacy of magic, and in the revelations of judicial astrology. At all events, instead of opening a path for the ambition of others, he made haste to gratify his own. Concealing from the soldiers the share he had in the murder of their leader, he endeavoured to recommend himself to their choice as the commander of the imperial guards; his colleague, who indeed, was senior to him in rank, being rendered unfit by his age and infirmities for the labours of the high office to which he aspired. But the troops, who neither loved nor esteemed him, seemed to wait

for the appearance of a more worthy candidate, when, on the fourth day, intelligence that the Parthians were on their march to attack them with a powerful army, quickened their deliberations, and induced them to commit the destiny of the empire into the hands of the junior præfect.[1] A. D. 217.

He applies to the senate.

The usages of government required that the suffrages of the soldiers should be confirmed by the senate. To obtain this confirmation, Macrinus addressed a letter to that illustrious assembly, in which he informed them of the two great events which had just taken place, and modestly requested their approval of the choice which had been made by the army. He promised that no measure of importance should be undertaken without their advice and approbation; that his administration should revert to the more liberal maxims of the commonwealth; and that all orders of the citizens should enjoy their full rights, fortunes, and privileges. He condemned the policy which had involved the empire in a war with Parthia, which he knew to be disliked both at Rome and in the camp; and, in particular, he blamed the practice introduced by his predecessor, of granting large sums of money to barbarian nations, with a view of securing their forbearance or neutrality.[2]

Receives their confirmation.

The senate, delighted with their deliverance from the tyranny of Caracalla, sanctioned, with loud acclamations, the proceedings of the Syrian army. They overlooked the obscurity of birth in Macrinus, his want of military talent, and even the doubtful affections of the very body which had elected him, and forthwith they enrolled him in the order of patricians, decreed to him all the titles of imperial power, and concluded by decorating his son with the name and rank of Cæsar. Macrinus, indeed, owed the accomplishment of his wishes to the detestation with which every one not of the military profession regarded the son of Severus. Even the senators did not conceal their deep aversion to his memory. "We would have preferred any one," said they, "to the parricide from whose hands we have just been rescued, the encourager of all crime, the murderer of all classes of the people." The popular voice was equally loud in terms of execration. The festivals instituted in honour of the late despot were instantly abolished; his statues were thrown down and melted; the praises of the assassin were proclaimed in the streets, and the resemblance of his name to that of Mars, the founder of their state, was hailed as the presage of returning liberty. Had not the fear imposed upon the senate by the presence of a large military force checked the current of their indignation, they would at once have declared Caracalla a public enemy, and loaded his memory with the curses of the nation.[3]

But the reputation which this unhappy ruler left among the soldiers,

[1] Dion Cassius, Epitom. Xiphil. p. 361.
[2] Capitol. in Macrin. c. v. vi.; Herodian. lib. v.
[3] Capitol. in Macrin. c. ii.

A. D. 217. led to results of quite a different nature. To gratify the affection of the Prætorians, upon whose favour his own power depended, Macrinus found it indispensable to confer upon Caracalla a place among the gods. The senate was desired to record the apotheosis of a tyrant, for whose murder it had secretly offered up its thanks to heaven, and to set apart a temple and a priesthood to commemorate the name and the virtues of a monster, whom in its heart it detested and abhorred.

Caracalla raised to the rank of the gods.

Macrinus makes injudicious appointments.

This involuntary compulsion employed by the new emperor diminished the confidence which the first acts of his reign had tended to inspire. He soon afterwards alienated to a greater extent the minds of the more reflecting among the patricians, by the injudicious appointment of certain magistrates. Desirous to be freed from the society of his former colleague, the præfect Adventus, he sent him to Rome, gave him a high office in the city, and even nominated him to the consulship for the following year. This promotion was extremely disagreeable to the public, for the consul elect was not only arrived at a very advanced age, which unfitted him for the duties of his new station, but he was likewise so ignorant that he could not read, and so little acquainted with business, that he did not know even its customary forms. Other instances of preferment, equally undeserved and unsuitable, increased the dissatisfaction of the citizens. They saw the bravest and most experienced generals set aside to make way for favourites who had no qualification to recommend them but their subserviency to the emperor, who seemed, in his choice of public servants, to avoid courage in the army, and talent in all the other departments of government.[1]

His son proclaimed Cæsar by the name of Antoninus.

In conferring the rank of Cæsar upon Diadumenus, the son of Macrinus, the senate had been anticipated by the army, who, in the expectation of a more abundant largess, lost no time in gratifying their master with a compliment which custom had now established as a general rule. To render this ceremony more striking, the father proposed that the popular name of Antoninus should be revived in the person of the young prince, who was not more than nine years of age. The suggestion was received with the loudest expression of joy: praises and vows were lavished upon the emperor and the youthful Cæsar; and the name of Antoninus Diadumenus was re-echoed throughout the camp. Macrinus was willing that the senators and Roman people should, in like manner, share the happiness of greeting another prince by a name which they so much loved and admired. He therefore wrote to the former, giving notice of the auspicious event which had been so enthusiastically celebrated by the army; and promised to the latter a splendid donative, to welcome the return of better days, and the restoration of justice, peace, and security, among all orders of the republic. The multitude, which gladly embraces every opportunity of amusement and hilarity, was

[1] Capitol. in Macrin. c. v.

easily impressed with the joy which it was meant it should express; but the senate, displeased at finding its prerogative invaded by the soldiers, contented itself with announcing a sullen acquiescence in an arrangement which it had not been asked to promote, and which it could not have prevented.[1] A. D. 217.

His affected manners bring him into contempt.

The higher orders of the people had not forgotten the low extraction of their emperor, which, unfortunately for his own peace, he himself endeavoured to forget. A haughty demeanour and an affected address were not well received by men who were better born, and of whom many must have known him in the humble condition from which he rose, and in the subordinate offices which he successively filled: while no crime, it is said, was more severely punished than the imprudence of comparing his entry into life with the splendid rank which he had now attained. He soon found, however, that by following the dictates of his ambition, he had ascended a height on which he could neither stand with safety, nor, from it, attempt to retrace his steps without the hazard of instant destruction. Trained in the arts of domestic society and the forms of civil business, he trembled in the presence of the fierce and undisciplined multitude over whom he had assumed the command: his military talents were despised, and his personal courage suspected; while a whisper that circulated in the camp disclosed the fatal secret of the conspiracy against the late emperor, aggravated the guilt of murder by the baseness of hypocrisy, and heightened contempt by a just feeling of indignation.[2]

His timidity in negotiating with the Parthians.

Had Macrinus possessed any spark of enthusiasm for military exploits, or even known how to reward the zeal of others, he might have retained the affection of the soldiers. But the coldness of his temper, which approached to timidity, disgusted the hardy veterans who had been formed by the discipline of Pertinax, and accomplished in the arts of war by their long service under Severus. Such troops were ashamed when they saw a Roman emperor hastening, by concessions to a barbarian prince, to avoid the toils and dangers of a campaign. When Artabanes had advanced to the frontiers, at the head of the mixed host with which he intended to oppose the designs of Caracalla, he was met with propositions which savoured strongly of cowardice. Macrinus restored all the prisoners who had been taken the former year, acknowledged that the guilt of infringing the treaty between Parthia and Rome was chargeable upon his predecessor, and ended by soliciting the renewal of amity. The barbarian, finding that he had to negotiate with a pusillanimous upstart, rejected the proposed terms with disdain; and insisted that the Romans should, moreover, rebuild all the fortresses which they had destroyed in their repeated invasions of his country, and embellish the cities which they had plundered of their ornaments and wealth. He demanded the

[1] Dion Cassius, Epitom. p. 362; Herodian. lib. v.; Capitol. in Macrin. c. vi.
[2] Capitol. in Macrin. c. iv.

A. D. 217. restitution of all the territory which had belonged to him in Mesopotamia, an equivalent for all the losses which his subjects had sustained in that part of his kingdom, together with an ample satisfaction for the indignity which had been offered to the sepulchres of his fathers.[1]

Concessions rejected, and war commenced.

Desirous as Macrinus was of peace, he was not allowed to accede to such disgraceful conditions in order to obtain it. The two armies met at Nisibis, where an engagement soon took place, in which the Romans with difficulty kept their ground. A second action ensued, the result of which was again favourable to Artabanes. But as his Parthians never carried with them any large store of provisions, and were in other respects unaccustomed to protracted or regular warfare, he was now more willing, though in fact a conqueror, to listen to an accommodation than he was before he drew the sword. He accepted from the emperor two hundred millions of sesterces, under the name of compensation, for all the losses and injuries which had been inflicted upon his kingdom by the Roman arms, and immediately withdrew his impatient followers from the scene of contest.

He restores the kingdom of Armenia.

The Armenians were induced to abstain from hostilities by means not more honourable to the military reputation of the empire. Macrinus gave the crown of that kingdom to Tiridates, the lawful claimant; released the queen-mother, who had been detained at Antioch by Caracalla during the space of a whole year; repaired the damage which the Roman troops had occasioned in various parts of the country; restored all the places which former Armenian princes held in Cappadocia; and even promised to renew the subsidy which his predecessor had some time paid to his eastern allies.

His luxury and affectation.

Having sacrificed everything to the love of tranquillity, he communicated to the senate an account of his triumphs over the ancient enemies of the republic. The leading men at Rome, either deceived by his representations, or wishing to complete the ridicule which began to thicken round his character, ordered feasts and rejoicings for the victories which had crowned the labours of the emperor, and even decreed to him the surname of Parthicus. Macrinus declined, indeed, this ambiguous honour; but upon his return to Antioch he determined to remunerate himself for all the privations which he had endured while in the field, and to enter upon the full enjoyment of the ease and luxury which his high rank enabled him to command. He resigned himself to pleasure in all its forms, decked his person in the most gorgeous robes that Asiatic taste could supply, and in all things affected a degree of magnificence which disgusted even the corrupted Prætorians.[2]

Attempts to reform the army.

His cowardice and effeminacy soon withdrew from him the allegiance of the soldiers, and brought them to the very brink of revolt. The firmest ruler, perhaps, that ever placed himself at the head of the

[1] Dion Cassius, Epitom. Xiphil. p. 363.
[2] Herodian. lib. v.; Dion Cassius, Epitom. Xiphil. p. 362.

legions, would have found much difficulty in satisfying the demands and repressing the extravagance of such disorderly troops; it is not wonderful, therefore, that Macrinus, whom they despised, should have failed of success. In his first attempts at reform he proceeded, indeed, with much caution, and without directly alarming the jealousy of his mutinous cohorts. To the men already in the service he confirmed the privileges and high pay which Caracalla had bestowed upon them; but he declared that, with regard to such as should afterwards join the legions, the establishment should be reduced to the more moderate footing on which it had been placed by Severus. But to render this arrangement efficacious, he ought to have dispersed his troops through the several provinces of the east, to which, in fact, their ordinary duty was confined, instead of allowing them to remain in Syria, where their united strength encouraged disaffection, and their ready means of communicating with one another supplied an opportunity for maturing the revolution upon which they had already fixed their thoughts. The veterans, instead of being flattered by the distinction which was made in their favour, persuaded themselves that the concessions of the emperor were extorted from him by fear; and that he would unceremoniously revoke them as soon as he should find himself in a condition to quash their resistance; and the young soldiers entered with reluctance into a service of which the labours were increased, while the rewards were greatly and systematically diminished. A few attempts to enforce discipline among the more seditious bands which were scattered over Mesopotamia, completed the irritation of the Syrian legions, and prepared them for the most desperate resolutions. Seditious murmurs, from time to time, were heard in the camp; the mutinous spirit which pervaded the whole army was with difficulty suppressed; and symptoms were everywhere manifest of a rooted disaffection and contempt of authority, which, on the slightest occasion, would infallibly burst out into a general rebellion against the unwarlike monarch. As it was to be expected, troops so disposed soon found or created an incident which afforded them an opportunity for realizing all their views.[1] A. D. 217.

Conspiracy against Macrinus.

The fate of Macrinus was accelerated by a conspiracy of women and priests. The empress Julia, whose powerful influence over a husband and a son had been experienced during two reigns, was compelled, upon the accession of the new sovereign, to relinquish all concern in public affairs. But notwithstanding the respectful civility expressed by the usurper to the widow of Severus, she descended with a painful struggle into the condition of a subject; and is said to have soon afterwards withdrawn herself from a state of anxious dependence by a voluntary death. Her sister, Julia Mæsa, had experienced similar varieties of fortune. On the death of her nephew she was ordered to leave the court, and even the city of

[1] Capitol. in Macrin. c. xii.

A. D. 217. Antioch, wherein it had been some time held. She retired to Emesa with great riches, accumulated during twenty years of imperial favour; for Macrinus, although he hated the whole house of Severus, did not disgrace himself by plundering the establishment of an unprotected female. As the wife of Julius Avitus, she had two daughters, Soæmis and Mamæa; the latter of whom became the mother of Alexander Severus, who afterwards ascended the throne. Soæmis was married to Varius Marcellus, by whom, or by Caracalla, she had a son, who is known to history by several names, but who subsequently rose to the head of the Roman world under the appellation of Heliogabalus.[1]

History of Heliogabalus

The reader will remember that the father of Julia, (the wife of Severus,) and consequently of Julia Mæsa, was high priest of the sun in the temple of Emesa. When, therefore, his granddaughter found herself necessitated to return to the city of her kindred, she obtained for her son, who was then only thirteen years of age, the priesthood, which appears to have been hereditary in the family. A numerous body of troops was stationed at Emesa: and as the severe discipline which Macrinus had thought proper to adopt constrained them to pass the winter in camp, they waited with eagerness for an opportunity to revenge what they esteemed an unnecessary hardship. The soldiers, who were accustomed to resort in great numbers to the temple of the sun, beheld with veneration and delight the rich vestments and the fine figure of the young pontiff. In his countenance they imagined they could recognise the features of Caracalla, whose memory they were more than ever disposed to adore.

Supposed to be the son of Caracalla.

Mæsa, who was naturally ambitious and impatient of the private condition to which she had been forced to descend, no sooner perceived this favourable disposition on the part of the military, than she resolved to turn it to the best advantage. Regardless of the reputation of her daughter, she eagerly confirmed the conjecture that Heliogabalus was indeed the son of Caracalla; and distributing her bounties with a liberal hand, she silenced every objection which might have been raised to the alleged paternity of the youthful priest. She was greatly assisted in the execution of her designs by Eutychianus and Gannys, the latter of whom had been tutor to her grandson while resident at Rome and Antioch. These two individuals, whose dispositions inclined them to political intrigue, practised upon the fidelity of the troops so successfully, as to prevail upon them to receive the young prince into their camp during the night, and to proclaim him their sovereign. At an appointed hour, Heliogabalus made his appearance, dressed in a robe like that which Caracalla used to wear in his youth. His resemblance to the son of Severus was thus rendered very striking; and being accompanied by a band of soldiers who were in his interest, he had no sooner presented himself at the gate

[1] Capitol. in Macrin. c. ix.; Dion Cassius, Epitom. Xiphil. p. 363.

than it was opened for his reception, and he was instantly saluted, A. D. 218. amidst a thousand acclamations, by the name of Antoninus, and the title of emperor.[1]

Revolt in his favour at Emesa.

This step committed beyond retrieval the fidelity and character of the legions at Emesa. They accordingly strengthened their fortifications, added to their stores, and made all other preparations for a regular siege. Macrinus, who did not at first allow himself to see the evil in its full magnitude, sent against the rebels one of the Prætorian præfects, Ulpius Julianus. This commander had in his little army a body of Moorish auxiliaries, extremely attached to the emperor, as their countryman, and quite devoted to his cause; and had he availed himself of the ardour with which they assailed the camp of the insurgents, he might, it was thought, have suppressed the rising before its abettors could have gained additional strength from other quarters. But unwilling, perhaps, to originate a civil war and to shed the blood of citizens, he had recourse to delay; until at length his men, shaken in their fidelity, joined the party which they had been commissioned to chastise, and concluded by assassinating their officers, and by sending the head of Julianus to his irresolute master.

Macrinus prepares to take the field.

The defections from Macrinus, although numerous, still left to him a body of troops upon which he could sufficiently rely for restoring the balance of affairs. He wrote to the senate, and that body, at his request, declared Heliogabalus, Julia Mæsa, Soæmis, and Mamæa, public enemies; and proclaimed an unconditional pardon to all who, having espoused their cause, should return to the standards which they had deserted. But decrees of the senate were no longer of any importance when weighed against the sword, which both parties had already drawn. Macrinus himself saw clearly that his claims must be determined in the field of battle; for which reason, having assembled all his forces, he marched to attack Heliogabalus, who was already prepared to meet him, within twenty miles of Antioch.

The insurgent army was commanded by Gannys, a eunuch, whose cares had been hitherto devoted to the duties of the palace, assisted by the mother and grandmother of the young prince, who attended him to the field. Entirely ignorant of war, the preceptor of Heliogabalus nevertheless displayed much ability in the choice of his ground, in the distribution of the troops, and above all in the eloquent address which he delivered to the soldiers, and in which he placed before them, in the most energetic language, the advantages of victory, and the horrors of defeat.

A battle ensues, in which he is defeated, June 8th. A. D. 218

Macrinus, on the other hand, was well supported by officers of courage and experience. The Prætorians, too, who had just been relieved from the more weighty and cumbersome part of their armour, presented a formidable array; and although they did not express that

[1] Dion Cassius, Epitom. Xiphil. p. 364; Lamprid. in Heliogab. c. i. ii.; Capitol. in Macrin. *ubi supra.*

A. D. 218. enthusiastic ardour which they were wont to exhibit when about to engage under the eye of a spirited sovereign, their pride, their martial character, and their excellent discipline, afforded an ample security for their good conduct in the presence of an enemy. In the first onset, accordingly, these gallant troops broke through the ranks of the rebel army, and had almost decided the fortune of the day, when the two princesses, whose fate hung upon the issue of the contest, sprang from the chariots in which they had been concealed, threw themselves before the flying soldiers, and with prayers and tears endeavoured to check the disgraceful rout. Heliogabalus, likewise, who on no other occasion of his life was distinguished for heroism, mounted his horse, and at the head of a body of men who had rallied round his person, charged sword in hand among the thickest of the enemy. His example and exhortation produced a great effect. Shame revived the courage of the fugitives: they halted, returned to their standards, and prepared once more to dispute the sovereignty of Europe and of Asia.

Heliogabalus acknowledged emperor on the field.

The battle was resumed with a degree of obstinacy which rendered the result a long time doubtful. Macrinus, it is said, might have again obtained the ascendency, had he not betrayed his own cause by a shameful flight. Herodian, indeed, relates that the emperor did not leave the field until he saw a large body of his troops abandon his ranks, and pass over to the enemy. Terrified by this desertion, he set the example of a precipitate retreat, which he did not attempt either to direct or to justify. The Prætorians, meanwhile, ignorant of the cowardly resolution adopted by their master, continued the battle some time after he was gone; till at length the young Antoninus sent messengers to inform them that they were fighting for no object, that their prince had already provided for his own safety, and that the sceptre of Rome had now passed into another hand. The guards, who had sacrificed enough to honour, listened to the terms proposed by the conqueror: and upon finding that their rank and privileges were to be respected, that their influence in the state was not to be diminished on account of the part which they had just taken, and that they were understood to have submitted without being vanquished, they readily acknowledged the claims of Antoninus, the son of Caracalla.[1]

Macrinus pursued and put to death.

June, A. D. 218.

Macrinus pursued his flight to Antioch, where he announced that he had gained a splendid victory over the forces of Heliogabalus. But his first care, notwithstanding, upon his arrival in that city, was to provide for the safety of his son, whom he resolved to place under the protection of Artabanes, the king of Parthia. For himself, he determined to proceed without delay into Italy; where the favour of the senate, and the jealousy which already began to prevail at Rome respecting the views of the eastern army, presented the hope

[1] Capitol. in Macrin.; Dion Cassius, Epitom. Xiphil. p. 364, 365.

that he might yet retrieve his affairs in a more fortunate field. Disguising his person in the dress of an imperial messenger, he succeeded in passing unmolested through the several provinces of Asia Minor; but he was discovered at Chalcedon, where he had occasion to ask for a sum of money in the name of the government. Hence he was carried back as far as Cappadocia, on his way to the capital of Syria. Learning in the district just named, that his son had been intercepted and put to death, he threw himself, in a transport of despair, out of his carriage, and broke one of the bones of his arm; and, as the wound thereby received left no hope of his being able to complete the journey, he was deprived of life in the city of Archelais, and his head sent forward to Heliogabalus. A. D. 218.

His character and moderation.

The character of Macrinus, as a civilian and statesman, has usually been estimated rather from the things which he meditated than from such as he actually performed. He is said to have expressed his resolution to restore to the laws of the commonwealth the authority of which they had been gradually deprived by the introduction of imperial rescripts; which documents not only superseded the law in the particular cases to which they were applied, but became, in fact, precedents of so much weight as to interfere with the administration of justice in all parts of the empire. In this reserve he followed the excellent example of Trajan, who uniformly refused to employ his prerogative wherever a court of law could determine the matter at issue.

Laws against informers.

There was another great abuse in the criminal jurisprudence of Rome which he attempted to remove. As there was no public prosecutor, whose special office it would have been to receive informations and to collect evidence for the punishment of all crimes against the public peace, there was devolved upon the emperor the odious duty of receiving in person charges against the loyalty of his subjects, of investigating the grounds upon which they rested, and even of ordering punishment, without allowing the accused an opportunity of confronting the witnesses, or of making a defence. In such a state of things no life was safe, and more especially under a weak or jealous monarch. His fears and interests were arrayed against the most powerful persons in the country; and no rumour was likely to be disregarded which respected, however indirectly, the character or the safety of the head of the government. Besides, as was to be expected, those who watched for the preservation of the emperor did not perform an unrequited labour. The trade of informer became a lucrative calling; and many individuals, who had no other means of living, supported an enviable establishment upon the wages of falsehood and blood.

General happiness of the empire in his time.

To check this dangerous practice, Macrinus enacted, that such informers as could not by reasonable proof substantiate their allegations should be put to death; and that those who did produce sufficient evidence, should receive, indeed, the pecuniary reward

A. D. 218. usually allowed in such cases, but that, in return, they should be branded with perpetual infamy. The effects of this rule were very soon apparent in the mutual confidence and safety of all ranks of the people. Peace and tranquillity, says Herodian, reigned throughout the empire; and the citizens, who in the time of Caracalla saw a naked sword continually suspended over their heads, enjoyed under his successor the inestimable blessing of personal security. It is, therefore, to be presumed, that if this emperor had been endowed with an ordinary degree of courage and military talent, his administration would have proved exceedingly popular; but his marked deficiency in nearly all the qualities which make a soldier, brought him into contempt with those who placed him on the throne, while his attempt to restrict their privileges and diminish their pay, turned decidedly against him the only power which could have perpetuated his reign.[1]



Heliogabalus.

SECTION III.

MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS HELIOGABALUS.

FROM MAY 16, A. D. 218, TO A.D. 222.

THE combined army having voted their allegiance to the new Antoninus, solicited, as their reward, a full permission to plunder Antioch, the capital of the Syrian provinces. Unwilling that the beginning of his reign should be disgraced by an act of violence and perfidy against a city which had not given him any real cause of offence, he purchased its redemption from the hands of his own followers, at the price of two thousand sesterces to every individual soldier.[2]

[1] Capitol. in Macrin. c. xiii.; Lamprid. in Diadumen. c. v.–viii.

[2] Dion Cassius, Epitom. Xiphil. lib. lxxix.; Herodian, lib. v.

It has been justly observed, that history affords no example which A. D. 218.
can show more impressively the numerous evils inseparable from a military domination than the election of Heliogabalus to the throne of the Cæsars. A child not more than fourteen years of age, a Syrian by birth, and whose strongest recommendation was his supposed relationship to one of the worst sovereigns that ever existed, was, by the unbounded licentiousness of the soldiers, placed at the head of the Roman empire, and thereby had committed to his charge the most important section of the habitable globe. The results which followed demonstrated the imprudence of the choice. The young emperor soon showed himself such a monster of wickedness, that even at the present day his name conveys to the mind of the reader those gross conceptions of voluptuousness, extravagance, and cruelty, which we find it difficult to express in words, and which the modern historian would rather allude to than describe, even in the most guarded language.

Indications of his fierce and artful temper.

The passions assumed at an early period the complete mastery of this prince's mind. In the first letter which he wrote to the senate from Antioch, he gave utterance to the strong feelings of malignity which inflamed his heart against the memory of Macrinus, whom he loaded with every species of abuse and invective. He put to death, at the same time, every person of rank or influence in Syria who was supposed to have been attached to that unfortunate ruler; and he even sent private orders to Rome to despatch several individuals whose names alone were known to him, merely because they had been faithful in the discharge of their duties towards their late master. Meanwhile his letters to the counsellors of the nation were filled with profe sions of affection and respect, and of his unalterable love for the virtuous part of mankind. He declared that the examples of Augustus and Marcus Aurelius should ever be the model of his government at home and abroad. He took pleasure in drawing the attention of the patricians to the resemblance between his own age and fortunes, and those of the first Roman emperor, who in early youth revenged, by a successful war, the murder of his father. The name and style indeed which he adopted, indicating that he was the son of Antoninus Caracalla and grandson of Severus, asserted his hereditary right to the empire; but he gave still greater offence to the senate by assuming, without their concurrence, the proconsular and tribunitial powers; a stretch of prerogative which the boldest of his predecessors had not dared to exercise, and proving either his ignorance of the constitution which he had bound himself to protect, or his contempt for the illustrious persons by whom it was usually administered.

The first months of his reign were disturbed by rumours of intrigue and conspiracy. The example afforded by his own elevation gave ground for hope to many individuals who would not otherwise have

A. D. 218. Conspiracies against the new emperor; his cruelty.

aspired to supreme power. It could be no longer concealed, that the gift of the crown was in the hand of the soldiers; and, also, that no one had reason to despair of obtaining that splendid but fatal prize, who had sufficient resolution to ask, and presumption enough to promise. Dion Cassius mentions no fewer than five attempts of this nature, made by men of no importance in the state or influence in the army. Suspicions, at the same time, were not unnaturally directed towards others who might have disputed the government of a boy, had their inclinations led them to covet the imperial purple; and several individuals of senatorial rank accordingly fell under the sword of the executioner, merely because their power was supposed to render them dangerous. Silvius Messala and Pomponius Bassus were condemned to die, on the sole ground that their general principles were likely to create in their minds disaffection to the young emperor, or a desire, perhaps, to restrain the excesses of his tyranny.[1]

Murder of Gannys.

But the determination of the prince to admit no rival, and to endure no control, was soon rendered manifest by a very atrocious murder. Gannys, who was the instructor of his infancy, and the most active instrument of his elevation to the throne, excited, by his zeal for the public welfare, the wrath of his peevish and ungrateful pupil. Assiduous himself as a minister, and vigilant as a military chief, he exhorted Heliogabalus to attend to the business of the state, and to regulate his conduct by the rules of justice and moderation. The worthless youth, insensible to every generous emotion, plunged his dagger into the heart of his best friend, and commanded some soldiers who stood by to complete the assassination which himself had begun. Even his mother and grandmother narrowly escaped the effects of his resentment, when they ventured to remonstrate with him on his absurd and pernicious conduct. He devoted himself entirely to a miscreant, whose name was Eutychianus, originally a buffoon in the circus, and who, to the frivolity which belonged to his profession, added a thorough acquaintance with every form of vice. This wretch, to the great scandal of virtue and propriety, was raised to the high rank of Prætorian præfect, assumed by the emperor as his colleague in the consulship, and three times appointed governor of Rome.[2]

Effeminacy of the prince.

The young priest of the sun, ignorant or regardless of the manners of the country which he had undertaken to govern, continued to wear the splendid but fantastic dress which distinguished him as a Syrian pontiff. Julia Mæsa, whose quick sense of decorum suggested the fatal consequences that would arise from insulting the eyes of the Romans with such vestments, alike unbecoming the dignity of a man and the gravity of an emperor, entreated him to lay them aside before

[1] Dion Cassius, apud Vales. p. 761; Lamprid. in Heliogab. c. iii. iv.; Herodian. lib. v. p. 560–568.

[2] Herodian. lib. v. p. 567; Dion Cassius, p. 368, 369.

he should enter the capital of the western world. He admitted the justness of the remarks which were thus addressed to him, but instead of complying with the advice which was founded upon them, he proposed an expedient whereby all the disadvantages which his grandmother anticipated would, he thought, be entirely precluded. He gave orders that a picture of himself at full length should be executed, in the sacerdotal robe and ornaments, and associated with a representation of the god to whom his services were consecrated. He was accordingly drawn in robes of silk and gold, after the loose, flowing fashion of the Medes and Phœnicians: his head was covered with a lofty tiara, and his numerous collars and bracelets were adorned with gems of an inestimable value. His eyebrows were tinged with black, and his cheeks painted with an artificial red and white. This picture he sent to Rome, with orders to hang it up in the most conspicuous part of the senate-house, over the statue of Victory, that the senators might present to it, as they entered, libations of wine, and offerings of frankincense.[1] A. D. 219.

Introduces the worship of the sun, and officiates in person.

The solar orb was worshipped at Emesa under the form of a black conical stone, or aërolite, which it was maintained had fallen from heaven on the spot where the temple stood. As the son of Soæmis ascribed to this deity his elevation to the throne of the Cæsars, he lavished upon the expressions of his superstitious gratitude the wealth and time which ought to have been devoted to the prosperity of his people. He determined to establish the worship of his favourite idol upon the ruins of every other religion; and for this purpose he removed to the temple which he built for him on Mount Palatine, all the sacred relics and emblems of divine things which were employed by the Romans in the service of their principal divinities. The famous Stone of Pessinus or Statue of Cybele, the Palladium, the Fire of Vesta, and the Shield of Numa, were all deposited in the fane of Heliogabalus. To these he meant to add the religious ceremonies of the Jews, and even the rites of Christianity, in order that the magnificent superstition of Syria, now transported to the capital of the greatest nation upon earth, might comprehend and supersede all other forms of adoration.

In a solemn procession through the streets of Rome, the path was strewed with dust of gold; the black stone, set round with precious gems, was placed on a car drawn by six milk-white horses, richly caparisoned. The emperor himself held the reins until he reached the Palatine Mount, where sacrifices to the new god were celebrated with the utmost solemnity and boundless expense. The most costly wines, the most precious incense, and victims of extraordinary value, were consumed on the altar; while a chorus of Syrian damsels performed their lascivious dances to the sound of their native music, and the noblest persons in the state, clothed in long eastern robes, offi-

[1] Dion Cassius, Epitom. Xiphil. lib. lxxix.; Herodian. lib. v. p. 578.

A. D. 219. ciated in the meanest duties with outward gravity and inward resentment. The emperor himself, in his princely robes, danced in the presence of his tutelar divinity, moving, whenever he retired, with backward steps, that he might not fail in respect to the lord of heaven, nor forfeit the benefit of the celestial countenance.[1]

Celebrates the marriage of the sun and moon.

But the absurdity of the scene was not completed until a consort was chosen for this powerful god, and the union celebrated with suitable demonstrations of joy. The prince first thought of selecting Pallas, the patroness of wisdom and of war, as a proper wife for his divinity; but upon reflection, he rejected this idea, on the ground that a female so stern and active would not prove agreeable to the soft manners of his voluptuous master. He therefore fixed upon the moon, adored by the Phœnicians under the name of Astarte, and adopted by the people of Carthage as the goddess of their ancestors. Her statue was accordingly brought from the latter city to Rome, and with it, as a becoming marriage portion, all the wealth which had been collected in her temple. The emperor forthwith celebrated the nuptials of the two astronomical deities with the greatest possible magnificence; having issued orders to all the nations and cities which owned the sovereignty of the Cæsars, to send to the Capitol, on the day of the mystical wedding, offerings and gifts corresponding to the dignity of the celestial couple.

His shameful extravagance and luxury.

The luxury and extravagance of Heliogabalus have been a theme for declamation from the days of Lampridius down to the present times. The expense of his table, and the caprice which he manifested in the choice of his food, have exposed his memory to just contempt. A wasteful profusion supplied the place of taste and elegance. The invention of a sauce, or the composition of a new dish, conferred upon the fortunate artist a degree of fame which was denied to the highest eminence in the sciences, and to the most brilliant triumphs of literature. It is said, that he never ate fish but at a great distance from the sea; and then he took pleasure in distributing to the peasants of the inland country vast quantities of the rarest sorts, conveyed to him at an immense expense. We are assured, that not satisfied with having on his own table the most costly viands that imagination could suggest, he fed his dogs on the livers of geese, and his lions with peacocks and pheasants. Nor was his dress less extravagant than his board. He wore garments formed of cloth of gold, enriched with precious stones, so heavy that he himself could not refrain from remarking, that he almost sank under the weight of his magnificence. Even his shoes were adorned with jewels of the most exquisite workmanship. The pavement of the porticoes through which he passed, when about to mount his horse or step into his carriage, was strewed with the dust of gold or silver. His attendants imitated his luxury and applauded his spirit; and while he squandered away the treasures

[1] Dion Cassius, lib. lxxix.; Herodian. lib. v.; Lamprid. in Heliogab. c. iii.

of his people, they extolled him as more beneficent than Augustus, and more patriotic than Trajan.[1] A. D. 219.

His vices, we are inclined to believe, for the honour of human nature, have been somewhat exaggerated. Yet even if we confine our estimate of Heliogabalus to the public scenes which were displayed before the Roman people, and which have been attested by writers who had the best opportunity of ascertaining their truth, we must pronounce that their infamy surpasses that of any other age or country. His vices probably exaggerated.

The patience of the army, as well as that of the citizens, was at length exhausted. However small might be their reverence for virtue in the concerns of private life, the soldiers were ashamed to see the throne of Marcus Aurelius polluted by the studied vice of a Syrian voluptuary. To soothe public indignation, therefore, Julia Mæsa, whose powerful mind still retained a considerable influence over the passions of her dissolute grandson, suggested to him the expediency of adopting his cousin Alexianus, and of investing him with the rank of Cæsar. She reminded him that, as the priest of the sun, he had many serious duties to perform, which would necessarily withdraw his attention from secular affairs. She exhorted him, therefore, to assume a colleague, upon whom he might devolve the weight of all worldly concerns; securing thereby to himself at once an exemption from the troubles and cares of state, and all the splendour and enjoyment of imperial power. He adopts Alexander Severus,

The emperor, whose habits of thinking never led him to anticipate remote consequences, acceded without reserve to the proposal of his grandmother. Full of a scheme which promised to gratify his favourite inclinations, he repaired to the senate, accompanied by Mæsa and Soæmis, and declared that he had adopted Alexianus, and bestowed upon him the dignity of Cæsar. He assured his auditors, that the god in whose service he spent his days had inspired him with the patriotic resolution upon which he now acted; and that it was the pleasure of the same divinity that the young Cæsar should thenceforth be called Alexander, in compliment to the admiration of Caracalla for the Macedonian conqueror. By the act of adoption, accordingly, he communicated to the son of Mamæa not only the name just mentioned, but also that of Marcus Aurelius and Severus.[2] and raises him to the rank of Cæsar.

The opening virtues of Alexander, fostered and protected by the excellent discipline of his mother, soon made a deep impression on the love and respect of all orders of the people. Heliogabalus, who soon repented of the step which he had been induced to take, first tried to pervert his cousin, and failing in this, he next attempted to put an end to his life. He drove away from the palace all the masters who had been appointed to superintend his education; banishing some of them, and putting others to death. But the just indignation Repents, and wishes to degrade him;

[1] Lamprid. in Heliogab. c. xix.–xxiv.

[2] Lamprid. in Heliogab. c. xiii.; Herodian. lib. v.; Dion Cassius, lib. lxxix.

A. D. 220. of the public would not allow him to proceed farther; for when he sent orders to the senate and to the Prætorian guards to divest Alexander of the title and dignity which he had lately conferred upon him, the former body hesitated, and the latter rose in open rebellion. Apprehensive for the safety of the Cæsar, a party of the soldiers seized their arms, and rushed towards the imperial gardens, where it was understood that Heliogabalus was pursuing his pastimes, and waiting for the result of his machinations against his successor. The interposition of Antiochianus, one of the Prætorian præfects, saved on this occasion the life of the emperor. The enraged veterans retired to their camp, but not before they had received a promise that he would follow them thither, and give satisfaction to the army, as to his designs, and particularly with respect to the individuals who shared his counsels, and encouraged his folly.[1]

but is prevented by the Prætorians.

The son of Caracalla appeared among the Prætorians like a criminal before his judges. He acceded to all their demands; and when they insisted that he should remove from about his person the companions of his debauchery, the buffoons and charioteers, who disgraced the palace and heaped ignominy upon its master, he promised to comply; entreating, however, that they would exempt from this proscription his favourite minister Hierocles. The soldiers, softened by the tears of their prince, ceased to demand the death of that infamous minion; but they made known, at the same time, their firm determination to check or to punish all abuses in the government, by recommending to their præfects, in his own presence, not to permit him any longer to pursue the licentious life which he had hitherto led; to watch over the safety of the young Cæsar, whose preservation was dear to them; and, above all, not to allow the latter to be contaminated by the wicked society which crowded the rooms of the imperial dwelling.[2]

It was not to be expected that a reconciliation between two princes, founded on such a basis as that now described, could be either sincere or lasting. Accordingly, as soon as the terror of the guards passed away from before his eyes, Heliogabalus began once more to plot against the life of Alexander. To clear the scene for the miserable tragedy which he contemplated, he gave orders that all the senators should depart from Rome. In the next place, to try the temper of the soldiers, he caused a report to be circulated that the son of Mamæa was at the point of death. No sooner did this intelligence reach the camp, than the Prætorians, inflamed by the suspicion that the young prince must have been murdered, became quite outrageous, and declared that they would not perform any act of duty until they were assured of the safety of Alexander by his actual presence in their camp. The emperor was again forced to yield. Mounting a splendid car, adorned with jewels and precious stones, he presented himself

Insurrection of the Prætorians, and death of the emperor.

[1] Lamprid. in Heliogab. c. xiv.

[2] Ibid. c. xvi. xvii.; Herodian. lib. v.; Dion Cassius, lib. lxxx.

before his mutinous guards, accompanied by his popular cousin; but finding that while he himself was received with the utmost coldness and even contempt, the sight of his colleague drew forth acclamations which rent the air, he lost command of his temper so far as to order the punishment of the more zealous among the disaffected Prætorians. This injunction was the signal for a general revolt. Heliogabalus fled, and even attempted to conceal himself; but he was soon discovered, put to death by the indignant soldiers, dragged through the streets of the city, and finally thrown into the mud of the Tiber. His mother, as well as the ministers of his tyranny and vice, shared the same fate. The senate decreed that the name of this emperor should be erased from their annals, and condemned to eternal infamy; a sentence which has been so faithfully executed, that no historian speaks of him by the appellation which he himself assumed, but always by some insulting allusion to the worst parts of his character, or to his tragical end. A. D. 222.



A Roman Banquet.—*Bartolo Admiranda Romanorum Antiquitatum.*



Alexander Severus.

CHAPTER XII.

MARCUS AURELIUS ALEXANDER SEVERUS.

FROM A. D. 222 TO A. D. 235.

March 11, A. D. 222.

THE accession of Alexander restored for a time the credit of the Roman name, and the confidence of all classes of the people. Guided by the wise counsel of his mother, he waited until the senate conferred upon him the titles of sovereignty before he presumed to exercise any of its powers; and being still in very early youth, he consented to the appointment of a regency, consisting of sixteen of the gravest and most illustrious of the senators, without whose advice no measure of any importance was adopted. It has been remarked, too, of this virtuous prince, that he resolutely refused to assume the name of Antoninus; alleging, that as he could not hope to equal the renown of so great an emperor, he wished to avoid the disadvantage of a direct comparison. But the true reason, it is probable, was founded on a determination to disclaim the ambiguous honour of being the son of Caracalla; a distinction which Julia Mæsa thought proper to insinuate in his behalf, influenced rather by her own ambitious views, than by a regard to her daughter's matrimonial reputation.[1]

Purifies the religious rites of the country.

The first cares of the new government were directed to the purification of such temples as had been polluted by the foreign worship, introduced into Rome by the imperial priest of Emesa. Attention was next bestowed upon the character and qualifications of those who had been raised to public employments during the late reign; many of whom were found unworthy to retain their offices, and

[1] Herodian. lib. vi.; Lamprid. in Alex. Sever. c. i.

were accordingly compelled to give way to men of ability and good principles. Eloquence, skill in the law, and the love of justice, became the only recommendations to civil preferment; while valour, experience, and regard to discipline, opened the path to promotion in the army. A. D. 222.

The death of Mæsa, which took place soon after her grandson mounted the throne, left to Mamæa an undivided influence in public affairs. With the celebrated Ulpian at the head of her council of state, she conducted the administration with not less integrity than judgment, and gave much satisfaction not only to the citizens, who were delighted with the peace and security to which they had been a long time strangers, but even to the soldiers, whose best feelings were gratified with the prosperity of their country. But her greatest anxiety was devoted to the right education of her son, upon whose temper and dispositions, she well knew, the ultimate success of all her labours must have its chief dependence. She regarded it as her first duty to watch over the morals of the young prince, that his innocence might not be corrupted. The fatal example presented in the history of her nephew's miserable reign, made a deep impression upon her mind; for which reason, she suffered no one to approach her son whose character was in the slightest degree suspected. An exalted understanding soon convinced Alexander of the advantages of virtue, the pleasures of knowledge, and the necesssity of labour; while a natural mildness and moderation of temper, preserved him from the assaults of passion and the allurements of vice. Thus Mamæa found, what is not always to be expected in the character of a young prince, a ready and active co-operation with all her endeavours to promote in his mind the love of learning, and the power of self-command.[1] Wise conduct of Mamæa, and care of her son's education.

The character of Alexander presented so many points worthy of praise, that the writer of his life in the Augustan History exhausts all his powers of description in the attempt to do it justice. Herodian contents himself with saying, that this emperor never shed the blood of an innocent person, and never allowed even a criminal to be put to death until after a regular trial and formal sentence. After the horrible tyranny to which the Romans had been subjected, during which the life of the most illustrious men in the state was at the mercy of a malignant informer or a suspicious despot, the prudent clemency of the second Severus must, no doubt, have appeared deserving of the eulogy which the historian has pronounced upon it. But not to be cruel or unjust is only to be negatively good, and, in all ordinary cases, rather exempts a sovereign from blame than entitles him to praise. Lampridius, accordingly, proceeding on this view, collects in his biography of Alexander a thousand minute circumstances which illustrate his diligence in business, his love of Character of Alexander, from Herodian and Lampridius.

[1] Lamprid. in Alex. Sever. c. iii.; Dion Cassius, lib. lxxx.

A. D. 222 to A. D. 228.

equity, his merciful disposition, his self-denial, and the habitual command which he exercised over all the strong passions. He paints him as a mild, amiable, and compassionate prince, accessible to good counsel, and always more inclined to confer benefits upon others than to secure to himself the enjoyment of pleasure, or an exemption from toil. His doors were ever open to every one who wished to approach him. No guard surrounded his person, or obstructed the entrance to his palace. He discouraged all adulation, and the use of pompous titles, on the part of those who had occasion to address him; forbidding expressly every free-born Roman to continue the practice, introduced by former emperors, of falling upon the earth when introduced into his presence.

Mildness of his temper,

Mildness and gentleness were, indeed, so strongly imprinted in the heart of Alexander, that his biographer has bestowed upon him the enviable character of never suffering a single day to pass in which he did not perform some act of kindness or humanity. He is said to have expressed great veneration for the Christian precept, of doing unto others as we should wish that they would do unto us; to have caused it to be engraved in large letters in several parts of his palace, and even to have placed it as an inscription on several other public buildings: and when any criminal was about to be executed for violating those laws in particular which protect the peace of society, he gave orders to the public crier to proclaim aloud the same sentence, as a reason for the punishment which justice demanded. It is added, that he made the rule now mentioned the guide of his personal conduct; being always ready not only to forgive an offence directed against himself, but even to conquer malice by deeds of generosity.[1]

and true patriotism.

There are proofs of great wisdom as well as of benevolence in the arrangements which Alexander made for the benefit of the poor and the unfortunate. He advanced money at a moderate interest, which he exacted or not, according to circumstances, from the fruits of the labour which he had set in motion. He gave grants of land, and even of slaves and cattle to cultivate it; reserving to the national exchequer a claim upon part of the produce, which, however, was used rather as a pretext for stimulating the industry of the individuals whom he had relieved, than for securing a stated remuneration. But his patriotism and good sense shone with the greatest lustre in the distribution of public employments. He never looked upon the disposal of an office in the army or in the civil departments of the government as a favour which he could bestow, but as a solemn duty with the obligations of which he could not dispense. To obtain a trust under his administration, therefore, it was first necessary to merit the esteem of the country.[2]

[1] Lamprid. in Alex. Sever. c. iv.–xv.

[2] Herodian. lib. vi.; Lamprid. in Alex. Sever. c. xvii.–xxi.; Dion Cassius, lib. lxxx.

A. D. 222 to A. D. 228.

Honours bestowed on virtue and talent.

Lampridius mentions a circumstance which cannot be read without interest. The emperor, he informs us, was so great a lover of virtue, that he not only honoured it in the living, but did all in his power to commemorate its happy effects in the men of former ages. He collected in Trajan's Square the statues of all the deified sovereigns of Rome, as, also, of the more celebrated commanders who had distinguished themselves and served their country; adorning them with inscriptions which set forth their exploits and prominent qualities. He had likewise in his palace two chapels, in which the principal objects of his veneration were ranged in two classes; the one being dedicated to virtue, the other to eminent abilities. In the former were placed good monarchs, among whom he thought proper to rank Alexander the Great; and next to them, wise men or sages, by whose precepts the world had been enlightened and improved, including Abraham, Orpheus, Apollonius Tyanæus, and Jesus Christ.[1] In the latter were military heroes, and persons conspicuous in the republic of letters, such as Achilles, Cicero, Virgil, which last he usually called the Plato of the poets. In each of these shrines he offered sacrifice every day; confirming thereby his good resolutions with the remembrance of departed excellence, and giving vigour to his motives by perpetuating the fame of good and great actions.

His various pursuits.

The greater part of his mornings was devoted to the despatch of business with his ministers; for which purpose he rose even before it was light, and spent several hours together in this occupation without showing any symptoms of uneasiness or fatigue. A countenance always placid and serene, and an invariable sweetness of temper, rendered such labour easy to himself and pleasant to others. After this he allotted some time to reading and amusement. His favourite authors were those whose names have been already mentioned. To the exercises of the mind succeeded those of the body; and to promote health and relaxation, Alexander engaged in the gymnastic arts which were most valued among his contemporaries, running, wrestling, and throwing the quoit. After the bath, and a slight repast, he returned once more to business, when surrounded by the officers of his establishment, he read letters, examined petitions, and corrected despatches, till the approach of evening. Nor was it before these important duties were discharged, that he opened the gates of his palace to the nobility, who went to pay visits of compliment, or to share in the entertainments with which the day was usually closed. A temperate meal, with instructive conversation, afforded to the graver class of the senators the most agreeable pastime; while plays, or the declamations of orators and of poets, who were invited to read their works, supplied that variety of amusement which suited the diversity of ages and of taste.

[1] Christum, Abraham, et Orpheum, et hujusmodi ceteros habebat, ac majorum effigies, rem divinam faciebat.—Lamprid. in Alex. Sever. c. xxix.

A. D. 222 to A. D. 228.

His learning, and love for the arts.

A life so regulated could not fail to be distinguished by knowledge as well as by virtue; and we accordingly find that Alexander had the reputation of learning and of many accomplishments. From his Syrian extraction, we are not surprised to find that he spoke Greek more fluently than Latin, and that he gave a decided preference to the former language. He composed verses in both tongues with so much facility, that he is said to have written in poetry the lives of the good emperors. He understood geometry and music, and was even master of several instruments, on which, however, he never played except in private. Lampridius, who charges him with an unbecoming anxiety respecting his fame, accuses him of showing too much deference to learned men, and of regarding them as the arbiters of his reputation, of which, it is acknowledged, he was extremely jealous. He granted pensions, it is true, to the professors of the several sciences and arts, built schools and endowed them liberally; but as his patronage was extended to all classes of ingenious men whose labours promised to adorn or benefit society, there is reason to believe that he was influenced not less by disinterested patriotism than by a selfish regard to his own posthumous celebrity.

Accused of undue deference to his mother.

The worst enemies of Alexander have not assailed his memory with any crime more heinous than that of yielding a little too far to the caprice and avarice of his mother, whom Lampridius describes as an excellent woman, but covetous.[1] He is reported to have connived at her rapacity, when, perhaps, he was unable to check it. But Herodian relates an occurrence which, if true, convicts the prince of a degree of obsequiousness not quite consistent with the general excellence of his character. He informs us, that Mamæa, after consenting that her son should marry the daughter of a patrician, became jealous of the influence to which the young empress very naturally attained, and plotted her ruin. Her resentment could not be appeased until she had expelled the wife of Alexander from the palace, and banished her into Africa, and finally brought down upon the father, who complained of the injuries inflicted upon his child, the punishment of a traitor or rebel. The same writer, who is throughout very unfriendly to the reputation of this emperor, assures his readers that Alexander remained a passive spectator of a scene which ought to have interested him the most deeply; that fear of his mother shut his mouth; and that he permitted, with a degree of patience which would have disgraced a simpleton, a transaction which the laws of justice and humanity equally called upon him to prevent.

The account given by Lampridius of this affair is considerably different, and more creditable to the feelings of the prince. He relates, that the father-in-law of the emperor, loaded with dignities and honours which his connection with the throne enabled him to procure, entertained a criminal design against the government; and

[1] Mulier sancta, sed avara, et auri et argenti cupida.—C. xiv.

that it was in consequence of a discovery affecting at once his loyalty and his gratitude, that the ministers of the crown insisted upon his death and the repudiation of his daughter. It is impossible, indeed, to determine whether the malice of Herodian or the credulity of Lampridius is more deserving of credit; but the unquestionable authority of Dion Cassius removes all doubt as to the fact, that Mamæa showed towards the wife of her son a degree of jealousy and hatred for which the public eye could not discover any just cause.[1] A. D. 222 to A. D. 228.

His success in reforming civil affairs.

In the administration of civil affairs, the sedulous attention and pure motives of Alexander secured the exercise of justice and the restoration of confidence. His choice, too, of wise connsellors contributed much to the tranquillity of the empire; for public burdens were everywhere imposed with moderation and exacted with lenity. The provinces, relieved from the taxes which had been drawn from them by the two preceding emperors, flourished in peace and prosperity under the administration of magistrates who were convinced by experience, that to deserve the love of his subjects was the only method of obtaining the favour of the sovereign. By the judicious economy of the emperor, the price of provisions and the interest of money were kept within moderate limits. Dignity, freedom, and authority were restored to the senate; and in every department of the state except one, the powers inherent in the empire were firmly directed to the confirmation and perpetuity of the renovated order of things. The army did not sympathise with the great body of the people in the love of peace, and in the administration of equal laws; while their turbulent spirit, confirmed by long impunity, rendered them impatient of the restraints of discipline, and utterly regardless of the public welfare if opposed to their boundless pretensions.[2]

Seditious spirit of the army, and murder of Ulpian.

Domitius Ulpianus, the disciple of the great Papinianus, and tutor to the infancy of the reigning prince, was elevated by his grateful pupil to the rank of Prætorian præfect. The fame of Ulpian as a jurist has reached even to our own times, but he did not display in the camp the same commanding powers which raised his reputation in the senate, and in courts of justice. His vigilance, as well as his avowed intention to introduce among them certain reforms, gave great offence to the soldiers, who in return assailed his ears with seditious language, and on several occasions proceeded so far as to threaten his life. The emperor frequently interposed for his preservation, and by presenting his own body to the swords of the angry Prætorians, saved that of his faithful minister from mortal wounds. But at length their fury burst through all restraint; and pursuing the unfortunate præfect to the palace, they murdered him at the feet of his master. Encouraged by their success, which Alexander had not the firmness or the power to punish, they resolved to despatch in

[1] Dion Cassius, lib. lxxx.; Lamprid. in Alex. Sever. c. xlix.; Herod. lib. vi.
[2] Lamprid. in Alex. Sever. c. xxi. xxii.

A. D. 222 to A. D. 228.

like manner the celebrated historian Dion Cassius. This officer was just returned from his government in Upper Pannonia, where he had found means to bring the troops under his command to a proper sense of their duty, and to make them respect the authority of their superiors. It was the apprehension that this example might be extended to themselves also, which excited the wrath of the guards against the Pannonian governor, and rendered them clamorous for his head. But Alexander, so far from listening to their barbarous demand, conferred upon Dion the honour of a second consulate; an act of firmness, however, in which he did not persevere, for he soon afterwards deemed it expedient to advise the consul to retire from the neighbourhood of Rome, and finally into Asia Minor, his native country, to spend the remainder of his days at a distance from the mutinous Prætorians.[1]

Danger of Dion Cassius.

Undecided conduct of the emperor.

These facts leave no doubt upon the mind of the reader, that the emperor did not feel his power or his resolution equal to the object which he was so desirous to accomplish,—the reformation of the military order. This impression is still further confirmed by the indirect method which he was compelled to adopt for the punishment of Epagathus, the principal author of the sedition which ended in the murder of Ulpian. He removed him from Italy to Egypt, under the pretext of giving him a command in the latter country; from whence he was, in due time, brought back to Crete, where he paid the penalty due to his crime.

But that it was the want of power and not of courage to which we must ascribe the failure of Alexander in the case of the Prætorians, is rendered manifest by his conduct on other occasions. When the troops were in the field, he never suffered either officers or soldiers to quit their standard to gratify their love of plunder or private revenge. On the contrary, he punished every such breach of discipline with marked severity: and on one occasion, when a farrier destroyed the property of an old woman, and thereby deprived her of the means of obtaining a livelihood, he condemned the man to be her slave, and to labour for her maintenance as long as she should live.

His firmness on a memorable occasion.

There is on record a still more remarkable instance of his coolness and determination. When at Antioch, preparing for his expedition against the Persians, he found it necessary to chastise the immorality of a certain number of the men belonging to a particular legion. The cohorts became mutinous, and demanded back their comrades with seditious cries. Alexander ascended the tribunal, ordered the prisoners to be brought before him loaded with chains, and then addressed the riotous legionaries in the following terms:—"Fellow-soldiers!—for such I am still willing to call you, because I make no doubt that you heartily disapprove the conduct of those individuals who have incurred my displeasure—you cannot fail to know that it is

[1] Dion Cassius, lib. lxxx.

the discipline of our ancestors which has hitherto preserved the power and glory of the commonwealth, and that without this support the Roman empire and name must infallibly perish. Your companions have been guilty of great irregularities, alike disgraceful to themselves, and fatal to the success and reputation of our arms. Never will I suffer the infamous disorders which prevailed during the reign of my predecessor, that monster of impurity, to be revived while I am on the throne. The death of the offenders shall expiate their crime!" A. D. 222 to A. D. 228.

At these words, the clamours of the legion interrupted his mild expostulation. "Forbear that noise!" he exclaimed; "such outcries may be suitable enough in the field of battle, but they become you not when listening to your emperor. Preserve your warlike shouts until you be in the presence of the Germans, the Persians, and the Sarmatians, but use them not against him who bestows upon you the food, the clothing, and the riches of the provinces. Be silent, that I may not find it necessary to reduce you all at once from the rank of soldiers to the condition of private citizens, if indeed those be worthy of that honoured name who wantonly violate the most sacred laws of our country." This threatening inflamed the resentment of the mutineers to a still higher pitch. Their murmurs were louder, and expressed more audaciously: they even proceeded so far as to brandish their arms. Alexander, still unintimidated, resumed his address. "Those weapons," said he, "were given you to be employed against the enemies of Rome; prove them in that service, if ye be men of true courage. Your menaces have no effect upon me. In taking my life, you will remove but one individual, whom the republic can well spare. Our country will still remain identified with the exertions of the senate and Roman people, and the hand of national justice will not fail to avenge its own cause." The seditious legion became now more outrageous than ever; upon which the emperor, who seems to have been prepared for all extremities, pronounced the decisive sentence, "Citizens! lay down your arms, and depart from a camp which no longer acknowledges you."[1]

The success which attended it.

The voice fell on their ears like thunder, and it was instantly obeyed. Those very men who had so obstinately opposed the punishment of their comrades, quietly submitted to the punishment which was inflicted upon themselves. They forthwith laid down their arms and other military accoutrements, and, instead of returning to the camp, sought a temporary lodging in private houses. Nay, what is more, they entreated Alexander in the most humble manner to embody them once more as a legion, and to afford them an opportunity of proving their repentance, and recovering their character as

[1] Deponite dextras, contra hostem erigendas, si fortes estis: me enim ista non terrent. Si enim unum hominum occideritis, non nobis deerit Respublica, non Senatus, non Populus Romanus qui me de vobis vindicet. Quirites, discedite, atque arma deponite.—Lamprid. in Alex. Sever. c. liv.

A. D. 229. soldiers. At the end of thirty days he granted their petition, but not before he had punished with death those tribunes by whose neglect or instigation the mutiny had been excited: and it is worthy of remark, that the legion which was thus broken and restored. was ever afterwards greatly attached to the emperor, served him faithfully while living, and revenged him when dead.

But Alexander, generally speaking, had recourse to more gentle means for gaining the affections of his troops. It was with him a standing maxim, that military discipline could not be effectually supported unless the men were well fed, suitably clothed and armed, and even somewhat at ease in their general circumstances.[1] For this reason, he not only vindicated the rights of the private soldiers with the most severe exactness, punishing every officer who attempted to infringe their privileges or diminish their dues; but he also devised means for lessening their fatigue on the march, for alleviating their sufferings when sick or wounded, and for securing to them a comfortable retirement at the end of their services. He relaxed the ancient rule by which every man was obliged to carry on his shoulders seventeen days' provisions. Ample magazines were formed along the public roads within the boundaries of the empire; and as soon as they entered an enemy's country, they were supplied with mules, or other beasts of burden, to carry their baggage. Besides, the emperor was always ready to share whatever labours he imposed upon his followers. He solaced their privations, and praised their exertions; and, in a word, he embraced every occasion of expressing his warmest regard for a body of men, whose welfare he was pleased to describe as being closely connected with that of the whole empire. His endeavours, indeed, to restore discipline and subordination were not attended with the success which they deserved; and though, in the latter part of his reign, neither his prudence nor his courage could be questioned, he at length fell a victim to the turbulent and licentious spirit which he had in vain attempted to subdue.

He prepares for an eastern war.

A. D. 229.

But the course of events calls us from the consideration of private character and domestic arrangements to follow him into the east, where, about the tenth year of his reign, he conducted a successful war against the Persians. There are, indeed, in the Augustan History, obscure hints of hostile movements, said to have taken place at an earlier period, among the barbarians of the northern frontiers; and we find allusions to triumphs which on several occasions are imagined to have crowned the arms of the imperial lieutenants. But it does not appear that Alexander took the field in person until the dignity of the empire was insulted, and its Asiatic provinces

[1] Nec exercitum unquam timuerit, idcirco, quod in vitam suam nihil dici posset, quod unquam Tribuni vel duces de stipendiis militum quidquam accessissent: dicens, Miles non timet, nisi vestitus, armatus, calceatus, et satur, et habens aliquid in zonula.—Lamprid. in Alex. Sever. c. lii.

endangered by the pretensions of Artaxerxes, the new sovereign of Persia. A. D. 230.

State of Parthia, and the renovation of the Persian empire.

The reader of ancient history requires not to be informed, that the Parthians, under the command of their celebrated prince Arsaces, rose, about two centuries and a half before Christ, to the sovereignty of those fine countries which are watered by the Tigris and Euphrates; and also that, governed by a dynasty of kings who perpetuated the name of their founder, they maintained an undisputed ascendency in that part of Asia during the long period of nearly five hundred years. Artabanes, the last monarch of the house of the Arsacidæ, weakened his kingdom by a protracted civil war, waged with his brother for the occupation of the throne; and hence he found that he had no sooner suppressed all opposition at home, than he had to encounter the more formidable array of certain vassal princes, who were resolved to shake off his yoke.

This insurrection originated with the Persians, who at that time consented to be led by a spirited youth, distinguished by the title of Artaxerxes, which he had probably assumed, and still more by the honour of founding the royal family of the Sassanides, which governed Persia from the days of Alexander Severus down to the era of the Mohammedan conquest. The birth of this adventurer, as is usual in oriental tradition, is darkly clouded with fable. He was the son of a soldier, whose name was Sassan, by the wife of a shoemaker, who being very learned in astrology, was thereby enabled to foresee that the descendants of his military neighbour were to acquire great fame and power, coveted for his spouse the honour of giving birth to the first of such a favoured race, and accordingly handed her over to the father of Artaxerxes. But whatever might be his extraction, there seems to be no doubt that he was the means of rousing the Persians to a sense of their degradation, as the tributaries of a people whom their ancestors despised. Recalling to their recollection the glories of Cyrus, and the long succession of kings which they had given to Asia, he induced them to rise against Artabanes, whose arms and treasures, he reminded them, were no longer in a condition to resist their efforts to recover their just independence. In three battles he so completely defeated the Parthians, that he forthwith transferred to the sceptre of Persia the authority of which it had been so long deprived, and invested it once more with a paramount sway over all the nations of Western Asia.[1]

Artaxerxes attacks the Romans, who attempt to negotiate.

Encouraged by this brilliant success, he resolved to turn his arms immediately against the Romans. He advanced into Mesopotamia, threatened Syria, and even laid claim to the whole of Asia Minor; asserting that these countries had been conquered by Cyrus, and governed for centuries by Persian satraps, under the authority of the great king, whose glory, he added, he himself had in some measure retrieved,

[1] Herodian. lib. vi.; Lamprid. in Alex. Sever. c. l. lv.

A. D. 230. and whose territories he was determined to repossess. When intelligence of the Parthian revolution reached Rome, together with the pretensions founded upon it by the victorious rebel, the pacific government of Alexander was not a little disturbed. On all occasions the son of Mamæa was more inclined to have recourse to reason than to force. Herodian, indeed, takes pleasure in representing him as smitten with grief and consternation; shuddering at the fatigue and danger of so distant a war against so powerful an enemy. It is certain, that he sent ambassadors to the Persian chief, with the view of dissuading him from his projected invasion of the Roman provinces, by exhibiting the evils which must result from the conflict of two such mighty empires. He reminded him at the same time of the repeated victories which had been gained over the Parthians by Trajan, Severus, and other commanders, when the whole power of Persia was included in that of a single province of the great kingdom which owned the sovereignty of the Arsacidæ.

Artaxerxes, as might have been expected, paid no regard to these remonstrances. Haughty by nature, and elated with prosperity, he answered the embassy of Rome by the commencement of actual hostilities. He entered Mesopotamia with an increased armament, laid siege to its principal cities, routed some legions which he attacked in their separate camps, and gained a temporary possession of the whole country.

Alexander musters his army at Antioch,

The deliberations which preceded the departure of Alexander from his capital indicated, without doubt, that he regarded war in general as a great calamity, and looked forward to that upon which he was

A. D. 231. about to enter with the serious conviction, that before it could be brought to a close, much time and treasure, and many valuable lives, must be sacrificed to the ambition of an upstart. He levied, indeed, a powerful army, selected brave and skilful officers, and provided them with supplies adapted to the service in which they were to be employed. Still, he did not despair of obviating the necessity of a direct appeal to arms. When he arrived at Antioch, he despatched a second message to the Persian king, exhorting him to moderate his views, and listen to equitable terms of accommodation. He had hoped that his presence in Syria, at the head of a large army, might induce his rival to withdraw his pretensions, and retreat beyond the Tigris; but Artaxerxes, on the contrary, esteeming these repeated attempts to avoid a war as proofs of weakness or of fear, received every overture with scorn, and became more unreasonable in the conditions which he proposed. He returned an answer to the emperor by four hundred of his lords, magnificently dressed, armed with bows, and mounted upon fine horses—informing him, that the great king demanded that the Romans should without delay relinquish all Syria, as well as the countries situated between the sea of Cilicia, the Ægean sea, and the Euxine, as belonging to the ancient dominions of the Persians.

Alexander, finding that war could be no longer avoided, made his final preparations for carrying it on with vigour. As he had a numerous army, drawn from different nations, and trained to fight according to the various systems of tactics which at that time prevailed among the Romans, the Greeks, and the Asiatics, he was advised by the ablest generals who followed his banners to divide his followers into three great bodies, and to attack the Persian empire in three vital points at the same moment. One of these detachments was to cross Armenia, a country still in alliance with the Romans, and to pass from thence into Media; the second was to march southwards into the province of Susiana, and to ravage the capital of the rising empire, and the third or main division, with the emperor at its head, was to take the middle road through Mesopotamia, and at once to carry the weight of Alexander's vengeance into the heart of the enemy's hereditary dominions. The plan of the campaign likewise required that all the troops should afterwards meet at one point, and co-operate together for the final reduction of the Persian confederacy.[1]

A. D. 232.

He invades Persia.

In regard to the details of the actual warfare which ensued, we have as usual to reconcile as well as we can the conflicting statements of Herodian and Lampridius. The Greek historian insinuates, that the timidity of Alexander and the terrors of his mother retarded the progress of the main division of the army, and rendered useless the success of the other two, which were conducted with greater resolution. But whatever occurrences may have diversified the opening of the campaign, it is admitted on all hands, that the grand armies came at length to an engagement, in which the Romans gained a signal advantage. Artaxerxes is reported to have entered the field with seven hundred elephants, a thousand armed chariots, and a hundred and twenty thousand cavalry. The emperor is said to have displayed great firmness, skill, and the utmost contempt of death; moving from point to point with the coolness of an experienced commander, encouraging his men, and setting an example of every military excellence. The victory is described as having been most complete. In his address pronounced before the senate, Alexander stated, that, of the seven hundred elephants, the Romans had killed two hundred and taken three hundred; that they had captured a great many of the chariots, and put to flight sixscore thousand horse; that they had slain two thousand men armed in coats of mail, and made as many captives as would enrich by their ransoms the whole army which had been collected round the imperial standards at Antioch. "We have put to flight," says he, "Artaxerxes, denominated by the eastern world the great king, and who, if we measure his title by his power, is not unworthy of that distinction. He has retired, defeated and disgraced, into his native dominions; and the provinces which, in days not long gone by, saw our captive eagles carried in triumph by

He gains a signal victory, and obtains a triumph at Rome.

A. D. 232.

[1] Lamprid. in Alex. Sever. c. lv.; Herodian. lib. vi.; Aurel. Vict.

A. D. 233. an insulting conqueror, have recently witnessed the flight of that presumptuous chief, who left in our possession the national standard of his confederated tribes. Our soldiers return rich and happy. The benefits which have crowned their victory have made them forget the fatigue and peril with which it was purchased; and all that now remains is the duty of returning thanks to the gods, by whose favour our exertions have been rewarded with this triumphant issue."[1]

The Germans invade Gaul.

The triumph which was decreed to Alexander did not detain him long at Rome. He endured, indeed, the fatigue of the usual display, exhibited his prisoners, and set forth to public gaze the variety of his spoils. He conferred the accustomed largess on the military, and gratified the luxurious idleness of the citizens with games and theatrical amusements. He founded schools for the gratuitous education of the poorer classes, and dedicated them in honour of his mother, whose name they bore; but his chief attention, meanwhile, was directed to a rising storm on the frontiers of Germany and Gaul, which threatened to lay waste the fairest parts of Italy.

Alexander marches to the banks of the Rhine, A. D. 233.

Several of those fierce tribes which dwelt beyond the Rhine, taking advantage of his absence in the east, had invaded the Roman provinces on the south, and carried devastation into the very heart of Gaul. Alexander, accompanied by his mother, marched against them with a powerful host, consisting not only of the veteran legionaries who had just vanquished the Persian cavalry and bowmen, but also of Mauritanian slingers, Parthian archers, and other light troops selected from the provincial armies, who were prepared to assail the Germans with weapons more formidable to their massy columns than either spear or sword. No sooner had the emperor crossed the Alps than the enemy retired. Equally ready for peace or for war, he built a temporary bridge over the Rhine to command an entrance into their territory, and at the same time sent messengers to their chiefs, to induce them to listen to terms of accommodation. History has not preserved the tenour of their reply, but we may presume that they rejected his offers and defied his power; for it is clear that Alexander found it necessary to winter on the German frontiers, where he employed the interval in reforming the Gallic legions, and in attempting to revive among them the spirit of ancient discipline. These stubborn cohorts, long accustomed to unbounded licentiousness, opposed the patriotic designs of the emperor, and even became seditious; and the officers who were employed to second the efforts of their prince, instead of following up his instructions with firmness, listened to the complaints of the men, and studied to turn their disaffection to the furtherance of their personal ambition. Among these, Maximinus held a distinguished place. He was appointed to the command of the new levies, which he undertook to form after the model of the fine troops who under Severus had conquered the east and west.

[1] Lamprid. in Alex. Sever. c. lvi. lvii.

One day as he approached their lines to resume the usual exercises, the soldiers, either from a sudden impulse or a premeditated conspiracy, saluted him by the title of emperor, and urged him to complete their rebellion by the murder of Alexander. The catastrophe which followed is variously related.[1] Some writers assert that the son of Mamæa was assassinated in his tent, whither he had retired to enjoy a few hours of repose after dinner; while others maintain that he was pursued thither by the insurgents, who had openly declared for Maximinus. No doubt, however, exists as to the main fact, that he was murdered by the soldiers at the instigation of the commander just named; who to the number of his victims immediately added the empress, and the most faithful friends of her government. A system of proscription and cruelty ensued, which revived all the horrors of the evil days under Nero, Commodus, and Caracalla.

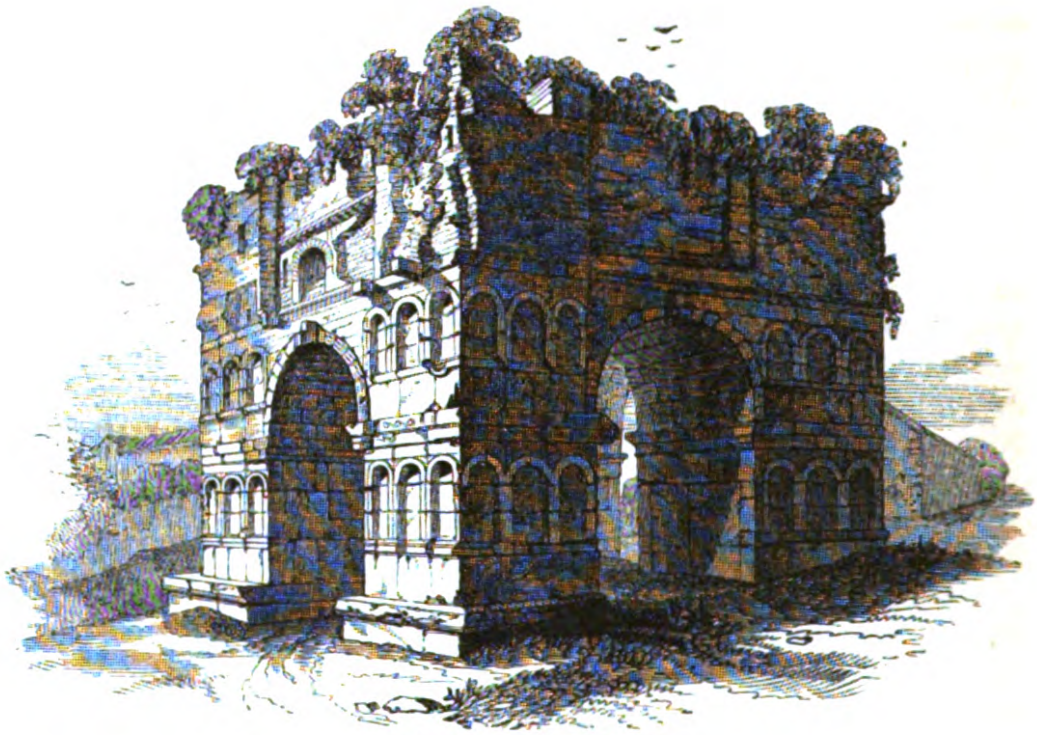
A. D. 235.

His assassination.

A. D. 235.

[1] Lamprid. in Alex. Sever. c. lix.; Herodian. lib. vi.; Capitol. in Maxim. c. vii.





Arch of Janus Quadrifons.

CHAPTER XIII.

ROMAN EMPERORS, FROM MAXIMINUS TO TACITUS AUGUSTUS.

FROM A. D. 235 TO A. D. 276.

CAIUS JULIUS VERUS MAXIMINUS.

FROM A. D. 235 TO A. D. 238.

A. D. 235. THE troubles which followed the mild reign of Alexander Severus have left a deep impression on the page of Roman history. Native authors have compared the change which took place at his death to the fabled transition from the golden age to that of iron; for the sceptre then passed from the hands of a gentle, pacific, and truly patriotic prince, into those of a cruel barbarian, who took pride to himself for governing the empire by means of terror and brutal force. The fury which he manifested against every person distinguished either by his birth or by his services to the state, soon exhausted, indeed, the endurance of the senate, and induced that illustrious body to supersede him by the appointment of men more worthy to rule; but so great was his interest with the army, as well as the means

which he possessed for carrying on war, that before he was expelled from the throne he triumphed over two competitors, who fell on the field of battle, and finally involved the other two in the effects of the catastrophe which closed his bloody career.[1] A. D. 235.

The personal history of Maximinus, while it presents some striking incidents as a separate narrative, tends to throw considerable light on the degraded condition of the civil authority at Rome, and on the complete ascendency which had been acquired by the military power in the provinces not less than in Italy. The adventurer now named appears to have been a native of Thrace, and is first noticed on an occasion of festivity, celebrated by Severus, when marching through that country, on his return from the east. During the military games which were given on the birth-day of Geta, the attention of the emperor was attracted by the boastful manner of a gigantic barbarian, who requested permission to contend for the prize of wrestling. Severus, unwilling to hazard the reputation of the soldiers in an unequal combat, sought an antagonist for Maximinus among the followers of the camp; and upon seeing him throw down sixteen of the stoutest without any effort or symptom of fatigue, he rewarded his success with some trifling ornaments of silver, and a request to enlist in the legions. Two days afterwards, when the emperor appeared among the troops, the young recruit placed himself in his way; when the former, either to rid himself of the freedoms which he apprehended on the part of the victorious wrestler, or to put his astonishing swiftness to the test, galloped off at full speed. Maximinus kept close at the horse's side, without any diminution of vigour or alacrity. "Thracian," said Severus, "would it not give you pleasure to have a bout of wrestling after your race?" "It would indeed," replied the indefatigable youth, and he forthwith cast to the ground seven of the strongest soldiers that were in the whole army. This feat was immediately acknowledged by the gift of a splendid gorget, and a place in the imperial guards.[2]

The early history of Maximinus.



Maximinus.

The stature of Maximinus is said to have exceeded eight feet. His strength, as we have seen, was in proportion to the magnitude of his body; and if we may believe the statement of Capitolinus, his appetite and powers of digestion were not less extraordinary. Forty pounds of flesh and seven gallons of wine supplied the materials of

Gigantic stature.

[1] Herodian. lib. vii.

[2] Capitol. in Maxim. c. ii. iii.

A. D. 235. his daily meals. Nor was his courage inferior to his prodigious physical energies. In his early youth, while occupied with the cares of a herdsman, he was chosen by his companions to take the command of their troop when employed against the robbers by whom their country was infested. The same qualities of coolness and resolution secured his promotion in the more regular service of the Roman armies; and accordingly we find, that in the reign of Caracalla he had risen to the respectable rank of centurion. Disgusted with the murder of this prince, he refused to serve under Macrinus; but retiring into his native province made a purchase of land, and devoted himself for a time to the arts of peace. The accession of Heliogabalus opened a path for his return to military life; and during the succeeding government of Alexander, he continued to rise in his favourite profession until at length he attained to the command of a legion, the personal friendship of the emperor, and the respect of the whole army.[1]

Aspires to the throne.

But his ambition did not fail to keep pace with his preferment, and even to outstrip all legitimate means for augmenting his fortunes. He cast his eye on the imperial throne; thinking it not too much that he who could wield the affections of the soldiers and train them to victory, should likewise have the power of remunerating their toils. Though a stranger to real wisdom, he was not devoid of that selfish cunning which can point out to the least instructed mind the proper occasion for pursuing its own interests. He saw that amidst the casualties of actual war, Alexander was gradually losing the hold which he had once possessed upon the reverence of the army. He improved this change of sentiment among the men, and endeavoured to inspire them with contempt for a prince whom he represented as a child still under the direction of his mother. By means of his emissaries he spread a report, which he knew would incense the veteran troops, in whom he reposed the greatest confidence, that Mamæa had prevailed upon her son to relinquish the German war altogether, and to march back the legions into Syria, her native country, where she might enjoy the ease and splendour to which she had been long accustomed, and which suited better with the female disposition than a dangerous encampment on the banks of the Rhine.[2]

Dissimulation on the death of Alexander.

The event has been already mentioned: Alexander and his mother were assassinated by the disaffected soldiers, and Maximinus was immediately saluted emperor. Some time passed, it is said, before the army in general was aware that the death of their late sovereign was attributable to the machinations of his successor. To conceal the share which he had in that atrocious crime, he affected to bewail the loss of a master so virtuous and gentle, and even to honour his memory with all the tokens of regard which friendship and the sense

[1] Capitol. in Maxim. c. iv.; Herodian. lib. vii.
[2] Capitol. in Maxim. c. vii.

of obligation are wont to confer upon departed worth. A magnificent sepulchre was erected in Gaul, and the royal ashes were conveyed to Rome with every mark of reverence and affection. A. D. 235.

But while the fierce Maximinus was thus amusing the grief of the better part of the army, he neglected no means for establishing the power to which his intrigues had raised him. He had a son, a young man of high promise in all the qualities which recommend a prince to the favour of a warlike people; handsome, accomplished, and brave. Him he forthwith invested with the rank and title of Cæsar, and placed at the head of the noble youths who had formed themselves into a body to study the arts, and acquire the habits of military life. He also wrote a submissive letter to the senate, entreating that they would confirm the election of the army; a boon which it was no longer in their power to refuse. He gave or promised a large donative to the soldiers, praised their loyalty, and held out to them the prospects of numerous triumphs in the war upon which they had just entered. Under various pretences, too, he dismissed from all employments near his person those individuals upon whose attachment he had not the fullest reliance. He sent into distant parts of the empire every one who had attracted the regard or merited the friendship of Alexander; or if there were any whom he suspected of cherishing in their minds a feeling of detestation for the treacherous cruelty by which that amiable prince had been cut off, he hesitated not to remove his fears and to gratify his revenge, by putting them to instant death. It is said, moreover, that he manifested the utmost impatience of the society of such officers as had witnessed his progress through the different ranks of the service, and were acquainted with the meanness of his origin. Though he depended on the affection of the soldiers, who really loved him for virtues like their own, he was conscious that his low birth, his rude manners, and his total ignorance of the arts and refinement of civilized life, formed a very unfavourable contrast with the high lineage and accomplished character of his predecessor. For this reason, he took away the lives of several distinguished men, who were chargeable with no other crime besides that of having known the emperor when a poor and savage Thracian, or of having relieved his wants and aided his promotion.[1] He gains the army.

A conspiracy, for the detection of which he gave honour to his own vigilance and penetration, supplied him with an opportunity of glutting his revenge against some of the noblest and most meritorious of his subjects. Magnus, a man of consular rank, was accused of having corrupted the fidelity of several soldiers and centurions, who were to kill Maximinus and raise himself to the throne. Whether such an intention was ever seriously entertained, no means have been left whereby to determine; for no persons were examined on the charge, no evidence was collected or recorded; the voice of the emperor His cruelties.

[1] Capitol. in Maxim. c. ix.

A. D. 236. alone declared that Magnus, with four thousand accomplices, had plotted against his life and government, and that the punishment of death must be inflicted upon every individual conspirator. Some of the unfortunate sufferers were crucified, others were sewed up in the hides of slaughtered animals, several were exposed to wild beasts, and many were beaten to death with clubs.[1]

Nor was his cruelty confined to the hour of domestic treason and danger. Even after a successful campaign in Germany, in which his vanity was flattered by numerous victories over the barbarians, he filled his camp with legal murders, and the whole empire with suspicion and alarm. He sent forth a host of spies, whom he incited to torment the people with false accusations. Occurrences which had slept in oblivion for more than a hundred years were revived by the ministers of his rapacity, in order to plunder the rich, or to punish the suspected. To be charged with an offence and to be found guilty were the same thing; for every one who was tried was sure to be condemned. Age and dignities were so far from being a protection, that on the slightest surmise of disloyalty, the greatest and most venerable persons in the state, even those who had commanded armies, governed provinces, and had enjoyed the consular and triumphal ornaments, were seized, thrown into close carriages, and hurried away, day and night, to the head-quarters of the tyrant, where, after enduring every species of contumely and outrage, they were usually put to death.

His severities produce a reaction, and dispose the troops to rebel.

The brutal ferocity of Maximinus realized on more than one occasion the very evils which he dreaded. A body of Osrhoënians, whom the late emperor had enlisted in the east, and carried with him into Gaul, upon learning that the life of their master had been sacrificed to the ambition of the Thracian peasant, conceived against the latter the most violent resentment, and resolved to avenge upon his person and interests the cause of their beloved prince. For this purpose they cast their eyes upon Titus Quartinus, an officer who had not only discharged the duties of consul, but had also attained a high place in the regard of Alexander, and him they invited to assume the purple. Aware of the fatal consequences which must attend such a step, he endeavoured to dissuade them from adopting it; but his refusal and his remonstrances made no impression, and they proceeded by main force to invest him with the usual ensigns of the imperial dignity. The result corresponded with the anticipations of the unfortunate senator; for at the end of six days a perfidious friend, who had used his utmost influence to prevail upon him to comply with the desire of the army, attacked him while he slept, and carried his head to Maximinus. The jealous emperor was pleased at obtaining so easy a deliverance from the danger with which he had been threatened; but reflecting that the individual to whose treachery he was indebted for it, had

[1] Capitol. in Maxim. c. x.

been active in fomenting the rebellion of the Asiatic auxiliaries, and judging besides that he could not put any confidence in a man who had betrayed the most sacred feelings of private life, gave orders that he should be instantly put to death.[1] A. D. 237.

He begins the war against the Germans, and gains repeated victories.

These occurrences did not in any degree relax his preparations for the war against the Germans. Having added considerably to the army which the son of Mamæa had collected on the Rhine, he crossed that river, and advanced to attack the barbarians in their forests and marshes. If the extent of his success were to be measured by his own estimate of his exploits, as transmitted to the senate, it could not be denied that he had, by his valour and skill, entirely eclipsed the fame of Julius Cæsar. "It is not in the power of language," said he, "to do justice to our achievements. We have laid waste forty miles of the country, swept away the flocks, taken multitudes of prisoners, and slain every man who carried arms. In a very short period, I have finished more wars than any hero of antiquity ever waged. The booty sent to Rome exceeds all expectation; and the soil of Italy could not supply room for the captives who have fallen into our hands.[2] To assist the comprehension of the senators, he ordered a picture to be executed, in which he himself was represented fighting up to the breast in a bog, and hewing down with his own hand some of the natives, whom he had pursued into that retreat. This piece of art was forwarded to Rome, and hung up in the senate-house; but it did not long insult the eyes of the descendants of Piso, of Lollius, and of Cornelius, for it was taken down and destroyed with the other monuments erected in honour of Maximinus, at the moment when they first resolved to oppose him in the field.

Extends his oppressions to the provinces, and occasions tumults.

The triumphs of which he boasted, however, afforded to the people of Rome no compensation for the numerous indignities and sufferings to which the most distinguished of their body were constantly subjected. As long, indeed, as the cruelty of Maximinus was confined to the illustrious senators, or even to such adventurers as, in the court or army, exposed themselves to the caprice of fortune, the mass of the citizens viewed his tyrannical measures with a less intense degree of sorrow or indignation. But his avarice, stimulated by the insatiable demands of the military, at length attacked the public property. It is well known, that every city of the empire was possessed of an independent revenue, set apart for the purchase of corn, and to supply the expenses of the games, and other public entertainments. By a single edict, unauthorized either by the senate or the people, this

[1] Capitol. in Maxim. c. xi.; Herodian. lib. vii.

[2] Non possumus tantum, Patres Conscripti, loqui, quantum fecimus. Per quadraginta millia Germanorum vicos incendimus, &c. Brevi tempore, tot bella gessi quot nemo veterum. Tantum prædæ in Romanum solum attuli quantum sperari non potuit. Tantum captivorum adduxi ut vix sola Romana sufficiant.—Capitol. in Maxim. c. xii. xiii.

A. D. 237. immense stock of wealth was confiscated for the use of the imperial treasury. The temples were stripped of their most valuable offerings of gold and silver; while the statues of gods, heroes, and emperors, were melted down, and coined into money. Such impious proceedings could not be effected without tumults and massacres; as in many places the inhabitants chose rather to die in defence of their altars, than to behold their religion exposed to the violation of war, by the hands of their own soldiers, who were bound to protect it.

His procurator in Africa slain, and an insurrection occasioned. March, A. D. 238.

A scene of this nature, which occurred in Africa, led to events which shook the throne of Maximinus. His procurator, who followed in a certain district of that country the destructive maxims upon which the general government was conducted, condemned several noble youths to the payment of a fine which must have exhausted the greater part of their estates. They petitioned for a delay of three days, to enable them to raise the sum which the iniquitous sentence of the judge had imposed upon them. But instead of collecting money, they assembled from their respective lands a large body of trusty slaves, whom they armed with clubs and axes, and other rustic weapons, which they instructed them to conceal under their garments until the moment of action should arrive. The chiefs of the conspiracy made their way into the presence of the procurator, as if to discharge the claims of their penalty, whom they immediately stabbed with their daggers, and then threw themselves upon the protection of their tumultuary train. The multitude soon oppressed the irresolute attempts of the soldiers, avowed their determination to throw off the intolerable yoke of the Thracian tyrant, and already mingled with their shouts of victory and defiance the name of their venerable proconsul, Marcus Antonius Gordianus.[1]

THE GORDIAN.

Gordianus chosen emperor. March, A. D. 238.

This distinguished senator belonged to one of the most illustrious families in Rome. By the father's side he was descended from the Gracchi, by the mother's from the Emperor Trajan; and his wife Fabia Orestilla, could boast the blood of the Antonini. His great wealth was enhanced by a love of literature and of the arts, by a virtuous character, and by a benevolent and peaceful disposition. He had been twice consul, and had even seen one of his sons invested with that high office. The magnificence with which he lived at Rome excited the envy even of Caracalla. The palace which formerly belonged to the great Pompey had already been several generations in the family of Gordianus, now ornamented with the trophies of naval victories, and beautified with the finest specimens of architecture, sculpture, and painting. But the qualities of his mind endeared him to the African provincials still more than his high lineage and his

[1] Herodian. lib. vii.; Capitol. in Maxim. c. xiv.

great riches. They compared him to Scipio, to Cato, to Rutilius, to Scævola, and to Lælius, and they even maintained that everything which was esteemed most excellent in the characters of these renowned warriors and statesmen, was revived in his single person.[1] A. D. 238.

It is not surprising that Gordianus should have declined the dangerous honour to which the partiality of the colonists had raised him. When the leaders of the insurrection entered his house, they found him enjoying the repose which the heat of an African climate renders necessary about the middle of the day, and altogether unacquainted with the events which had just taken place at the tribunal of the procurator. Upon hearing their proposal to set him on the throne, he entreated that they would consider his great age, his reluctance to engage in the weighty cares of government, the hazards with which they were about to surround him, and above all, his earnest desire to close his brief career without staining his hands with the blood of his countrymen. But his expostulations were uttered in vain. Menaces were used to overcome his hesitation; and he was assured, that if he did not immediately accept the purple, his life would be made to atone for his indifference to the safety of the empire. Another motive was suggested to remove his scruples and to strengthen his resolution. He was reminded, that to have been thought worthy of the crown would be regarded by Maximinus as a crime not less heinous than that of actual rebellion. The danger, therefore, if he persisted in his refusal, was certain and inevitable. These considerations fixed the decision of Gordianus. He was instantly proclaimed emperor, with power to associate his son in the government. The multitude gave a free expression to their zeal and delight, by pulling down the statues of Maximinus, effacing his name from the public monuments, and by transferring all his honours to the new sovereigns, into whose hands they had thrust his sceptre.[2]



Gordianus.

His son associated with him.

The two Gordiani removed from Tysdrus to Carthage, whence they wrote to Rome, informing the senate of the proceedings which had placed them on the throne, stating the principles on which affairs were thenceforth to be administered, and soliciting the confirmation of the national council to the unanimous act of the whole African province. The popular voice in the capital was not less decided in

His election confirmed by the senate.

[1] Capitol. in Gordian. c. i. ii.; in Maxim. c. xv.

[2] Herodian. lib. vii.; Capitol. in Maxim. c. xvi. xvii.; in Gordian. c. iii.

A. D. 238. favour of the new accession, than was that of the colonists on the opposite shores of the Mediterranean. Every demonstration of hatred and contempt against Maximinus was indulged in without the smallest disguise or restraint. His person and authority were denounced in the streets; and every emblem that could perpetuate the recollection of his savage manners or boastful pretensions, was thrown down and destroyed. The senate acted with more deliberation, though not with less vigour. Having met in the temple of Castor, they declared the Gordiani emperors, with one voice, and the most hearty acclamations; and, at the same time, pronounced Maximinus and all his adherents to be enemies to their country. The Prætorian cohorts followed the example of the senate and people. The provinces, too, declared their acquiescence in the new state of things; and the African proconsul might have congratulated himself upon the ease and safety of his elevation to the supreme power, had not the malice of a personal enemy defeated his plans, and disappointed the hopes of the Roman people.

The Gordiani slain.

Cupelianus, the governor of Numidia, was a creature of Maximinus, and as such had never studied to render himself agreeable to his superior officer in the province. When this last was raised to the empire, he sent orders to the former to resign his command. Cupelianus not only refused to comply, but made preparations to march at the head of his troops against the usurpers, as he deemed them, of his master's throne. The younger Gordianus proceeded from Carthage with such a force as he could raise, to oppose the Numidian commander; but the soldiers whom the latter brought into the field being greatly superior, as well in numbers as in discipline, to the tumultuary bands which followed the other, gained an easy victory over them, and drove the fugitives back to the city in confusion, with the loss of their imperial leader, who had fallen in the action. The father of this unfortunate prince, upon finding that the troops of his victorious enemy had forced their way through the gates, and had already begun a massacre of the inhabitants, put an end to his life, after having borne the name of Augustus during the short period of only six weeks.

Terror at Rome.

No sooner was this event made known at Rome, than grief and consternation seized all classes of the people. The senators, aware that by their concurrence in the election of the Gordiani, they had provoked the resentment of Maximinus, perceived the necessity of adopting decisive measures, in order to defend themselves against its effects; but they appear to have been at the first so much paralyzed by their fears of the tyrant, or by their want of confidence in one another, that some time passed before any one could be found bold enough to propose an expedient to extricate them from their perilous situation. Convoked for the ordinary business of the state in the temple of Concord, they betrayed by their unwonted reserve the

hesitation which oppressed their minds, as well as their sense of the great difficulties with which they were surrounded. At length Victius Sabinus, who inherited the honours which belonged to the name and kindred of Trajan, claimed permission to speak before his turn, on a crisis at once so important and alarming. He reminded the distinguished body whom he addressed, that delay would be attended with the most frightful consequences; for that the monarch whom they had deposed, and who at all times thirsted for the blood of the higher orders of Roman citizens, would, now that he was supplied with a legitimate motive, vent his hatred and revenge upon every member of the senate, and extend his barbarity even to their wives and children. "We have lost," said he, "two excellent princes; but if we prove true to ourselves, the hopes of the empire will still be found to rest on a stable foundation. There are many individuals amongst us, whose virtues and talents give them a claim to our suffrage, and hold out to us the best security for a wise and temperate administration of our public affairs. Let us make choice of two emperors; one of whom may conduct the war with which we are threatened on the part of Maximinus, while the other shall remain at Rome to take charge of the civil government. I therefore propose, that we instantly invest with the imperial dignity Marcus Clodius Pupienus Maximus and Decimus Cœlius Balbinus." The acclamations of the assembly approved the wisdom of the nomination which was thus made by Sabinus: the merit of the candidates was universally acknowledged; and as no one objected to their elevation, or recommended any other in their place, they were proclaimed sovereigns of the Roman empire, and forthwith adorned with the usual ensigns of office[1]

A. D. 238.

Election of Maximus and Balbinus.

MARCUS CLAUDIUS PUPIENUS MAXIMUS. A. D. 238.

The former of these personages owed to his valour and abilities as a soldier, his rise from the mean condition in which he was born. From his infancy he was devoted to the profession of arms, in which he afterwards served his country with much distinction and success. His victories over the Sarmatians and the Germans gave him a title to the highest honours which Rome conferred upon the military eminence of her sons; and we find that, besides having been successively proconsul of Bithynia, Greece, and Gaul, there is reason to believe that he was colleague in the consulship to Numius Albinus, who held that high office in the reign of Alexander Severus. The pursuits and habits of a warrior's life had added to the natural gravity of his character an austere and commanding air, which was thought more suitable to the camp than to the palace; and hence, perhaps, arose the reason why the senators who placed him on the throne

Character of Maximus.

[1] Capitol. in Maxim. c. xv. xvi.

A. D. 238. wished to blend in the government of the empire the useful severity of his manners with the attractive mildness of Balbinus.

DECIMUS CŒLIUS BALBINUS.

Balbinus.

The birth of the prince just named was noble, and his fortune affluent. His luxurious mode of living, indeed, would have been regarded by the more rigid republicans as violating that austerity upon which the virtues of the earlier ages were supported; but it was admitted, at the same time, that in him the love of pleasure was corrected by a sense of dignity, and that the habits of ease had not deprived him of a capacity for business. He was, besides, an orator and a poet, and not only cultivated learning in his own person, but encouraged it in all others. His public employments, too, had been worthy of his descent and reputation; having twice filled the office of consul, and repeatedly governed provinces in Africa, and in various parts of Asia Minor. Historians have imagined, that in the two imperial colleagues, Maximus and Balbinus, they could discover a renewal of the contrast which Sallust attempted to establish between Cato and Cæsar. The one was severe, the other was indulgent; the one commanded esteem by his firmness, the other attracted love by his goodness; the former valued himself upon the rigid impartiality of his justice, the latter took pleasure in exercising towards all an unbounded kindness and liberality.[1]

The soldiers demand the young Gordianus.

The tranquillity of the new reign was disturbed by an unforeseen accident. While the emperors were engaged in the usual rites of sacrifice, the multitude assembled around the Capitol, and with loud and seditious accents demanded that a member of the family of the Gordiani should be added to the number of their sovereigns. Maximus and Balbinus, at the head of their guards, attempted to disperse the people, and even to cut their way through them; but the latter, armed with clubs, stones, and such other weapons as chance supplied, drove the former back into the temple, and insisted that their proposal should be considered with attention. A boy, thirteen years of age, the grandson of the elder Gordian, was at length produced to the eyes of the multitude, and invested with the ornaments and title of Cæsar; an arrangement which satisfied all parties, and confirmed the accession of the second pair of emperors, who had undertaken to dispute with Maximinus the possession of the Roman empire.[2]

Conduct of Maximinus.

It might have been imagined, that as soon as the news of the African rebellion reached the camp on the Danube, the impetuous Maximinus would have led his army into Italy, and adopted the most expeditious means for punishing the ambition of the Gordiani. He is said, indeed, to have received the intelligence with the most

[1] Capitol. in Maxim. et Balb. c. ii.–v.

[2] Herodian. lib. viii.; Capitol. in Gord. Tert. c. i.; in Maxim.

frantic rage; but before he could take any step to retrieve his affairs in the south, his mind was relieved by the information that his competitors had already fallen, and that the insurgents at Carthage had in consequence returned to their duty. When he heard, however, that the senate, regardless of his displeasure, or determined to brave its effects, had placed other two emperors on the throne, he vowed to inflict upon them the most signal chastisement; and yet, if we can put any confidence in the imperfect chronology of the Augustan History, not fewer than nine or ten months elapsed before he appeared with his legions on the frontiers of Italy.[1] A. D. 235.

Maximus prepares for war.

Maximus, after giving to the people of Rome the usual shows and gratuities, proceeded towards the Julian Alps, to make preparations for checking the advance of the fierce invader. He placed his headquarters at Aquileia, the walls of which were fortified with suitable care, its magazines well supplied with provisions, and its garrison strengthened by the addition of a large body of troops. He gave orders, at the same time, to remove all the corn and cattle from the surrounding country, to break down the bridges, and to destroy everything which might afford shelter or protection to an enemy's army.

Maximinus besieges Aquileia.

After some delay, occasioned by the swelling of the rivers, the deposed emperor made his way to the city just named; where he began his hostile operations by rooting up the vineyards in the neighbourhood, demolishing the suburbs, and employing the timber of the buildings for constructing the engines and towers by means of which he hoped to make himself master of that important place. But he was opposed in all his attempts, not less by the skill and bravery of the soldiers than by the resolution of the citizens, whose knowledge of his character impressed upon their minds, from the moment they shut their gates against him, the alternative of death or of victory. The sentiments of religion, too, mixed with those of native courage in defence of their town. Crispinus, an experienced commander, appointed by the senate to superintend the preparations within the walls, inspired them with the most confident assurances of success; representing to them that the gods had declared their will that Aquileia should not fall, and even that the tutelar divinity of the place had already appeared amongst them in person, to secure the safety of his favoured dwelling. But they were not permitted to rely entirely upon the co-operation of Apollo Balænus. Instructed by the regular troops, they made frequent sallies upon the besiegers, of whom they slew a great number. They also showered down upon them from the wall large quantities of melted pitch, which destroyed their machines, and drove them from their trenches; until, at length, their confidence increased so much, that they insulted with loud taunts the ineffectual labours of the tyrant, and defied at once his power and his anger.[2]

[1] Capitol. in Maxim. c. xvii. xviii.

[2] Ibid. c. xx. xxi.

A. D. 238. Maximinus is repulsed,

The barbarian, accustomed to conquer, was filled with rage at the successive repulses which his troops had sustained, and which, in a burst of passion, he ascribed to their want of courage, or of ardour in his cause. The men, on their part, having already suffered a great deal from want, fatigue, and disease, were no longer disposed to tolerate the brutality of a leader who had proved himself destitute of every sentiment but those of selfishness and revenge. The Prætorians, in particular, whose families were at Rome, began to entertain fears for the safety of their wives and children, who might be visited with the resentment of the senate, or fall victims to the fury of the multitude, who hated still more than they dreaded the character of Maximinus. Besides, they called in question the duty of fighting for a monster who was detested by gods and men, and of laying waste their native country, merely to enable a Thracian adventurer to shed, in gratification of his personal revenge, the best blood of Rome. They accordingly resolved to put an end to the war by taking away his life. In pursuance of this object, they went in a body to the imperial tent, destroying in their progress through the camp the various images and inscriptions which denoted the supreme power of Maximinus; till at length, having upbraided him with his cruelty, and repelled every effort he made to speak in his own defence, they killed him and his son, whom he had associated in the empire, and carried back their heads in triumph through the ranks of their applauding countrymen.[1]

and slain by his own soldiers.

Joy at Rome on the news of his death.

The joy which this event created at Rome exceeds the power of description. The senators crowded to the temples to thank the gods for their deliverance from the most frightful tyranny with which their order was ever threatened: the common people filled the streets with acclamations, tore down every monument that appertained to the late emperor, extolled the valour and wisdom of his successors, and congratulated their country upon the return of happy times. There was only one class of subjects whose satisfaction was not complete. The soldiers were offended that the throne should have been filled without their voice or concurrence; and amid the shouts which met their ears as they approached the gates of Rome, they could distinguish the applauses bestowed upon the senate for their considerate choice of persons to guide the helm of affairs. In such praise they listened to their own condemnation, for having raised to the throne the rude warrior whom they had recently put to death, and they detected, at the same time, the grounds of a resolution on the part of the civil authorities to deprive the army of the dangerous privilege which it had so long usurped and exercised. Maximus, too, when he addressed the legions under the walls of Aquileia, reminded them that by the original constitution of the Roman government the supreme power resided in the senate and the people, and that the commander of

[1] Capitol. in Maxim. c. xxii.; Herodian. lib. viii.

the armies, whether he were called emperor or consul, was nothing more than the deputy of those two constituent bodies. Hence, he impressed upon them, as the first duty of armed citizens, a constant observance of discipline, and a respectful attention to the orders of their superiors; and upon this basis, he assured them, they would meet with an entire forgiveness of everything that was past, and merit the esteem of all classes of their countrymen, whether in Italy or in the provinces.[1] A. D. 238.

Dissatisfaction of the army, and assassination of Maximus and Balbinus.

The Prætorians participated deeply in the feelings of resentment and suspicion which per vaded the legions. They called to mind the conduct of Severus, who' to revenge the death of Pertinax, disbanded their several cohorts; a measure of which they apprehended the repetition under the auspices of Maximus, who was known to dread their power and condemn their pretensions. They imagined, moreover, that they could perceive *i* n the German troops whom this emperor had assembled to oppose the inroad of Maximinus, the intended successors of the imperial guards. Determined, therefore, to anticipate the designs of their new masters, they took advantage of the Capitoline Games, which engrossed the attention of nearly all the inhabitants of Rome; proceeded to the palace where the two emperors, already alienated from each other, occupied remote apartments; and before an alarm could be given to the faithful Germans who were in attendance, dragged them both into the st eet, naked and mangled, and at length put an end to their sufferings by a cruel death. The fears of Maximus, from the first moment of his accession, predicted this fatal issue. "What reward," said he to Balbinus, "shall be bestowed upon us, if we succeed in delivering the Roman world from the tyrant who now domineers over it?"—"We may," replied the other, "depend upon the gratitude and esteem of the senate, of the people, and even of the whole earth."—"Yes," rejoined Maximus, "and upon the hatred of the soldiers, which will bring us both to an untimely end."[2]

MARCUS ANTONINUS GORDIANUS III.

FROM A. D. 238 TO A. D. 244.

The young Gordianus raised to the throne.

No sooner had the Prætorians accomplished their design against Maximus and Balbinus than they hurried the young Cæsar into the camp, where he was proclaimed emperor, and forthwith recommended to the loyalty and affection of the people. The murder of

[1] August. Hist. vol. ii. p. 21, edit. Bipont. 1782.

[2] Quid tu, Balbine, et ego merebimur, cum hanc tam immanem belluam exitio dederimus? Cumque Balbinus dixisset, senatus populique Romani ferventissimum amorem et orbis terrarum: dixisse fertur Maximus, Vereor, ne militum odium sentiamus et mortem.—Herodian lib. viii.

A. D. 239. the reigning prince had now become an event of such frequent occurrence, that it ceased to create in the public mind any feeling of horror, or desire of punishment. Hence, we find that the multitude, who had scarcely concluded the festivities with which they greeted the victorious entrance of Maximus, joined in the clamorous joy which proceeded from the camp when Gordianus III. was invested with the purple. In the space of a few months, six emperors were cut off by the sword; and the boy who was now raised to the throne was selected by the army, not so much, perhaps, because his name was dear to the senate and Roman people, as because his tender age promised a long impunity of military licence, and an undisputed ascendency to the household troops.



Gordianus Pius.

Of this prince, history has preserved so few particulars, that it still remains doubtful whether he was the son or only the nephew of the younger Gordianus, who fell in the insurrection at Carthage. His early years are praised for docility, talent, and application; but his biographer adds, that he had not the good fortune to possess a mother like Mamæa, the judicious parent and guardian of Alexander Severus. Under the influence of Mætia Faustina, the government passed into the hands of eunuchs, and other unprincipled retainers of the court, who made a traffic of the honours and emoluments of the empire, and prostituted on all occasions the name of the sovereign to accomplish their own nefarious purposes. This condition of affairs is well described in a letter from Mysithæus, the preceptor and father-in-law of Gordianus, written to congratulate him on his escape from the disgrace and ruin which must have resulted from the administration of such sordid wretches. Military commands, says he, were given away upon the mere recommendation of the eunuch of the chamber; the services of the best officers remained unrewarded; pardons and condemnations were determined by caprice or money, without any regard to the merits of the case; the public treasures were plundered by designing knaves, who agreed in nothing but their resolution to deceive their master. The prince, in reply, acknowledges the accuracy of the picture which was presented to his recollection; but, in apology for himself, he entreats his monitor to call to mind the hard

fate of an emperor, from whom truth is studiously concealed, and who, as he cannot see everything with his own eyes, is compelled to listen to the reports of others, whether honest or deceitful.[1] A. D. 240.

Administration of Mysithæus.

Mysithæus, raised by his son-in-law to the office of Prætorian præfect, proved himself a wise counsellor in peace, and an able commander in war. The government immediately assumed a new aspect: grievances were redressed, merit was rewarded, the idle were dismissed, and the factious were punished. To use the words of Capitolinus, it was no longer either puerile or contemptible. An insurrection fomented in Africa by an obscure soldier, whose name was Sabinianus, was suppressed with so much decision and lenity, that the intelligence of it did not disturb for a day the tranquillity of the capital.[2]

State of Persia, and accession of Sapor.

A more formidable contest for the Roman arms was about to take place in the east. The Persians, since the revival of their nation under the dynasty of Sassan, had assumed a commanding attitude in Western Asia; they claimed the territory which belonged to them in the days of Cyrus, and even announced their intention of re-establishing that powerful empire which had fallen before the genius of Alexander the Great. Artaxerxes, the first of the new race of kings, had shown, as we have seen above, equal ambition and talents as a soldier; and although he retired across the Euphrates when the son of Mamæa advanced to attack him, it does not appear that his army was broken, or that his views of conquest were in any degree relinquished. On the contrary, he seems to have renewed the invasion of Syria as soon as the Romans withdrew to celebrate their triumph; and hence the reason why Maximinus was preparing to march against him from the banks of the Danube, when he was diverted from his purpose by the change of affairs which had just occurred in Italy.

The death of the Persian ruler, which must have taken place at no great distance of time from the siege of Aquileia, occasioned a pause in the course of hostilities; and it was not until Gordianus had been three years on the throne, that Sapor, the son of Artaxerxes, made such demonstrations of war on the eastern frontiers of the empire, that an expedition into Asia could be no longer delayed. He had already, indeed, entered Mesopotamia, taken Nisibis and Carrhæ, and even laid siege to the imperial city of Antioch. His progress was everywhere marked with that rapidity and determination which distinguished his future campaigns, and which enabled him, during a reign of thirty years, to keep the field on equal terms with the ablest generals of the west. Italy itself heard the sound of his menaces; for his plans of conquest were not, like those of his father, bounded by the Ægean sea and the Hellespont, but stretched to the Alps, and even to the shores of the ocean.

[1] Herodian. lib. vii.; Capitol. in Gord. Tert.; in Maxim. et Balb. c. iii.
[2] August. Hist. vol. ii. pp. 50, 51.

A. D. 240. Expedition of Gordianus against the Persians. A. D. 241.

In the spring of the year two hundred and forty-two, Gordianus opened the temple of Janus for the last time, and began his march towards his Asiatic dominions. Whilst passing through Mœsia and Thrace, he had to contend with some detached bodies of the barbarians, over whom he gained a succession of easy victories. But the Alani, a more warlike tribe, whom he encountered on the plains of Philippi, are said to have checked his progress, and even to have inflicted upon one of the wings of his army a considerable loss. Without spending upon the conquest of wandering hordes the time which he meant to devote to more important ends, he at once conducted the legions into Syria, already wasted and alarmed by the inroads of Sapor, resolved to effect, at whatever cost, the recovery of a province which the empire had always valued very highly. No record has been preserved of the battles which ensued; but it is not doubtful that the Romans conducted the war with the greatest spirit and success, for in the course of the first campaign they drove the invading army out of Syria, pursued them over the Euphrates, retook the several towns which had fallen into their hands, and concluded by punishing Sapor with a signal defeat near the city of Resæna.[1]

Letter to the senate.

In his letter to the senate, the young emperor acknowledged that he owed his great victories to the admirable arrangements of Mysithæus, and requested that thanks might be returned first to the gods, and next to the prætorian præfect. A triumph was decreed to the prince, in which it was intended that his car should be drawn by four elephants, to denote the country and people which had witnessed the success of his arms. Orders were given at the same time, that the præfect should be rewarded with a triumphal chariot, drawn by four horses, bearing an inscription that he was beloved by the Roman people, not less as the father of their emperor than as the guardian of their commonwealth.[2]

Death of Mysithæus, and preferment of Philip,

That Mysithæus deserved all the honour which was conferred upon him, was but too soon proved by the melancholy events subsequent upon his demise. The disease which put an end to his valuable life is said to have been rendered more malignant than usual, by injudicious treatment on the part of his attendants; ascribed, as is common in such cases, to the envy or ambition of a rival. Philip, who soon afterwards ascended the throne, and who certainly at that time aspired to the office of Prætorian præfect, is accused of having tampered with the fidelity of the physician, or with the honour of the person who administered the drugs to his patients, and of having thereby procured the death of Mysithæus. Whatever truth may be in this charge, there is no doubt that the ambitious soldier obtained the object on which he had set his heart. He was elevated to the dignity of the præfecture, which he soon allowed himself to regard as only a convenient step to the throne. An Arab by birth, and in the earlier

[1] Capitol. in Gord. Tert. c. xxvii. xxviii. [2] Ibid. c. xxix. xxx.

part of his life a robber by profession, he thought no means unlawful by which he might supplant his master and patron. He contrived that an artificial scarcity should irritate the minds of the soldiers, who were taught to ascribe it to the youth aud incapacity of their leader. From that moment the fate or Gordianus was determined. The circumstances which attended his death are, indeed, variously related; but it admits not of any doubt that he fell a victim to the intrigues of the new præfect, who corrupted the army, and even employed against him the hand of a conspirator. Capitolinus informs us, that at first Philip was appointed colleague to the emperor, on the ground that the inexperience of the latter might derive assistance from the skill of a veteran, who had served in different climates, and to whom the wants and habits of military life were perfectly familiar. He adds, that the prince soon became impatient of the control under which he was placed, and that the other, who was not less desirous to reign alone, dreading the effects of his resentment should he accomplish his object, formed the resolution to remove him by violent means. The third Gordianus was put to death in the month of March, in the year two hundred and forty-four, after having reigned five years and eight months.

A. D. 241.

who murders Gordianus.

The assassin who succeeded him on the throne affected to bewail his loss, gave orders that his obsequies should be performed with the greatest magnificence, sent his ashes to Rome, and employed the army in erecting a splendid mausoleum on the spot where he fell, near the city of Circæsium, at the confluence of the Haboras and the Euphrates. An inscription, remarkable for a play upon the word Philippi, continued for some generations to record his exploits, and insinuate the manner of his death; and at a still later period, a mound of earth remained to inform the passing traveller that the head of the Roman world had perished in the neighbourhood. The epitaph is as follows: To the victorious god Gordian, vanquisher of the Persians, Goths, Sarmata,—the repeller of the seditions of Rome, conqueror of the Germans, but not of Philippi.[1]

MARCUS JULIUS PHILIPPUS AUGUSTUS.

FROM A. D. 244 TO A. D. 249.

Enjoying no longer the assistance of Herodian, nor the light which was supplied by the earlier authors of the Augustan History, we feel ourselves becoming more and more destitute of those characteristic details which give the chief interest to biography. From the middle

[1] Divo Gordiano Victori Persarum, Victori Gothorum,
Victori Sarmatarum, Depulsori Romanorum-Seditionum,
Victori Germanorum; sed non Victori Philipporum.
Capitol. in Gord. c. xxxiv.

A. D. 244. of the third century we are compelled to trust for many facts to the accuracy of the ecclesiastical writers, in whose eyes, as the affairs of state possessed only a secondary importance, the course of civil and military events did not assume its full magnitude. The scanty notices of Eutropius, accordingly, receive no material addition from the incidental remarks of Eusebius, or of his contemporaries among the church historians. On the other hand, the strong prejudices of Zosimus against our holy faith, as well as his general scepticism as to the credibility of human testimony and the purity of human motives, create in our minds suspicions extremely unfavourable to the authority of that annalist. Nor can we have a greater degree of confidence in the fragments collected by Zonaras; who, though his honesty and diligence have never been impeached, has not acquired the respect of more enlightened times for wise selection or critical discernment.

Family of Philip.

For these reasons it cannot appear wonderful that considerable obscurity should still hang over the origin of the emperor Philip. That he was a foreigner by birth, is admitted on all hands; but whether he drew his lineage from an indigenous Arabian, or was entitled to boast of a descent from one of the noble families of Rome, is a point which still remains undetermined. The same doubts exist with regard to his religion. It has been customary, among writers connected with the church, to claim this barbarous soldier, not only as a believer in the Gospel, but as a dutiful son and an exemplary penitent; an opinion which appears to have no other foundation besides the weak conceit of an ancient author, and the boundless credulity of subsequent compilers.[1]

He marches against the Caspi or Carpi. A. D. 244 to A. D. 247.

Philip was in the east when the last of the Gordians expired. Desirous to establish his power at Rome, he hastened to make peace with Sapor, the king of Persia; immediately after which he withdrew his army into Syria. Upon his arrival in the capital he announced to the senate that he had associated in the government his son, who was only seven years of age, whom at the same time he had decorated with the title of Cæsar. He spent several months in endeavouring to gain the affections of the higher order of the citizens, who suspected, and were very slow to pardon, the share which he was supposed to have had in the death of their youthful sovereign. But he did not in the meantime neglect the more important concerns of the empire. He committed the command of the legions in Syria to his brother Priscus, and of those serving in Mœsia and Macedonia to his father-in-law, Severianus; while he prepared to take the field in person against some warlike tribes who occupied the mountains which divide modern Hungary and Transylvania from Poland.[2]

The Carpi, who appear to have given their name to the Carpathian

[1] Eutrop.; Aurel. Victor, de Cæsaribus.

[2] Zonar. lib. xii. c. xix. p. 624, edit. Paris.

range, first disturbed the administration of Alexander Severus, and afterwards provoked the resentment of Maximus and Balbinus; the latter of whom was on the point of marching against them at the period when he was put to death. Availing themselves of the confusion and rapid changes in the government which had recently prevailed at Rome, they advanced into the provinces watered by the Danube, where they committed great ravages. Philip defeated them in a pitched battle, slew an immense number of their warriors, and shut up the remainder in a strong fortress, to which they had fled for refuge. Determined not to submit, they made an attempt to cut their way through the Roman army, by which they were now completely surrounded; but, failing in this desperate expedient, they relinquished all confidence in arms, and sued for peace.[1]

A. D. 244 to A. D. 247.

He defeats them, and compels them to sue for peace.

Upon his return to Rome, the emperor, trusting to the favourable impression which his success had made on the public mind, and actuated by the desire of establishing his family on the throne, adopted his son as his colleague in the consulship, and soon afterwards declared him Augustus. But a more interesting ceremony ere long invited his attention, and signalized his reign. It was now a thousand years since Romulus laid the foundations of the eternal city; and it became alike the piety and the gratitude of the Romans to distinguish this remarkable epoch by the celebration of their secular games. This solemnity had been observed by Augustus, to whom is due the merit of its revival, or, perhaps, its institution; by Claudius, by Domitian, and by Severus.[2] It has been well observed, that every circumstance of those games was skilfully adapted to inspire the superstitious mind with deep and solemn reverence. The long interval between them exceeded the ordinary term of human life; and as none of the spectators had already seen them, none could flatter themselves with the expectation of beholding them a second time. Mystic sacrifices were performed, during three nights, on the banks of the Tiber; and the Campus Martius resounded with music and dances, and was illuminated with innumerable lamps and torches. Slaves and strangers

He celebrates the secular games.



Baths of Philip.—*Overbeke, Les Restes de l'ancienne Rome.*

[1] Zosim. lib. xi.; Aurel. Victor, de Cæsaribus; Eutrop. lib. ix.
[2] Zosim. lib. xi.

A. D. 248. were excluded from any participation in these national ceremonies. A chorus of twenty-seven youths, and as many virgins, of noble families, each of whom had both parents living, implored the propitious gods in favour of the present, and for the hope of the rising generation; requesting, in religious hymns, that, according to the faith of their ancient oracles, they would still maintain the virtue, the felicity, and the empire of the Roman people. The magnificence of the shows and entertainments given by Philip dazzled the eyes of the multitude. The devout were employed in rites of superstition, whilst the reflecting few revolved in their anxious minds the past history or the future fate of the empire.

Troops in Mœsia revolt, and raise Decius to the throne. A. D. 248.

But, although the emperor conciliated the esteem or forbearance of his subjects in the capital, he could employ no means for preventing the still greater dangers with which he was threatened by the avarice and sedition of the provincial legions. The troops stationed in Mœsia revolted, and raised to the rank of Augustus a centurion whose name was Marinus. Philip, alarmed at the intelligence, made haste to communicate it to the senate; when Decius, a member of consular dignity, who by his merits had elevated himself from a low condition through all the honours of the state, rose to assure the prince that there was no ground for apprehension; and that the soldiers, ashamed of their inconstancy, would, of their own accord, depose their new-made emperor, and return to a sense of duty. The event soon corresponded to this prediction. Decius, as a reward for his sagacity, was appointed to the command of the mutinous cohorts; which he was directed to visit with punishment, or with indulgence, according to the part which they had severally taken in the recent commotion. The prudent general is said to have questioned the wisdom of this arrangement; foreseeing the danger of presenting a popular leader to an army, the angry passions of which had not yet subsided, and which had much to fear from a sovereign whom they had attempted to degrade. His anticipations were again fulfilled. He no sooner appeared in Mœsia, than the soldiers proclaimed him emperor, and invested him with the usual ensigns of imperial authority; threatening, at the same time, that if he refused to comply with their views, they would instantly plunge their swords into his body.

Philip is slain. A. D. 249.

The rebellious legions having chosen a sovereign resolved to place him on the imperial throne, and with this view began their march towards Rome. Philip, at the head of a more numerous body of forces, met his rival near Verona, where a battle ensued between the two armies. The fortune of war determined in favour of the provincials, who by a single victory revenged the death of Gordian, and, at the same time, secured the diadem for the prince of their own election. Philip fell either on the field of battle, or immediately afterwards in the city of Verona; and his son, who appears to have

been left in the capital, shared the same fate at the hands of the Prætorian guards. A. D. 249.

The name of this monarch is associated with the origin of a colony at Philippoplis, which he founded in Arabia Petræa, near Bostra; in which vicinity he is said to have been born. He projected or completed several improvements at Rome; but the shortness of his reign afforded no time for studying decoration, or for culivating the arts of peace.[1]

CAIUS MESSIUS QUINTUS TRAJANUS DECIUS AUGUSTUS.

FROM A. D. 249 TO 251.

Decius alarmed by the Goths, who invade Mœsia.

Decius was received with acclamations by the senators, who, for the most part, respected his virtues and admired his talents. But his reputation has been tarnished by the just indignation of the ecclesiastical writers, who could not be induced to regard the prudence of his civil government, or the splendour of his victories, as any atonement for his violent persecution of the Christians. He had not, indeed, employed many months in the administration of affairs, when he was called to the banks of the Danube to oppose an invasion of the Goths. This people, afterwards, so memorable for their conquest of the Western Empire, had at that period just approached the remoter provinces of the north-east. In the reign of Philip, a Gothic chieftain, followed by numerous and warlike hordes, passed triumphantly through Dacia, and at length planted his standard under the walls of Marciasopolis, a principal city in Mœsia. The inhabitants, whose wealth had tempted the avarice of this roving enemy, consented to purchase repose by paying a large sum of money, as well as by supplying the camp of the invaders with the best of their cattle. The success of the barbarians in the first inroad induced them to repeat it; and Decius, accordingly, was heardly seated on the throne when he received information that Cniva, king of the Goths, had a second time crossed the Danube, and was spreading desolation over the fairest fields of Mœsia.[2]

Romans defeated.

The events which marked the progress of the Gothic war are perplexed with no small degree of inconsistency. It should seem that the eldest son of the emperor was sent, in the first instance, to check the progress of the invaders; and that he found them employed in the siege of Nicapolis, a town situated on the Iatrus. Breaking up at his approach, they directed their march towards Philippopolis in Thrace, a place of still greater strength and riches than that which they had relinquished. The young Decius pursued them them through a difficult country, anticipating an easy victory over their undisciplined ranks; when, on a sudden, the Gothic chief, turning round upon the Romans, attacked them with the utmost fury, compelled them to

[1] Zonar. lib. xii. c. xix.; Aurel. Victor, de Cæsaribus; Eutrop. lib. ix.

[2] Eutrop., Zosim., and Zonar.

A. D. 250. seek safety in flight, and at length crowned his success by pillaging their camp. Philippopolis soon after fell into their hands; the capture of which is said to have been stained by the blood of a hundred thousand of the inhabitants.[1]

These advantages, it was thought, were not gained by the barbarians without assistance from certain Roman traitors. It is manifest, indeed, amid all the obscurity which covers this portion of history, that Priscus, a brother of the late emperor, aided by his councils, and probably by his arms, the conquerors of Philippopolis. It is even said that he accepted the purple at their hands, and had determined to employ their valour for cutting his way to the imperial throne; but his death, which followed soon afterwards, at once defeated his plans, and deprived historians of the means of ascertaining the exact share which he had in the Gothic irruption, as also the motives upon which he acted.

Decius and his son are slain.

A. D. 251. Alarmed at the defeat sustained by his son, the emperor himself proceeded to take the command of the troops in Illyricum. The length of time, as well as the great number of lives which had been lost by the enemy in the siege just mentioned, supplied ground for hope that the affairs of Mœsia might yet be retrieved. If we may trust to Zosimus, the skill and bravery of Decius were soon rewarded with several distinguished victories over the Goths. He attacked in separate bodies the various hordes of their German confederates, who were hastening from their mountains and forests to share the plunder of the Roman provinces. He took possession of the principal passes, repaired the strongholds on the Danube, and adopted every expedient, as well for preventing reinforcements, as for cutting off their retreat. The invaders, it is said, would have gladly consented to purchase, at the expense of their richest booty, permission to withdraw unmolested from the country which they had wasted. But the emperor, eager to recover the reputation of his arms, and to inspire a salutary fear into those rude warriors, resolved to bring them once more to battle. The treachery of a rival, however, is reported to have again frustrated his plans. Gallus, who succeeded him on the throne, is represented to have given such information to the enemy as enabled them to extricate their bands from the toils spread for their destruction by the Roman commander. It is more probable, notwithstanding, that the triumph of the Goth arose from their advantageous position behind a marsh, and from the blind impetuosity of the assailants, who attempted to pass it, than from the infidelity of Gallus, who had no inducement to betray the arms of his country. At all events, the defeat of the Romans was complete; and their loss was not a little aggravated by the death of the emperor and of his eldest son, both of whom were left upon the field of battle amidst heaps of slain.[2]

[1] Zosim. i.; Zonar. xii. c. xx. [2] Eutrop. ix.; Aurel. Victor, de Cæsar.

A. D. 251. Character of Decius.

The fortune of Decius, after he ascended the throne, was not in any degree commensurate with his care and abilities. Perceiving that his countrymen no longer retained the virtuous principles by which they had risen to power, he made an effort to revive the office of censor; hoping that, with a renovation of moral feeling, he might confirm the foundations of that national pre-eminence which recent events had tended greatly to diminish. The senate, to which the duty of election was intrusted, gave its suffrages in favour of Valerian, who was afterwards raised to the empire. This distinguished soldier was with the army in Pannonia when the intelligence of his new honour was conveyed to him; the arduous duties of which appeared to his mind so oppressive, as to induce him to entreat the emperor to relieve him from an appointment to which no subject was equal. But the disastrous issue of the war rendered abortive the benevolent purpose of Decius, and also saved the censor-elect from the weight of odium and responsibility prepared for him by the partiality of the senatorial order.

CAIUS VIBIUS TREBONIANUS GALLUS AUGUSTUS.

FROM A. D. 251 TO A. D. 253.

Gallus named emperor. November, A. D. 251.

The Pannonian legions, mortified by their defeat, did not at once exercise the right with which custom had now invested the army, of naming a successor to the throne. They even condescended to be in some measure directed by the senate in choosing a head to the empire; and the latter body, influenced by a due veneration for the patriotism of Decius, recommended that his surviving son, Hostilianus, should be elevated to the vacant seat. The urgency of affairs, however, required more vigour and experience than could be expected in the character of so young a prince; for which reason the military leaders associated with him in the government one of their own chiefs, whose conduct or whose promises had secured their approbation.

Makes a treaty with the Goths.

The first measure adopted by the latter sovereign was to relieve Mœsian territory from the pressure of Gothic invasion. Unwilling to hazard the interests of the empire by prosecuting the war, Gallus entered into a treaty with the enemy; granting them permission to retire with all the booty and prisoners that the fortune of battle had thrown into their hands, and promising, besides, to make their king a yearly present in gold, on condition that he should not violate the integrity of the Roman dominions.

Returns to Rome.

Having thus effected the object dearest to his heart, the emperor repaired to Rome, where he soon gave himself up to the pleasures which already occupied the days and nights of too many of the higher classes of his Italian subjects. Hostilianus had fallen a victim to disease, or to treachery, and no longer divided with his colleague the honours and envy of imperial power. Gallus raised his son Volusianus

A. D. 253. to a participation of his throne, and now looked forward to the enjoyment of that security which his policy, rather than his arms, had purchased. But the disgrace which he had inflicted upon the majesty of Rome, by an ignominious peace with the barbarians, rankled in the breasts of his people. The annual gift to the Gothic monarch could not be viewed in any other light than that of a tribute; and to this humiliating reflection, which cast a gloom on the return of the emperor, there were soon added all the miseries attendant upon a destructive plague.[1]

Goths renew their invasion, and are defeated by Æmilianus.

In the second year of his reign, Gallus had the mortification to discover that the faith of the barbarians, whom he had hoped to bind by treaty, had again yielded to the temptation held forth by the superior wealth and comfort of the provincials in Mœsia and Pannonia. Swarms of those restless shepherds, conducted by various leaders, crossed the Danube, carrying with them terror and devastation, and setting at equal defiance the obligations of honour and the fear of arms. The safety of Rome, in such a case, was justly regarded as being placed in the hands of the general who commanded the Illyrian legions. Æmilianus, who was said to be a Moor by birth, acted at that time as proconsul on the banks of the Danube; and as his ambition was not inferior either to his power or his military genius, he did not refuse the reward which the army thought proper to present to a successful chief. He defeated the Goths in several bloody engagements, recovered much of the booty which had been previously carried away, and thereby so materially diminished their strength as to afford to the neighbouring provinces the hope of lasting tranquillity.[2]

CAIUS JULIUS ÆMILIANUS AUGUSTUS.

FOUR MONTHS IN A. D. 253.

But the success of Æmilianus as a commander put an end to his allegiance as a subject; and hence he had no sooner finished the war with foreigners, than he found it necessary to conduct the legions against his imperial master. Gallus, amazed by the rapidity of events, the victories, the revolt, and the advance of the Pannonian army, sent Valerian to collect the cohorts which were serving on the Rhine, while he himself set out at the head of such troops as he could assemble on the spur of the occasion, to meet the rebellious governor. The two armies came in sight of each other near Interamna, a district of Umbria; but as both were convinced that no higher object was at stake than the personal interests of two individuals, they resolved that, without striking a blow, the smaller number should give way to the greater, and that the empire should be secured to him who was surrounded by the strongest camp. The soldiers of Gallus, accordingly, ended

The legions revolt, and Gallus is put to death.

[1] Zosim. lib. i.; Aurel. Victor; Eutrop.

[2] Zosim. *ubi supra*; Eutrop. lib. ix.; Victor, de Cæsaribus.

the strife by putting him and his son to death; upon which the imperial cohorts immediately passed over to the ranks of their antagonists. Nor did the senate long delay to give the sanction of their authority to the right of conquest. The letters of Æmilianus to that body display a mixture of moderation and vanity. He assured them that he should resign to their wisdom the administration of civil affairs; and, contenting himself with the honour of obeying their commands as a general, he would endeavour to avenge the cause of Rome, by driving from the empire those crowds of barbarians by whom its provinces in the north and east had been recently insulted. His modesty and patriotism were applauded by the senators; and their sense of his good intentions is perpetuated in certain medals, which represent him as combining in his own person the attributes of Hercules and of Mars.[1] A. D. 253.

Æmilianus deserted by his troops, and massacred.

Valerian, who had been despatched by Gallus to bring to his assistance the legions stationed on the frontiers of Germany, did not arrive in time to prevent the death of the emperor; but finding, upon his return to Italy, that the catastrophe now mentioned had already taken place, he determined to revenge it on the person of the usurper. The army which had raised the latter to the throne, appears still to have continued on the ground whereon was decided the fate of the two rival commanders; and where, without drawing the sword to defend the object of its recent choice, it was again to transfer the crown to another head. The moderation which Æmilianus displayed, and which was probably the effect of principle, was ascribed by the fierce soldiery to the influence of fear. His apparent pusillanimity withdrew their confidence; and finding that Valerian was approaching, by rapid marches, to punish their late disaffection, they resolved to secure his forbearance by repeating, in his own favour, the treason with which they were chargeable against Gallus. The troops under his command had already proclaimed him Augustus; and the murder of the reigning prince by their hands soon opened to Valerian an unresisted passage to the throne.[2]

CAIUS PUBLIUS LICINIUS VALERIANUS AUGUSTUS.

FROM A. D. 253 TO A. D. 260.

Character of Valerianus.

Few princes, in the evil times of which we are now writing, entered upon the government with the advantages of so high a reputation as that enjoyed by Valerian. His merits had attracted the attention of the whole empire; and his elevation to the most eminent rank in the state was accompanied with universal congratulation in Italy as well as in the provinces. Descended from an illustrious family, he was introduced at an early period of life to the most important offices,

[1] Zosim. lib. ii.; Zonar. lib. xii. c. xxi. p. 627.
[2] Eutrop. lib. ix.; Aurel. Victor, de Cæsaribus.

A. D. 253. civil and military, that were open to the ambition of a patrician youth; and long before he reached the throne, he had arrived at a degree of consideration much more gratifying to a patriotic mind than the more ostentatious honours of imperial power. The judgment formed of his character by his contemporaries, supersedes every other species of eulogy. When Decius desired the senate to select from their body one qualified to discharge the duties of censor, the choice unanimously fell on Valerian. "His whole life," they exclaimed, "has been an example and an admonition to his fellow-citizens. Let him be the judge of others, who, in all respects, is their superior. Let him be appointed to investigate the conduct of the senators, who himself is not chargeable with any crime. Let him pronounce sentence on our lives, whose own purity has never been impeached. From his earliest childhood Valerian has been censor; his maturer years have done honour to the same office: as a senator he has been wise, moderate, and grave; a friend of good men, and an enemy of the tyrannical and immoral. We are all ready to acknowledge him as censor, because we are desirous to imitate his virtues. More distinguished by his merits than by the nobleness of his blood, his conduct shows innocency of manners and sublimity of sentiments. He has revived in his person the excellence of the first ages; and we venerate in his character an example of the purest and best of times."[1]



Valerianus.

His reign not prosperous.

But with all these qualities to fit him for government, the reign of Valerian was not happy. His merits may have been overrated by partial judges; or, perhaps, the advanced period of life to which he had arrived, may have blunted his energies and clouded his discernment; but, whatever may have been the cause, there is no doubt that the character of his administration did not correspond to the lofty conceptions of wisdom and vigour, which his conduct in a lower sphere had led his countrymen to form. To this ruler, accordingly, has been applied an observation made by Tacitus in regard to Galba, that, as long as he was a private person he appeared superior to a private station, and if he had never been emperor he would, in the opinion of all men, have been esteemed most capable of discharging all the duties belonging to that high office.[2] His views were not

[1] Trebell. Poll. Valer. c. i.–iii.

[2] Major privato visus, dum privatus fuit, et omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperâsset.—Tacit. Hist. lib. i. c. xlix.

sufficiently expansive; and, above all, he wanted firmness in adhering to his plans, and activity in reducing them to practice. He is reported also in his latter years, to have become timid and credulous, more alive to the sense of danger than to the means of avoiding it: and hence, though the love of his country never cooled in his breast, he yet brought on it, or rather, perhaps, allowed it to endure, evils much more formidable than could have arisen from injustice and tyranny combined.[1] A. D. 253.

The empire invaded by the Franks.

The reign of Valerian was soon disturbed by a simultaneous invasion of several of those warlike nations, which had gradually been augmenting their numbers and improving their martial skill, along its northern boundaries. A powerful host, who had assumed the proud appellation of Franks, or Freemen, threatened the banks of the Rhine, and even made repeated inroads into the Roman provinces; to oppose whom, the emperor sent his son Gallienus, already honoured with the title of Cæsar, assisted by the experience of Posthumus, a general of high reputation, who undertook to direct the movements of the army. The first efforts of the prince, it is said, were crowned with distinguished success. The applause of history, confirmed by a series of medals, ascribes to the son of Valerian several important victories, by which he acquired the distinction of Germanicus Maximus. Having weakened their power in the field of battle, he next attempted to bind the faith of the enemy by a solemn compact; a proof, in all cases, that the triumphs of the conqueror have not been complete. The German prince with whom this alliance was formed, promised not only to abstain from all farther aggression himself, but even to prevent every other member of the confederacy from crossing the Rhine with hostile intentions.[2]

Inroad into Spain.

There appears, however, in opposition to the statement just given, a remarkable historical fact, which cannot be reconciled to the belief that the Franks were either intimidated, or induced to relinquish their plans of conquest. We find in the pages of Aurelius Victor, that the barbarians, who are supposed to have yielded to the arms or policy of Gallienus, not only extended their ravages to the Pyrenees, but entered Spain, and laid waste some of its richest provinces. Having exhausted the plunder of that extensive peninsula, they crossed the Mediterranean, and carried into the Roman colonies in Africa the terror and desolation which everywhere marked their progress.[3]

Valerian sets out to conduct the war against the Persians.

Valerian had already departed from Rome to conduct the legions in Syria against Sapor, king of Persia; and, consequently, while Gallienus was engaged on the Rhine, the government of the empire must have been confided to chiefs of the senate, under the nominal superintendence, perhaps, of one of the junior members of the imperial family. In the absence of the two rulers, Italy appears to have been

[1] Zosim. lib. i.; Aurel. Victor. [2] Zosim. lib. i.; Eutrop. lib. ix.
[3] Aurel. Victor, c. xxxiii.; Eutrop. lib. ix.

A. D. 253 to A. D. 256.

menaced with an invasion by another horde of Germans, who are known to history by the name of Alemanni; an appellation which is understood to express the variety of their lineage, and the courage which they claimed as common to them all. A numerous body of this enterprising people had pushed across the Danube, penetrated the defiles of the Rhætian Alps, and poured down upon the plains of Lombardy. Meeting with no force able to oppose their progress, they advanced as far as Ravenna, and even extended the fear of conquest to the very gates of the capital; when an army, raised in haste by the zeal of the senate, and reinforced by the Prætorian guards, successfully repelled the tumultuary invaders, and finally drove them back into their own country. It is probable, however, that the Alemanni, already laden with plunder, and having therefore a stronger inducement to retreat than to fight, allowed to the Romans the credit of an easy victory; for it appears that they had no sooner deposited their spoils in a place of security, than they returned to lay waste the fields, and attack the wealth which had provoked their avarice.

Gallienus defeats the Alemanni.

This second invasion procured for Gallienus the honour of a decisive victory. Zonares informs us, that the prince, at the head of only ten thousand legionary soldiers, defeated, near Milan, a host of Germans, amounting to not fewer than three hundred thousand men. But the extent of this triumph may very reasonably be called in question, particularly when we find that the Roman conqueror immediately contracted an alliance with the king of one of the hostile tribes, married his daughter, and relinquished to him, as the price of his friendship, a large portion of territory in the province of Pannonia.[1]

Goths invade the Illyrian provinces,

The first cares of Valerian, upon his departure from Rome, were directed to the safety of the Illyrian settlements. The Goths, who in their successive migrations from the shores of the Baltic, had now reached those of the Euxine, were become very formidable neighbours to the Roman provincials in that remote part of the empire. Various engagements took place between them and the imperial lieutenants, in which the skill and firmness of the legions generally proved successful over mere savage strength and impetuosity. Aurelian, in a particular manner, distinguished himself in the Gothic war, and was rewarded for his exploits with the honour of the consulate. Probus, too, who was afterwards raised to the throne, acquired great reputation in the same arduous service. The emperor himself remained at Byzantium to direct the movements of his generals, and to remunerate their toils; and so great were their vigilance and activity along the whole extent of the frontiers, that the barbarians were checked or defeated in every inroad which they attempted into the Illyrian provinces.[2]

[1] Zonar. lib. xii. c. xxiii. p. 629: Aurel. Victor, c. xxxiii.

[2] August. Hist.; Vopisc. in Aurel.; Trebell. Poll. in Claud.; Vopisc. in Prob.

A. D. 253 to A. D. 256. and Asia Minor.

But the Goths found less difficulty in making an impression on the Roman colonies in Asia Minor. Directing the stream of emigration from the northern shores of the Black Sea, they arrived at the little kingdom of Bosphorus; which falling a ready prey into their hands, supplied them with ships and other means for carrying their armies to the coast of Asia. Embarking in the fleet with which they were thus provided, the Gothic chiefs first encountered the Roman power at the fortress of Pityus, whence they were repulsed with considerable slaughter: but being desirous to remove the disgrace which attached to their failure, they afterwards renewed the siege with increased vigour, and ultimately reduced the garrison to the necessity of surrendering. This success inspired them with so much confidence, that they resolved to pursue their conquests on an enlarged scale. They cruised along the shores of the Euxine in search of an object worthy of their courage, when, at length, they cast their eyes upon a rich temple, at the mouth of the river Phasis, which they attempted, but in vain, to plunder. The city of Trebizond next awakened their love of booty and adventure, and, owing to the most culpable negligence on the part of the soldiers appointed to defend it, their determination to carry it by storm was followed by the most complete success. A double wall and ten thousand men could not protect the wealth of that celebrated place against the assault of rude barbarians. A general massacre of the inhabitants ensued; the temples and the most splendid edifices were involved in a common destruction; and the amount of the spoil was so great, that the victors loaded with it a fleet of ships which they found in the harbour. The prisoners, too, whom they carried with them to their new settlement in the kingdom of Bosphorus, served not only to man their ships, but also to instruct them in naval architecture and navigation, in which arts the Romans, who colonized the maritime districts of the empire, had made considerable advances.[1]

They take Trebizond.

They renew their invasion.

Encouraged by a degree of success which must have surpassed their most sanguine hopes, the Goths, in the course of the ensuing winter, made preparations for a second expedition against the Roman settlements in Asia Minor. Having equipped on this occasion a greater armament than before, they directed their course to the western shores of the Euxine; and at length, after stripping the city of Chalcedon of its arms and wealth, they marched their victorious bands into the province of Bithynia. Guided by the local knowledge of a traitor, who had joined their ranks, they proceeded to Nicomedia, the ancient capital of the Bithynian kings, which they took and plundered. Nice, Prusa, Apamæa, and Chius, cities not much inferior in wealth or population to Nicomedia, were involved in the same

[1] Zosim. lib. i. p. 647, 648; Aurel. Victor, de Cæsaribus; Zonar. lib. xii. c. xxiii. p. 630.

A. D. 253 to A. D. 256.

calamity. Cyzicus escaped a similar fate, owing to an inundation of the adjacent country, or to the unusual swelling of a river which crossed the path of the Goths. These victors, accordingly, once more loaded with booty, and leaving a name increased in terror by their late excesses, returned to their own coast, meditating new invasions and more extended conquests.[1]

It is extremely difficult, amid the varying statements of ancient annalists, to determine the actual succession of events, and more especially as the same occurrence is referred to the time of Valerian, or to that of his son, according to the caprice of the several writers from whom we derive our information. The third inroad of the Scythian or Gothic nations is usually placed in the reign of Gallienus; on which account, although there are considerable authorities for an earlier date, we shall adopt the more common arrangement. Meantime we proceed to trace the fortunes of the Roman emperor in the East, when he was called from his retirement at Byzantium to repress the ambitious designs of the warlike Sapor.[2]

Sapor advances into Mesopotamia and Syria. A. D. 259.

Since the peace concluded by Philip with the Persian prince, there had been no open hostilities between the two empires. Sapor, indeed, had seized several occasions for annoying the Romans, and undermining their interests in Armenia and Syria; availing himself of the weakness, confusion, and distrust, which always accompany rapid changes in the supreme authority. But it was not till the reign of Valerian that he resolutely threw off the mask, and manifested a determination to try his strength against the armies of Rome. He was induced, it is said, to take this important step by the counsels of Cyriades, the son of a Syrian nobleman, who, having forfeited his reputation at home, took refuge at the court of the Persian monarch. Taking the field suddenly, and before the Romans were acquainted with his design, Sapor advanced into Mesopotamia, where he took Nisibis and Carrhæ; and then penetrated into Syria, where he succeeded in surprising Antioch. So unexpected was the approach of the enemy, that the inhabitants of the great city just named, were attacked by the spears of the Persians, while employed in witnessing the feats of a pantomime. Their houses were



Sapor.

[1] Zosim. lib. i. p. 649.

[2] Ibid. p. 641.

sacked, and the surrounding country was plundered, before they could have recourse to arms, or summon to their aid the legions which guarded the province.[1] A. D. 260.

The Persians retire before Valerian; but in the end defeat him and take him prisoner.

In such circumstances, indeed, nothing could have saved the whole of Asia Minor from conquest, had the victors thought proper to advance. But the soldiers of Sapor, enriched by an immense booty which they were unwilling to hazard, and aware, perhaps, that the western provinces were already disputed by an enemy, from whom they could gain neither honour nor wealth, judged it expedient to return into their own country. Valerian, meanwhile, made his appearance in Syria, and began to repair the fortifications of Antioch; a labour for which he has been rewarded by the flattery of the imperial mint, with the title of Restorer of the East, preserved to the present day on certain well-authenticated medals. Finding that the Persians had laid siege to Edessa, he crossed the Euphrates and entered Mesopotamia; where, encountering the host of the enemy on disadvantageous ground, or betrayed by the wiles of a faithless general, he sustained a severe defeat. Intimidated by this reverse, he was about to make arrangements for purchasing peace at the hand of the conqueror, by paying a large sum of money. Sapor, meditating, it is presumed, the treachery which followed, expressed a desire to treat with the emperor in person. The latter complied with this request; upon which he was detained as a prisoner, and carried captive into the heart of Persia, where he lingered several years before he was relieved from his ignominy by the hand of death.[2]

His miserable captivity and death in Persia. A. D. 260.

Sapor is reproached with a proud abuse of the rights of conquest. We are told that Valerian, in chains, but invested with the imperial purple, was exposed to the multitude, a constant spectacle of fallen greatness; and that whenever the Persian monarch mounted on horseback, he placed his foot on the neck of a Roman emperor. Notwithstanding all the remonstrances of his allies, who repeatedly advised him to remember the vicissitudes of fortune, to dread the returning power of Rome, and to make his illustrious captive the pledge of peace, not the object of insult, Sapor still remained inflexible. When Valerian sunk under the weight of shame and grief, his skin stuffed with straw, and formed into the likeness of a human figure, was preserved for ages in the most celebrated temple of Persia; a more real monument of triumph than the fancied trophies of brass and marble, so often erected by Roman vanity. The tale is moral and pathetic, but the truth of it may possibly be called in question. The letters still still extant from the princes of the East to Sapor are manifest forgeries; nor is it natural to suppose that a jealous monarch should, even in the person of a rival, thus publicly degrade the majesty of

[1] Zonar. lib. xii. c. xxiii. xxiv. p. 629–631; Trebell. Poll. August. Hist. Trigint. Tyrann.; Amm. Marcel. lib. xxiii.

[2] Zonar. lib. xii. c. xxiii.; Aurel. Victor, Epit. c. xlvi. p. 89, edit. Lugd. Bat.

A. D. 260. kings. Whatever more cruel treatment the unfortunate Valerian might experience in Persia, it is at least certain that the only emperor of Rome who had ever fallen into the hand of the enemy, languished away his life in hopeless captivity.[1]



Arch of Gallienus. *Venuti, Antichità di Roma.*

PUBLIUS LICINIUS GALLIENUS AUGUSTUS.

FROM A. D. 260 TO 268.

Character of Gallienus.

When the news of Valerian's hard fate reached Gallienus, the unnatural son concealed his inward satisfaction under the show of philosophical constancy and moderation. He made some trivial remarks on the vanity of human life, and on the instability of earthly hopes, and forthwith relapsed into his luxurious habits and vicious indulgences. While he was thus exhausting the treasures of the empire on the most contemptible objects, changing, by his fantastic pleasures, day into night, and winter into summer, his most valuable provinces were attacked by powerful enemies, and his lieutenants, in many parts, had renounced their allegiance, and even turned their arms against him. The plague, at the same time, continued to desolate the capital; carrying off, on some occasions, not fewer than five thousand individuals in a day. Famine, too, joined its ravages to those of disease; and even inanimate nature, by storms and earthquakes, co-operated with moral causes to desolate and alarm the whole Roman world. But we cannot pursue the details, which made the deepest impression on contemporary writers, and which, perhaps, have been magnified by superstition and resentment. We resume,

[1] Lactan. de Mort. Persecut. c. v.; Victor, Epit. c. xlvi.; Oros. lib. vii. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. c. x.

therefore, the course of general history, and return to the scene of war occupied by the Goths and Persians.[1] A. D. 260.

The Persians renew their invasion.

Sapor, after having subdued the Roman army in Mesopotamia, and seized the person of the emperor, renewed his invasion of Syria and of Asia Minor. He retook Antioch, which had been partially rebuilt and strengthened; after which he marched into Cilicia, and made himself master of Tarsus. Thence he advanced against Cæsarea, one of the principal towns in Cappadocia, and supposed to contain not fewer than four hundred thousand inhabitants. Demosthenes, a general much esteemed for his patriotism and professional knowledge, assumed the command of the garrison, and would, it is probable, have baffled all the efforts of the Persians, had not a physician, who seems to have been taken prisoner in a sally, revealed to them the means by which the walls might be ascended. The scene which ensued disgraced the triumph of Sapor. He is accused of treating his prisoners with wanton cruelty; enraged, it was thought, at the escape of the Roman commander, who bravely cut his way through a thick body of the assailants. Aware, perhaps, that he could not make any permanent establishment in the empire, he sought only to leave behind him a wasted desert, whilst he transported beyond the Euphrates the people and the wealth of the conquered provinces. But his career was checked by two of the imperial lieutenants, who finding that the interests of the state were abandoned by their profligate prince, took upon themselves the exercise of a discretionary power, in the employment of the forces committed to their charge.

Are repulsed by Balista,

The Persian monarch laid siege to Pompeiopolis, which he threatened, in case of a protracted resistance, to visit with all the horrors of war. Balista, who had risen to the highest honours under the personal command of Valerian, assembled such troops as could be drawn together without loss of time, and attacked the invaders with so much skill and resolution, that he compelled them to relinquish that undertaking, and break up their camp. The retreat of an eastern army soon degenerates into a rout. The Romans, pressing upon the rear of the fugitives, gave them no opportunity to rally, and at length had the satisfaction of seeing them recross the Euphrates, enriched indeed with spoil, but stripped of all the warlike honours which they had derived from their late successes.[2]

and defeated by Odenatus.

But Sapor encountered a still more formidable enemy in Odenatus, a noble senator of Palmyra, who, amidst all the vicissitudes of their fortune, remained faithful to Valerian and to Gallienus. The zeal of this chief was, moreover, not a little sharpened by a personal insult inflicted upon him by the Persian king. Desirous to secure at least

[1] Trebell. Poll. in Gallien.; Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. vii.; Zonar. lib. xii. c. xxiv. p. 631.

[2] Trebell. Poll. Trigint. Tyrann. 18; Syncell. Chronograph. p. 382; Zonar. lib. xii. c. xxiv.

A. D. 260. the forbearance of that conqueror, Odenatus sent to him a magnificent present, accompanied with a letter full of respect and submission: but the haughty monarch, instead of being softened by this expression of good will, ordered the gift to be thrown into the Euphrates, and returned an answer breathing the utmost contempt and indignation. "Who is this Odenatus," he exclaimed, "that he should thus dare to write to his master? If he would obtain any mitigation of his punishment, let him prostrate himself at the foot of my throne, with his hands tied behind his back. Should he refuse to do this, no mercy shall be extended to himself, to his family, or to his devoted country." The Palmyrian commander, who read his fate in the angry message of Sapor, immediately took the field; and, falling upon the enemy before they recovered from the panic inspired into them by the cohorts of Balista, gained a decisive advantage over their main body. He burst into the camp, seized the treasure and the concubines of the prince, dispersed the intimidated soldiers, and in a short time restored Carrhæ, Nisibis, and all Mesopotamia to the possession of the Romans. Trebellius Pollio informs us, that he even proceeded so far as to lay siege to Ctesiphon, with the view of liberating Valerian, who was still alive, but that neither his arms nor his entreaties could effect his benevolent object.[1]

The usurpers who disturbed the reign of Gallienus.

The events now mentioned took place in an early part of the reign of Gallienus; immediately after which there follows a scene of confusion into which no diligence or arrangement can introduce the light of historical order. In almost every province of the empire, the commander of the legions was raised by his men to the rank of Augustus; and hence, at one period in this troubled era, there were as many emperors as armies. Posthumus reigned seven years in Gaul; Macrian was acknowledged sovereign in Asia; Valens assumed the purple in Achaia; and Ingenuus was hailed ruler of Pannonia. Macrian fell in Illyricum, whither he had gone to vanquish a rival, leaving his youngest son in the east to administer the government. Quietus, the name of this prince, was attacked by Odenatus, (who acted as a lieutenant of Gallienus,) and slain at Emesa. Balista assumed the vacant sceptre, which he succeeded in retaining three years, either by the sufferance, or in defiance of the Palmyrian general. The affairs of Syria being thus restored to some degree of tranquillity, Odenatus was elevated to the authority of a sovereign, and Gallienus took the honours of a triumph for the victories gained by the former in the war with the Persians.[2]

It is a fancy of the historian Trebellius Pollio, that as Greece had to bewail the domination of thirty tyrants, so the Romans, in the time of Gallienus, were visited with a similar calamity in the persons

[1] Trebell. Poll. Trigint. Tyrann. 13; Zonar. lib. xii. c. xxiii.; Agath. lib. iv. Zosim. lib. i. p. 661.

[2] Trebell. Poll. Trigint. Tyrann. *passim*; et Vita Gallien. c. x.

of those military usurpers to whom we have already made allusion. A. D. 260 to A. D. 267. But the number fixed upon cannot be completed unless we include in it the names of certain women and children, who were, in a moment of disaffection or sport, raised to the imperial title. Instead, however, of tracing the progress and suppression of every separate revolt, we shall hold it sufficient to specify the names of the leaders, and of the countries wherein they respectively arose.

In Illyricum	Decius Lælius Ingenuus	A. D. 260
	Quintus Nonus Regillianus	261
In the East	M. Fulvius Macrianus	260
	Servius Anicas Balista	262
In Greece	Lucius Valerius Valens	261
	L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi	261
In Gaul	M. Cassius Latianus Posthumus	260
	Julius Cassius Posthumus	—
	Ulpius Cornelius Lælianus	267
	Marcus Aurelius Victorinus	267
	Lucius Aurelius Victorinus	—
	P. Pesuvius Tetricus	267
In Egypt	T. Cestius Alexander Æmilianus	262
In Africa	T. Cornelianus Celsus	—
In Isauria	C. Annius Trebellianus	—
In Pontus	P. Sempronius Saturninus	263
In Italy	Man. Acilius Aureolus	267

To these we may add the names of Odenatus, of Herodes his son, of Mæonius his nephew, and finally of Zenobia his queen; but as the government of Palmyra was recognised by Gallienus, we can see no reason for inserting the legitimate sovereigns of that country in the list of tyrants or usurpers. Indeed, if we examine with candour the conduct of those commanders to whom the stigma of usurpation is attached, it will appear that they were much oftener driven into rebellion by their fears than by any impulse of ambition. They dreaded the cruel suspicions of Gallienus, and the capricious violence of their own troops. If the dangerous favour of the army had imprudently declared them deserving of the purple, they were marked for sure destruction; and in such circumstances, even prudence would counsel them to secure a short enjoyment of empire, and rather to try the fortune of war than to submit ingloriously to the hand of an executioner. Nevertheless, even as it was, of the nineteen tyrants who started up in the reign of Gallienus, there was not one who enjoyed a life of peace, or a natural death.[1] Their characters and motives.

The irruptions of the Gothic nations were so frequently repeated during the days of Gallienus, that it is very difficult to determine either their number or their order. On one occasion they extended New invasions of the Goths.

[1] Trebell. Poll. *ubi supra*; Aurel. Victor, Epit. c. xlvi. xlvii.

A. D. 267. their ravages to the very heart of Greece, and even threatened the shores of Italy. Having forced a passage into the Propontis, or sea of Marmora, they landed on the island of Cyzicus, and reduced to ruins the ancient city of the same name. Pushing at length through the Hellespont, and dividing their incursions between the Asiatic and European coasts, they finally anchored their fleet in the port of Piræus, about five miles distant from Athens. An attempt had been made, by an imperial engineer, to repair the walls which had lain neglected since the conquest of Sylla; but all the efforts of his skill proved ineffectual, for the barbarians, who supplied by courage their want of science, soon rendered themselves masters of the city of Cecrops. The bravery of the Athenians, indeed, revenged the shame and loss inflicted upon their country. While the conquerors were occupied with the intemperate joys which usually followed their success, Dexippus collected a large body of soldiers, and making a sudden attack upon the Gothic flotilla, which was but slenderly guarded, succeeded in burning it to ashes. This exploit, though little regarded at the moment, contributed very materially to the ultimate failure of the expedition. The barbarians, in the mean time, it is true, incensed at being cut off from the means of retreat, gave vent to their wrath in more extended devastations. The smoke of burning cities rose in every part of Greece. Thebes, Argos, Corinth, and Sparta, once so powerful and warlike, were not able to meet the invaders in the field, nor even to defend their fortifications. The havoc of fire and sword spread from the remotest islands of the Ægean to the shores of the Adriatic; and it was not until this ferocious enemy had advanced within sight of Italy, that Gallienus allowed himself to be awakened from his dream of security.[1]

Goths repulsed: extent of their ravages. A. D. 267.

The appearance of a Roman army first alarmed and afterwards divided the Gothic hordes. Having lost their ships, some of them attempted to return homeward through Mœsia and across the Danube; while others, weary of adventures or unwilling to engage in unequal war, entered into alliance with Gallienus and abandoned the national confederacy. We are not without suspicion, that in the works of the several annalists and compilers from which we collect our materials, we have been condemned to read in various forms more than one account of the same campaign. The general idea that results from a comparison of their different narratives is, that all the provinces of Illyricum and Asia Minor, the islands and even the continent of Greece were continually exposed to the ravages of the Gothic and German nations, who poured in upon them both by sea and land; sometimes passing the Danube, sometimes entering by the mouth of that great river, and sometimes crossing the Euxine sea; and in the engagements which they fought were sometimes defeated and sometimes victorious, but were never daunted nor completely

[1] Trebell. Poll. in Gallien. c. vi. uii.; Aurel. Victor; Eutrop. lib. ix.

destroyed. We find, in particular, that the temple of Diana, at Ephesus, was plundered and burnt by those barbarians; that ancient Ilium, always unfortunate, suffered from them the same calamities which were brought upon it by the Greeks many ages before; that they sacked the city of Chalcedon also, and reduced it to so deplorable a condition, that, three hundred years after, it still retained marks of their fury; and finally, that all Trajan's conquests beyond the Danube were wrested from the Romans, and became again the property of the northern tribes.[1] A. D. 268.

Murder of Odenatus.

The name of Odenatus is, by one of the authors of the Augustan History, connected with the repulse of the Goths. Of this fact there remains no satisfactory evidence; but it admits not of any doubt, that the sovereign of Palmyra fell soon afterwards by the hand of domestic treason, in which his queen, Zenobia, was suspected to have had a share. Gallienus made a fruitless attempt to revenge the death of his faithful ally. Heraclian, to whom was confided the command of the Syrian legions, attacked the widow of Odenatus, but, after a sanguinary conflict, he was obliged to return with the shattered remains of a defeated army.[2]

Death of Gallienus,

Aureolus, meanwhile, who had been left in Italy at the head of a considerable force, assumed the purple and displayed the standard of rebellion. This intelligence induced Gallienus to leave Illyricum, whence he was soon afterwards followed by his two generals, Marcian and Claudius, who joined him when engaged in the siege of Milan, into which the usurper had thrown himself. But they entered his camp, not to strengthen his hands nor to promote his interests. The empire could no longer tolerate the vicious imbecility of a prince, whose conduct reflected upon it infamy and loss; on which account, the commanders just named, with Heraclian, the Prætorian præfect, agreed to take away his life, and transfer the imperial sceptre to more worthy hands. For this purpose a false alarm was given, that the enemy were about to make a sally, which immediately roused Gallienus from his table or his bed; when, issuing forth to direct the movement of his troops, he was shot with an arrow aimed at him by a Dalmatian horseman. His brother Valerian, who had been associated with him in the government, and his son Saloninus, who enjoyed the title of Cæsar, soon afterwards fell victims to the popular resentment. The news of his death, indeed, was received at Rome with transports of joy. The senate and people vied with one another in expressing their detestation of his memory, and in visiting his crimes upon his family and relations. Hence, the first exercise of authority, on the part of the new emperor, was directed to the protection of the tyrant's friends; a token of clemency which inspired the best hopes relative to the spirit of the ensuing reign, and con-

and of his son and brother. March, A. D. 268.

[1] Trebell. Poll. c. vii. viii.

[2] Zosim. lib. i.; Zonar. lib. xii. c. xxiv.

A. D. 268. trasted most advantageously with the vindictive temper which had stained the ten preceding years with terror and bloodshed.[1]

MARCUS AURELIUS CLAUDIUS II. AUGUSTUS.

FROM A. D. 268 TO A. D. 270.

Extraction of Claudius.

CLAUDIUS, being the second of the name who had ascended the imperial throne, is usually distinguished by the epithet of Gothicus, which he derived from a victory gained over those barbarians. He is said to have been of Illyrian extraction, and he was certainly one of those whose merits stand higher than their genealogy; for we find him in the reign of Decius serving in the quality of tribune, without any other distinction besides that of professional ability and zeal. The means by which he raised himself to the empire did not escape condemnation; for in taking away the life of Gallienus, he was forgetful of the obligations which he owed to the house of Valerian, the most active of his patrons. But it has been observed in his defence, that his opposition would not have prevented the catastrophe which he was induced to countenance; and, moreover, that his participation in this crime was the only stain in his public life. In all other matters he justly deserves the praise that is due to real magnanimity, true patriotism, a strict love of justice, a noble simplicity of manners, bravery and good conduct in war, and a wise and gentle government in peace.[2]

He defeats Aureolus. A. D. 268.

The letter in which he announced his accession to the throne, was received by the senators with much delight, and answered with a corresponding enthusiasm. "Claudius Augustus," said they, "we are confident we shall find in you a father, a brother, and a friend; you are a deserving member of the senate; and the empire acknowledges you for a head worthy of its greatness." Before he proceeded to Rome, he thought it expedient to determine the pretensions of Aureolus, who still kept possession of Milan, and claimed the allegiance due to the master of the Roman world. A battle ensued, in which the usurper was defeated and slain. The accounts of his death are indeed various; but it is agreed on all hands, that if he did not fall in the field, he was despatched immediately afterwards by the victorious soldiers; who conjectured, perhaps, that such an instance of forward zeal would not prove unacceptable to the imperial commander. The sincerity of Claudius has therefore been questioned, when he bewailed the fate of a rival, whose life could not but appear incompatible with his own security and repose. He erected a monument to commemorate the fame of his companion in arms; and declared in a Greek epitaph, which is still extant, that he meant to save the

[1] Zosim. lib. i. p. 651; Aurel. Victor, Epit.; Zonar. lib. xii. c. xxiv. p. 631.
[2] Trebell. Poll. Claud. c. xiv. xv.

unfortunate Aureolus, but was prevented by the troops into whose hands he had fallen. The tomb, if we may confide in the accuracy of Tillemont, continues to distinguish a spot upon the river Adda, between Milan and Bergamo, anciently known by the name of Pons Aureoli, and which, in its present appellation of Pontirolo, bears an intelligible reference to the event that we have just described.[1] A. D. 268.

Nothing now remained to prevent Claudius from repairing to Rome, to enjoy the congratulations of his subjects, who could not find terms in which to express the joy that his presence everywhere excited. But the emperor was too wise to devote much of his time to the laudatory ceremonials which followed his entrance into the capital. Law had been despised, and justice trampled under the foot of power; he therefore proceeded without delay to redress injuries which had been already inflicted, and to enact such statutes as might prevent their repetition. He was, however, soon obliged to relinquish that pacific occupation. Tetricus had seized with his rebellious army the provinces of the west. The centre of the empire was harassed by the incessant inroads of the Goths; while Zenobia, in the east, not satisfied with the territory which her husband had possessed, extended her dominions by conquest, and even forced Egypt to acknowledge her power. His attention was directed to these three enemies at once; but the Scythian invaders, as they were more active than the other two, seemed to demand a more prompt and determined resistance.[2]

New invasion of Goths.

The return of the barbarians on the present occasion, has been ascribed to the injudicious levity with which they were treated by the imperial lieutenants, when they were dispersed in Illyricum by Gallienus, during his last expedition. Claudius, who at that period commanded in Mœsia or Pannonia, proposed to cut off their scattered bands, and prevent them from crossing the Danube; but Marcian, who served in the same country as his colleague, would not concur in a measure which appeared more cruel than expedient. The facility and impunity with which they were thus allowed to carry away loads of spoil, could not but encourage them to renew their depredations; and the successor of Gallienus, accordingly, had no sooner mounted the throne than he received information that a confederacy of the Gothic tribes had invaded the empire, to the amount of three hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, and two thousand ships.[3]

They sail to the Hellespont.

Embarking at the mouth of the Niester, anciently called the Tyrus, they sailed southward along the coast, committing ravages as they proceeded upon such towns as lay within a convenient distance, until at length they reached the Thracian Bosphorus. Being repulsed at Cyzicus and Byzantium, they steered for the gulf of Thessalonica.

[1] Trebell. Poll. Trigint. Tyrann.; Aurel. Victor.
[2] Zonar. lib. xii. c. xxvi. p. 635; Trebell. Poll. in Claud.
[3] Zonar. lib. i. p. 652.

A. D. 269. That city was exposed to the miseries of a siege; but neither it nor Cassandræa, which was likewise beleaguered, fell into the hands of the enemy. No place of consequence, indeed, except Athens, was subjected to the horror and disgrace of actual capture; but, while the main body of the army was employed in investing the greater towns, the fleet supplied the means of inflicting much distress upon the shores of Thessaly and of Greece, the islands of Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus, and upon all the maritime parts of Pamphylia.[1]

Are defeated by Claudius, A. D. 269.

The Goths were still before Thessalonica when Claudius appeared in Greece. Intimidated by his military reputation not less than by the formidable armament which he had under his command, they raised the siege and retired into the northern parts of Macedonia. The emperor followed in their steps towards the Danube, beyond which they had meant to continue their retreat; and it was not before they reached Naissus, in Servia, that he could overtake their fugitive hordes. There a battle ensued which was long and obstinately disputed, until victory at length declared in favour of the Romans. Fifty thousand of the enemy were slain, and the rest resumed their flight; but Claudius was now resolved to make an example of the vanquished barbarians, and to visit them with so severe a chastisement, that the remembrance of it might for a time confine them to their woods and marshes. He therefore renewed his pursuit and brought them again to action. The Goths rallied their scattered forces, constructed a rampart of their waggons, and received with determined bravery the onset of the victors. After a desperate conflict, success once more attended the imperial arms; while such of the enemy as survived, finding their retreat entirely cut off, fell back upon Macedonia, in the hope, perhaps, of reaching their fleet on the coast. Claudius, by means of a rapid movement effected by his cavalry, threw himself between them and the sea; the infantry, at the same time, pressing upon their rear, and allowing them no leisure for repose or for consultation. But even in the deplorable circumstances to which they were now reduced, the fierceness and valour of the barbarians rendered them extremely formidable to the conquerors. They rushed upon the Roman foot with such fury, that they threw them into disorder, cut a considerable body of them in pieces, and probably would have secured a complete victory, had not the horsemen, informed of the danger with which the legions were surrounded, retraced their steps and appeared in the field of battle. The fate of the Goths was now inevitable. A succession of defeats had greatly thinned their numbers; the ablest of their leaders had fallen; their baggage and provisions were taken and destroyed, and a powerful enemy occupied the ground over which they had meditated to effect their escape. Unable to hazard another engagement, or even to continue longer together, they resolved to seek for safety amid the passes

and almost exterminated.

[1] Trebell. Poll. in Claud.; Zosim. lib. i. p. 653; Amm. Marcel. lib. xxxi.

of Mount Hæmus; where famine and disease consummated in a short time the process of destruction which the sword of Claudius had commenced. A letter from the emperor to Brorchus, the governor of Illyricum, describes the extent of his victory, and of the loss sustained by the Gothic warriors. "We have destroyed three hundred and twenty thousand Goths, and sunk two thousand ships. The rivers are covered with bucklers, and the shores with large swords and small lances. The plains are hid under heaps of slain. Every road is stained with blood. We have taken so many female prisoners, that every soldier in our army can claim two or three to serve as slaves."[1] A. D. 270.

Their ships destroyed.

The flotilla, in the meantime, sought the cost of Macedonia, in order to rejoin the army which had taken shelter in that province. But the army no longer existed, either to protect or to co-operate with the more fortunate marauders, who had filled their ships with the spoils of Greece and of Asia. In the uncertainty which prevailed respecting the lot of their countrymen, the soldiers landed, with the view of sharing their triumphs or of alleviating their misfortunes; a resolution which only tended to accomplish the entire ruin of their cause by land as well as by sea. Their vessels, abandoned by those who had been left to protect them, were burned or sunk; while the crews, unable to penetrate into an enemy's country, where everything opposed them, were obliged to disperse and throw themselves on the mercy of the inhabitants. An epidemic sickness, which tracked the progress of this sanguinary war, relieved the greater number from the restraints of captivity; and it was remarked, that after the lapse of a single winter, only a very few of the invading host remained to mourn the loss of their friends, or to attest the triumph of their enemies.[2]

Death of Claudius.

But the same disease which proved fatal to so many Goths did not spare their conqueror. Claudius was seized with its worst symptoms, at Sirmium, in the month of March in the year A. D. 270, where he soon afterwards expired, amid the unfeigned lamentations of the whole army. During his illness he is said to have convened the principal officers, civil, as well as military, and in their presence to have recommended Aurelian, one of his generals, as the most deserving of the throne, and the best qualified to execute the great design which he himself had been permitted only to undertake. A. D. 270.

LUCIUS DOMITIUS AURELIANUS AUGUSTUS.

FROM AUGUST A. D. 270 TO MARCH A. D. 275.

Lineage of Aurelian.

Aurelian, a soldier of fortune, owed his elevation to merit and not to birth. His father is said to have been a small farmer at Sirmium, a town in one of the Illyrian provinces, and to have occupied a piece

[1] Zonar. lib. xii. c. xxvi. p. 635; Aurel. Victor, Epit.
[2] Zosim. lib. i. p. 653; Zonar. lib. xii. c. xxvi. p. 635.

A. D. 270. of ground which belonged to Aurelius, a rich senator. The future emperor of Rome entered the army as a private; rose through the successive ranks of centurion, tribune, legionary præfect, and general; and during the Gothic war, under Claudius, we find him discharging the important office of commander-in-chief of the cavalry. He was one of the bravest and most vigorous men of his age. Devoted from his earliest days to military exercises, he excelled all his companions in horsemanship, in darting the javelin, and in the dexterous use of the sword. Nor was he less distinguished for the regularity of his discipline, and his assiduity in pointing out the way by which others might attain the same honours with himself; he exhorted the young officers to keep a watchful eye over the conduct of the soldiery. "Let not any one rob, nor extort, nor injure the property which falls into his hands. Let all learn to be satisfied with their allowances; or, if more be necessary, let them draw it from the blood of their enemies, and not from the tears of their fellow-subjects."[1]



Aurelianus.

Death of Quintillus.

The beginning of his reign suffered a momentary disturbance from the ambition of Quintillus, a brother of the late emperor. This unfortunate commander, being left with the charge of a body of troops in the neighbourhood of Aquileia, was by them raised to the purple as soon as it was known that Claudius had expired; but, owing the favourable opinion in which he was held to an amiable disposition rather than to splendid talents, he soon confessed himself unequal to dispute the sovereignty with Aurelian, and accordingly submitted to a voluntary death, after swaying an unhonoured sceptre only seventeen days.[2]

Fresh irruption of the Goths.

Aurelian had scarcely received at Rome the confirmation of his title, as master of the empire, when intelligence was brought to him that the Goths had again poured a host of invaders into Pannonia. The death of Claudius is supposed to have revived their hopes; and desirous, perhaps, to rescue or to avenge such of their countrymen as were still enduring the pains of captivity in the Roman provinces, they ventured once more on the chances of war. Aurelian put himself at the head of his legions in Illyricum, and advanced in search of the plunderers. A bloody and most obstinate battle took place, which

[1] Vopisc. in Aurel. c. iii.; Eutrop. lib. ix.; Aurel. Victor, de Cæsaribus; et Aurel. Victor, Epit.

[2] Vopisc. in Aurel. 17; Eutrop.

was terminated only by the approach of night; and when the dawn of the following day enabled each commander to estimate his loss, both parties were more willing to enter into a treaty than to renew so dreadful a conflict. Peace was concluded on terms mutually advantageous. The Goths were allowed to retire beyond the Danube without molestation, and to occupy the province of Dacia, now conceded to them by the Romans; while, in return, they bound themselves to supply to the latter two thousand cavalry to serve under the imperial generals, and to give a certain number of young men and maidens, the children of their principal men, as hostages of the due performance of the treaty. The youths Aurelian trained in the exercise of arms, and near his own person; to the damsels he gave a liberal education; and by bestowing them in marriage on some of his most deserving officers, he gradually introduced between the two nations the closest and most endearing connections.[1] A. D. 270.

Invasion by German tribes,

But the empire soon received a greater shock from a confederacy of the German nations on the upper Danube. An army, consisting of forty thousand horse and double that number of infantry, made an incursion within the Rhætian border, and even menaced the northern parts of Italy. A slight advantage gained over one of the tribes by Aurelian, induced the former to propose terms of peace; but as the power of Rome was not yet sufficiently humbled to receive conditions from barbarian ambassadors, the war was renewed with increased animosity and vigour. The emperor, not content with the prospect of driving back the invaders, determined to imitate the manœuvre of Claudius; and, by preventing their retreat, destroy them in a body. With this view, he conducted his army through the mountain passes, and occupied a strong position between the Alemanni and their native country; so that, had the frontiers of Italy been protected by a competent strength, it is very probable that his design would have been crowned with entire success. But no sooner did the Germans find that their march towards the Danube was obstructed, than they turned their faces once more to the south, forced the barriers of the Italian states, and at length encamped their army in the plains of Milan.

and defeat of the Romans.

Aurelian posted to the relief of his country, carrying with him a chosen body of auxiliaries, the Vandal cavalry, and all the Prætorian guards, who had served in the wars of Mœsia and Pannonia. He found the enemy near Placentia, and prepared to attack them on the following day. But more intent, it should seem, in pursuing his own designs than in guarding against those of the enemy, he allowed himself to fall into a snare which was spread for him, and lost, in a hopeless flight, the greater part of his army. So great was the consternation produced by this disaster, that every one saw in it the approaching dissolution of the empire. The sibylline books were consulted,

[1] Zonar. lib. xii. c. xxvii. p. 636; Zosim. lib. i. p. 655; Dexipp. Leg. p. 7; Amm. Marcel. lib. xvii.

A. D. 270. processions were ordered, and sacrifices were offered up, to avert the vengeance of heaven, and to postpone the ruin of the imperial city. A second battle was fought with better auspices near Faro in Umbria; and a third with still greater effect, near Pavia, or in the plain of the ancient Ticinum.[1]

Germans expelled.

Walls of Rome repaired.

The alarm excited in the capital by the German invasion, suggested to Aurelian the expediency of repairing the walls and renewing the fortifications. From the days of Hannibal five hundred years had elapsed, during which Rome had not had occasion to dread any foreign enemy. Confiding her safety to the arms of her soldiers and to the vigilance of her frontier camps, she had allowed her ancient walls to crumble down, and her battlements to become level with the earth. The emperor could not conceal from himself, that in the present great change of circumstances, the courage of his people required assistance from the arts of the mechanic and the engineer; on which account he proceeded to surround the city with a fence more than twenty miles in length, and constructed with such skill and materials as could resist the sudden attack of a barbarian army. The popular estimate is, indeed, considerably higher; and Vopiscus does not hesitate to assert, that the walls begun by Aurelian and finished by Probus, extended to fifty thousand paces. But how extensive soever they may have been, it was at best a melancholy labour, inasmuch as the fortification of the capital betrayed the decline of the empire, and pointed to the coming of those evil days when savage strength should overcome for a time the arts and policy of civilized Europe.[2]

War with Tetricus.

But the patriotic cares of Aurelian were not confined to Italy. It has been already mentioned, that Spain, Britain, and Gaul, were in the hands of Tetricus, who appears to have succeeded without opposition to the power of Posthumus in those countries; and the east, which had been neglected since the fall of Gallienus, now acknowledged the sovereignty of the ambitious Zenobia. It remains doubtful to which of the two former provinces the emperor first directed his attention. Eutropius and Eusebius relate that he began by subduing his rival beyond the Alps; while Trebellius Pollio, Vopiscus, and the two authors who are known under the common name of Aurelius Victor, assert that he gave precedence, in his scheme of conquest, to the heroic queen of Palmyra. As convenience seems to require that we should follow the authority of the former, we shall adopt the arrangement of Eutropius, without minutely inquiring into the grounds upon which it rests.[3]

Tetricus, it would appear, had, during five or six years, exercised

[1] Vopisc. in Aurel. *passim*; Aurel. Victor, Epit.

[2] Vopisc. in Aurel.; Zosim. lib. i. p. 655; Aurel. Victor, Epit. de Vit. et Moribus.

[3] Trebell. Poll. in Trigint. Tyrann.; Vopisc. in Aurel.; Eutrop. lib. ix.; Euseb. in Chron.; Aurel. Victor, de Cæsaribus; et Aurel. Victor, Epit.

in Gaul a reluctant and ungrateful sovereignty, the slave of the legions rather than their master, and, at once, the organ and the victim of their licentiousness. Disgusted with a situation from which he had no direct means of extricating himself, he entered into a secret correspondence with Aurelian, whom he entreated to resume, with a competent force, the government of the western provinces. Tetricus, affecting to aim at the imperial crown, induced his soldiers to take the field in that cause. They obeyed, but it was only to be delivered into the hands of the emperor; for no sooner had the two armies engaged near Chalons, on the river Marne, than the commander of the rebels passed over to the enemy and left them to their fate. The Gallic legions, though disordered and alarmed by the unexpected treachery of their chief, defended themselves with the greatest valour, till they were nearly all cut in pieces. The Franks and other auxiliaries, who had served under the Roman standard since the usurpation of Posthumus, finding that the arms of Aurelian could no longer be opposed, retired beyond the Rhine, and left the transalpine kingdoms to enjoy an unbroken tranquillity.[1]

A. D. 270.

He betrays his troops.

His successes in Gaul enabled Aurelian to carry an undivided power against Zenobia, who, availing herself of the distractions of the empire, had already established her sway from the Euphrates to the Nile. Historians have delighted to dwell on the personal attractions and the high mental endowments of this Syrian princess. Claiming a descent from the Grecian kings of Egypt, she is said to have equalled the Ptolemies in learning, and surpassed Cleopatra in beauty. The gravest writers disdain not to extol her dark expressive eyes, and her teeth of pearly whiteness, her melodious voice and her fine complexion. It is of more importance to relate, that the superior faculties which she derived from nature were improved by study and sharpened by constant exercise; that she had a fine perception of the excellencies of poetical and historical composition; and that she possessed a perfect knowledge of the Greek, the Syriac, and the Egyptian languages.[2]

Character of Zenobia.

The death of Odenatus put an end to the authority which Palmyra enjoyed as a favoured province of the empire, and as a reward for the valuable services of her chief. But Zenobia, having tasted the pleasure of absolute rule, refused to surrender the delegated power which her husband had employed so beneficially. She set Gallienus and the senate at defiance, and even worsted an army which they had sent to compel her to submission. Claudius, whose whole strength was required against the Goths, connived at the ambiguous policy of the eastern queen; and regarding her defence of the Syrian frontiers from the incursions of the Persians as a sufficient compensation for the want of entire allegiance, he did not disturb the tranquillity of her

She asserts her independence.

[1] Zosim. lib. i.; Zonar. lib. xii. c. xxvii. p. 636; Aurel. Victor, in Aurel.
[2] Trebell. Poll. in Trigint. Tyrann.; Vopisc. in Aurel.; Zosim. lib. i.

A. D. 270. reign. Aurelian, however, when he found that she had added to her native dominions, not only the fertile kingdom of Egypt, but also the provinces of Bithynia and Cappadocia, could no longer allow her pretensions to pass unquestioned.[1]

Aurelian declares war against her.

It appears to have been in the second year after his accession, that this emperor assumed the command of the Asiatic legions. His march through Illyricum was distinguished by several advantages over the Scythian tribes, which, under various names, still continued to harass the northern borders of the empire. At his approach, Bithynia resumed its obedience, and Ancyra, the capital of Galatia, opened its gates without resistance. Tyana, the birthplace of Apollonius, preferred the hazard of a siege; and when it was betrayed into the hands of Aurelian, by the perfidy of one of the inhabitants, he spared it for the sake of the philosopher with whose name it was associated in the annals of literature. Zenobia soon perceived that she must fight for her independence in Syria and not in Asia Minor. She advanced to Antioch; but having sustained a repulse from the Roman cavalry, she retired towards the desert, and concentrated her forces at Emesa. Aurelian pursued the broken Palmyrenians till he completed their discomfiture under the walls of that city, and compelled their sovereign to take refuge in her capital. The strength of the fortifications, and the ample stores of provisions and ammunition with which she had supplied the garrison, gave her reason to hope that she could hold out till famine or the climate should drive the victors from the depth of the wilderness which surrounded her seat of government.[2]

Her great preparations.

The siege of Palmyra is one of the most interesting events that mark the history of the declining empire. In the eyes of Aurelian it appeared an object of not less difficulty than importance. The Roman people, said he, may speak with contempt of the war which I am now waging against a woman. They are ignorant both of the character and of the power of Zenobia. It is impossible to enumerate her warlike preparations, of stones, of arrows, and of every species of missile weapon. The walls are provided with formidable engines, and artificial fires are thrown from every assailable point. The fear of punishment has armed her with a desperate courage; but still I trust for success to the protecting deities of Rome, who have hitherto been favourable to all my undertakings.[3]

Siege of Palmyra.

Unwilling, at the same time, to incur the manifold hazards inseparable from a protracted siege in such a region, the emperor wrote to Zenobia with the view of inducing her to surrender. Her answer was firm and indignant. She reminded him of the resolute conduct of Cleopatra; threatened him with the vengeance of the Persians, the

[1] Trebell. Poll.; Vopisc.; Aurel. Victor.
[2] Zosim. lib. i. p. 655–657; Aurel. Victor, Epit.
[3] Vopisc. in Aurel. c. xxvi.

Saracens, and the Armenians; and even taunted him with the losses which he had already sustained at the hands of the roving Arabs. But her allies were less zealous than she expected; her provisions were at length exhausted; and after all her resources had been called into action and failed, she was obliged to yield to the fatal necessity of relinquishing her proud city to the resentment of a powerful conqueror. Attempting to make her escape to the Persians, on the back of a swift dromedary, she was taken prisoner by a body of Roman horse, who received notice of her flight. When brought into the presence of the emperor, he upbraided her with the folly and ingratitude of her rebellion; to which charge she replied with an air of dignified flattery, that she was not ashamed to acknowledge a master in Aurelian, because his courage and wisdom were worthy of his station; but as to Gallienus and others of the same class, she could not refrain from holding them in contempt.[1] A. D. 270.



Zenobia.

The capture of Zenobia decided the fate of Palmyra. It is asserted by Zosimus, that before she left the city, she exhorted the garrison to hold out until she should return with a reinforcement from the Persians. But no sooner was it known that she was prisoner in the camp of the Romans, than the inhabitants, despairing of relief, entreated the clemency of the conqueror, and declared their readiness to deliver up the city into his hands. Aurelian listened to the voice of policy rather than to that of revenge; he granted to them the life aud liberty which they implored, and contented himself with a portion of their wealth, the silks and precious stones which they obtained from the remoter Asia, and the arms, horses, and camels, in which their soldiers placed their strength and pride. Leaving the defence of the place to six hundred bowmen, he returned to Emesa; where he spent some time in distributing rewards and punishments, according to the services he had received, or the injuries which he had sustained from the subjects of Zenobia. On this occasion, the celebrated Longinus fell a victim to the weakness of his mistress, and to the severe policy of the victor. The queen of Palmyra has been accused of purchasing life at the expense of her fame and friends. To avoid the disgrace of inflicting the penalty of treason upon a woman, Aurelian selected from among her counsellors fit objects upon whom to vent his anger, and to assert the rights of an offended sovereign.

Execution of Longinus.

[1] Trebell. Poll. in Trigint. Tyrann.; Zosim. lib. i. p. 657.

A. D. 270. But the fame of Longinus, it has been observed, will survive that of the princess who betrayed, and of the tyrant who condemned him. Genius and learning were incapable of moving a fierce, unlettered soldier, but they had served to elevate and harmonize the soul of Longinus. Without uttering a complaint, he calmly followed the executioners, pitying his unhappy mistress, and bestowing comfort on his afflicted friends.[1]

Insurrection at Palmyra.

But the miseries of Palmyra were not yet accomplished. The Roman emperor had scarcely reached Illyricum, whither he was called by a renewed incursion of the Goths, when the fickle Syrians once more revolted, and displayed on their walls the standard of rebellion. Listening to the advice of Apsæus, they fell upon the garrison, all of whom, with their commander Sandarion, they cruelly put to death; after which they proclaimed as Augustus a relative of their queen, who is known in the varying histories of the times, by the names of Achilleus and of Antiochus. Stimulated by a just resentment, Aurelian returned to Palmyra, rejected the submission of the rebels, and forthwith delivered up the town to military execution.

It is sacked by the Romans.

Torrents of blood were shed; the temples were robbed of their ornaments, and the other public edifices of their magnificence and splendour; and, upon the whole, so great was the devastation, that the City of Palm Trees never afterwards recovered entirely from its ruined condition. Justinian, indeed, after the lapse of a long period, repaired its fortifications, to serve as a barrier against the inroads of the Saracens; but the Grecian architecture and classical taste, which adorned the reign of Odenatus and his immediate successor, appear not to have revived in the beginning of the sixth century.[2]

The imperial arms were equally successful in Egypt under the command of Probus, who afterwards ascended the throne, as well as under the personal direction of Aurelian himself, who went thither to subdue the disaffection of Firmus, a wealthy citizen of Alexandria.

Aurelian celebrates a triumph.

Entitled by so many victories to the honours of a triumph, the emperor repaired to Rome, where the people were impatient to witness the gratifying spectacle of that gorgeous procession. Vopiscus exhausts all the powers of language in describing the objects which invited the public applause and admiration. Three royal chariots graced its splendour. The first was that of Odenatus, shining with gold, silver, and precious stones. Another, equally superb, had been given to Aurelian by the king of Persia. The third was made for Zenobia, who in the height of her prosperity, when she flattered herself with thoughts of becoming mistress of Rome, intended it for her triumphant entry into that city; little anticipating that it would be her fate to follow the wheels of the same car, a vanquished and hopeless captive. A fourth vehicle appeared, drawn by four stags,

[1] Vopisc. in Aurel.; Zosim. lib. i.; Trebell. Poll. in Trigint. Tyrann.
[2] Zosim. lib. i.; Vopisc. in Aurel.; Trebell. Poll. in Trigint. Tyrann.

and described as having belonged to a king of the Goths; a deceitful token of victory over a people to whom had been recently conceded the important province of Dacia. The line of prisoners, which was long and various, was closed by Tetricus and Zenobia, both magnificently attired. The former wore the imperial robe of purple over a rich Gaulish dress; and was accompanied by his son, upon whom he had conferred the title of Cæsar. The queen of Palmyra was so loaded with diamonds, jewels, and other ornaments, that she could scarcely support their weight. Her sons and daughters, arrayed with equal splendour, attended her on either side; and last of all advanced the emperor himself, elevated in the Gothic car, surrounded by his troops in the most brilliant uniforms, and followed by all the higher orders of the Roman state.[1] A. D. 273.

This sacrifice to the vanity of Aurelian soothed his resentment against the rebellious governors of Gaul and Palmyra. Tetricus was restored to his rank as a Roman senator, and even appointed to an office of trust and emolument; while Zenobia, who had consented to undergo the indignity from which Cleopatra shrank to a violent death, was provided with a comfortable establishment at Tibur, about twenty miles from the capital, where she spent the remainder of her days in affluence and repose. There the Syrian queen is said to have sunk into the Roman matron; her son was associated with the emperor in honour and authority, and her daughters married into noble families, whose descendants preserved her name during the two succeeding centuries.[2]

Insurrection suppressed at Rome.

Having vanquished the foes of the empire abroad, Aurelian seems to have contemplated reformation at home; a duty which at all times requires a delicate hand, and which, during a period of faction and revolt, was particularly ill suited to one that had been accustomed only to wield the sword. An insurrection in the city, said to have been excited by certain individuals who had profited by the adulteration of the coin, employed his vigilance and a large body of his troops; and it was not subdued until after he had lost seven thousand men, belonging to those hardy legions which usually encamped in Dacia, and along the other frontier provinces of the Danube. Perhaps this act of rebellion was occasioned by the severities which the emperor was wont to inflict upon his people under the name of justice. Carrying into the administration of civil affairs the same rigid adherence to law which marked his conduct towards the army, he frequently sullied his good intentions by indiscriminate and excessive punishment. No order of the state was exempted from his suspicions and violence. The noblest families of the capital felt the weight of his jealousy or resentment: the prisons were crowded

[1] Zonar. lib. xii. c. xxvii. p. 636; Trebell. Poll. in Trigint. Tyrann. 24, 25, 30; Aurel. Victor; Eutrop. lib. ix.

[2] Vopisc. in Aurel.; Trebell. Poll. in Trigint. Tyrann.; Aurel. Victor, Epit.

A. D. 274. with illustrious victims, and the hand of the executioner was fatigued with the daily duties of his office.[1]

Affairs of Gaul.

Conscious that he was better qualified to guide the valour of his legions in the field, than to employ the wisdom of his counsellors in the senate, he listened without reluctance to a rumour which announced an approaching commotion in Gaul. The rapidity of his movements disconcerted the designs of the disaffected; and hence the months which he had intended to devote to the fatigues of a campaign were more profitably employed in repairing a city on the Loire, which, under the modern name of Orleans, still reflects, though somewhat indistinctly, the honours and care bestowed upon it by Aurelian.

Dacia surrendered to the Goths.

His labours beyond the Alps were succeeded by an expedition into Illyricum, whence he once more expelled the barbarians by whom it was infested. It is doubtful whether it was on this occasion or at a former period, that he relinquished to the Gothic tribes the province of Dacia, originally conquered by Trajan, and settled the inhabitants of it in a part of Mœsia, to which the latter gave the appellation of the country which they had been induced to leave. Having accomplished this arrangement, he prepared to march into Asia, either to oppose the schemes of Vararanes, who was then on the throne of Persia, or to punish the subjects of that prince for their base treatment of Valerian, and for their confederacy with Zenobia. But the hand of treason was about to frustrate all his endeavours for the peace and stability of the empire. Mnesthæus, one of his secretaries, whom he had reproved, incited by revenge or by the fear of a greater punishment, formed a conspiracy against his life; and while

Assassination of Aurelian. March, A. D. 275.

the emperor was waiting a favourable wind to transport his army from Thrace into Asia Minor, he was attacked and slain by an officer of rank, who consented to act the part of an assassin.[2]

It was the remark of a ruler who succeeded him on the throne, that Aurelian deserved esteem for his qualities as a soldier, rather than for his personal disposition, which was rigid and severe.[3] It was to him as a general, and not as an emperor, that Rome owed her gratitude; and we, accordingly, find that the historians most partial to his memory, are compelled to modify all their eulogies, by acknowledging that he was an utter stranger to compassion, and that he too often permitted the claims of stern justice to triumph over those of pity and forgiveness. To the senators his pride was not less offensive than his cruelty. Ignorant or impatient of the restraints of civil institutions, he scorned to hold his power by any other title than

[1] Vopisc. in Aurel. 36, 37, 39; Aurel. Victor; Calphurn. Eclog. i. 60.

[2] Zosim. lib. i.; Zonar. lib. xii. c. xxvii. p. 636; Eutrop. lib. ix.; Aurel. Victor, de Cæsaribus; et Aurel. Victor, Epit.

[3] Vopisc. in Aurel. 44. Diocletianum frequenter, dixisse, Aurelianum magis ducem esse debuisse quam principem.

that of the sword; and under this false impression, he persisted in governing, by right of conquest, a country which he found it necessary to subdue before he could save it. A. D. 275.

MARCUS CLAUDIUS TACITUS AUGUSTUS.

FROM SEPTEMBER, A. D. 275, TO APRIL, A. D. 276.

THE death of Aurelian so much enraged the army, that the soldiers were more intent for a time on bringing his murderers to condign punishment, than on providing a successor. Even after they had recovered from the first paroxysm of wrath, they hesitated whether they should immediately exercise the right which long custom had placed in their hands, or wait for the advice and concurrence of the senate, in choosing a head for the empire. Upon a short deliberation they adopted the latter alternative, and resolved to write, or to send a deputation to Rome. Their message to the venerable body which they addressed, after bewailing the loss which they had sustained, and condemning the crime by which it had been effected, proceeded to give assurance that none of those by whose fault or misfortune it had been brought about, should be allowed to ascend the throne; and finally, to crave their assistance in selecting a prince worthy to fill the place of Aurelian. The senators, long unused to such deference, knew not how to act. Unwilling to incur responsibility, they at length resolved to abide by the judgment of the legions; who could not fail, they insinuated, to nominate from among the most meritorious of their officers some one who might realize the intentions of their late chief, and thereby secure the interests of the commonwealth in the east as well as in the west. But the army, actuated by a very uncommon degree of moderation, renewed their request to the civil authorities, to supply them with a general and ruler; and it was not until this reciprocal compliment had been urged and rejected three times, that the senators agreed to assemble and discharge their duty to the empire. Meanwhile, six or seven months had insensibly passed away; an amazing period, it has been remarked, of tranquil anarchy, during which the Roman world remained without a sovereign, without an usurper, and without a sedition.[1] The army consults the senate.

On the 25th of September, A.D. 275, the senate was convoked to exercise once more the valuable prerogative with which the constitution of Rome had invested their order. The individual whom they elected, inherited the name and virtues of Tacitus, the celebrated historian, and was, besides, respected for his wisdom, his experience in business, and his mild benevolence. This venerable legislator had already attained his seventy-fifth year, a circumstance which he urged with a great show of reason, for declining the honour which was now Tacitus elected emperor.

[1] Vopisc. in Tacit. c. i.; Aurel. Victor, Epit.

A. D. 275. assigned to him. But his objection was repelled by the most flattering encomiums on his understanding and prudence, as also by a retrospect of the evils which had oppressed the empire, arising from the youth of several of its sovereigns, Nero, Commodus, and Heliogabalus. The election was confirmed by acclamation, both among the citizens and soldiers; and Claudius Tacitus, accordingly, at an age when men in general long to throw off the burden of public life, found himself charged with the government of the most powerful monarchy in the world, menaced by foreign enemies, and torn by domestic factions.[1]

His encouragement of the arts.

It was the wisdom not less than the inclination of this aged emperor, that induced him to leave much of the supreme power in the hands from which he received it. He encouraged the senate to resume their wonted authority; to appoint proconsuls to all the provinces; and to exercise all the other privileges which had been conferred upon them by Augustus. His moderation and simplicity were not affected by the change of his condition; the only expense which he permitted to himself, was the encouragement which he bestowed on the fine arts; and the only personal indulgence which he would not resign, were reading and conversation with literary men. He took great pains to preserve the writings of his ancestor, the historian of Rome: for which purpose he gave orders that every library should possess that author's works, and that, to render this object more practicable, ten copies of them should be transcribed every year in one of the public offices. It is to be lamented that so much anxiety should have been expended, comparatively, in vain, and that the instruction which a Roman emperor valued so highly, should in a great measure be denied to the modern scholar.[2]

Having obtained the approbation of the citizens, he departed from the capital to show himself to the army in Thrace. The usual largesses secured his popularity among the soldiers; and the reverence which he found still subsisting for the memory of Aurelian, dictated the punishment of certain chiefs of the conspiracy which had taken away his life. But his attention was soon withdrawn from the investigation of past delinquencies to meet an urgent danger. When

Irruption of the Alani.

the late emperor was making preparations to invade Persia, he had negotiated with a Scythian tribe, the Alani, to reinforce his ranks with a detachment of their best troops. The barbarians, faithful to their engagement, arrived on the Roman frontiers with a strong body of cavalry; but before they made their appearance Aurelian was dead, and the Persian war suspended: in which circumstances, the Gothic auxiliaries, impatient of repose, and disappointed of their pay, soon turned their arms against the unfortunate provincials. They overran Pontus, Cappadocia, and Cilicia, before Tacitus could show his readiness to satisfy their claims or to punish their aggressions. Upon

[1] Vopisc.; Florian. c. v. vi. [2] Vopisc.

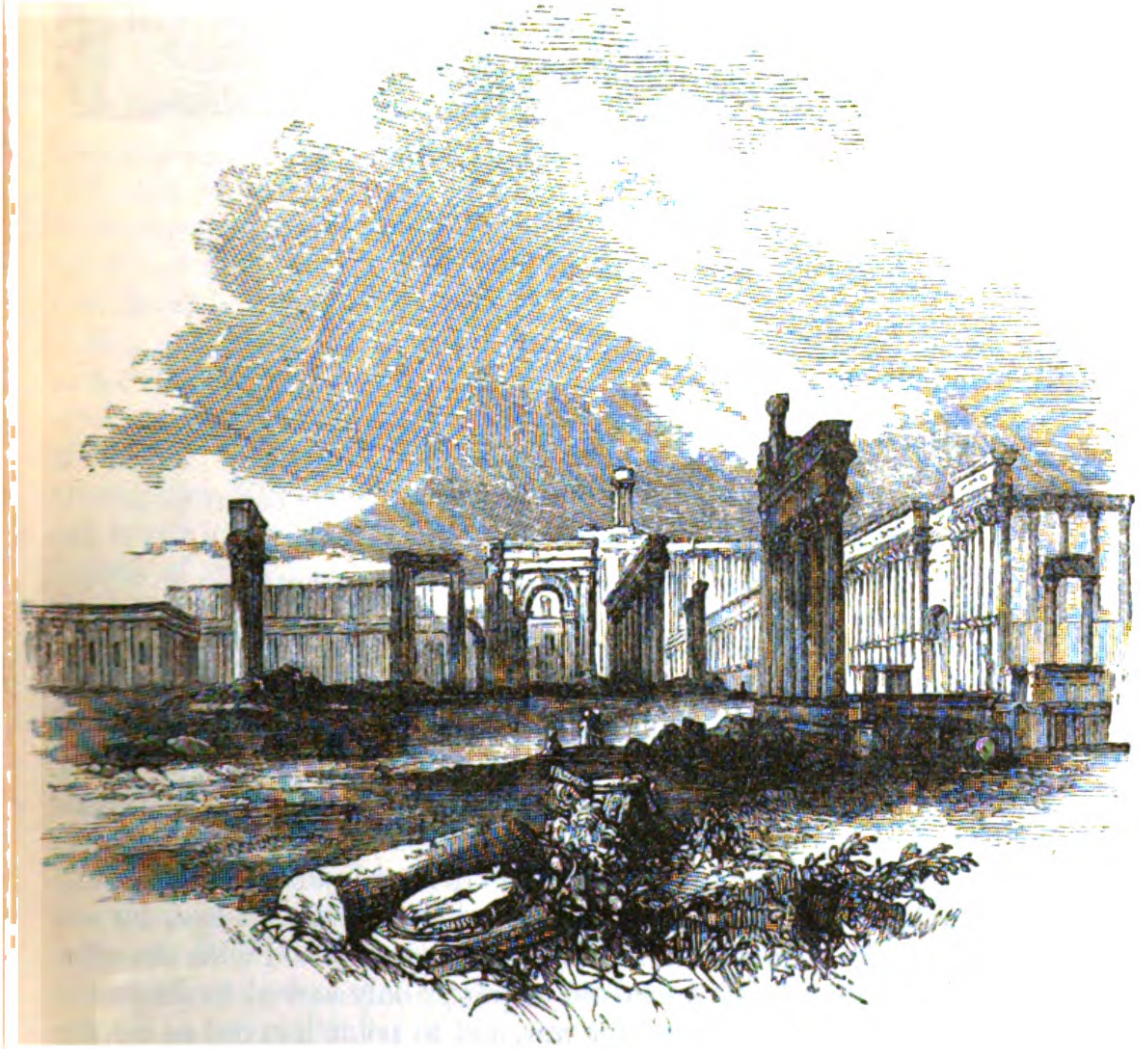
receiving the stipulated reward, the greater number retired peaceably into their deserts; while those who refused to listen to terms were subdued at the point of the sword.[1] A. D. 276.

Death of Tacitus.

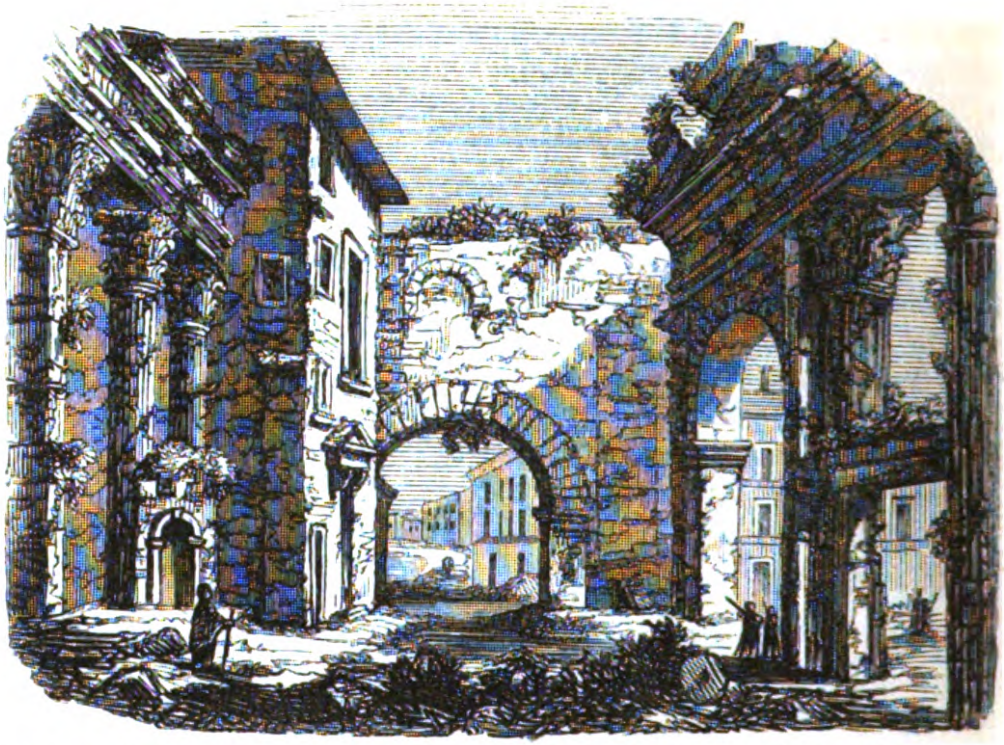
But the triumphs and reign of this venerable sovereign were not of long duration. It is said that he fell a victim to the jealousy of certain officers of rank, who were offended at the undue promotion of his brother; or to the angry passions of the private men, who despised his pacific genius and literary habits. But it is not less probable, that he sank under the fatigues of the campaign and the severity of the climate, to both of which the pursuits of his later years had rendered him a stranger. It is clear, at all events, that he died at Tyana in Cappadocia, after having swayed the sceptre of the Roman empire about two hundred days.[2]

[1] Vopisc.; Zosim. lib. i.; Zonar. lib. xii. c. xxvii. p. 637.

[2] Aurel. Victor, Epit.; Aurel. Victor, de Cæsaribus, Florian. c. ii. iii.; Zosim. lib. i.



Ruins of Palmyra.



Temple of Juno, now the Church of St. Angelo, in Pescheria. *Venuti, Antichità di Roma.*

CHAPTER XIV.

ROMAN EMPERORS FROM PROBUS TO LICINIUS.

FROM A. D. 276 TO A. D. 323.

MARCUS AURELIUS PROBUS AUGUSTUS.

FROM A. D. 276 TO A. D. 282.

A. D. 276. Early services of Probus.

THIS virtuous prince was a native of Pannonia, where, like the parents of Claudius and Aurelian, his father appears to have filled the station and discharged the duties of a small occupier of land. The young Probus entered the army, it is supposed, in the rank of a private soldier; but, his merits having struck the discerning eye of Valerian, he obtained immediate preferment, and afterwards advanced so rapidly in his profession, that, before he reached the customary age, he was by the positive command of the same emperor invested with the office of military tribune. This increase of power only served to display in a larger field his great talent for war, and to point him out as worthy of still higher promotion. At length he was placed at the head of the third legion, an honour which Valerian himself once enjoyed: on

which occasion, the latter acknowledged that the quickest returns of favour were slow in comparison with the brilliant career of victory which he had pursued, and promised that he would soon commit to his hands a much more important trust than he had hitherto discharged.[1] A. D. 276.

When Aurelian ascended the throne, he found in Probus an able and faithful general. He employed him to reconquer Egypt from the arms of Zenobia, while he in person conducted his legions against the lieutenants of that queen in the heart of Syria, and on the banks of the Euphrates. Tacitus, in like manner, whose age and habits disqualified him for the more active scenes of war, appointed him commander-in-chief of all the eastern provinces, with a great increase of emolument, the promise of the consulship, and even the hope of a triumph. "I have been created emperor," said that unfortunate senator in a letter to Probus, "with the consent of the army; but it is not to be concealed that the republic must rest more upon your shoulders than upon mine."[2] His favour with Tacitus



Probus and his Wife.

It is not, therefore, in any degree surprising that when, by the insurrection of Cappadocia, the empire was deprived of a head, the army of the east should have proclaimed their general the successor of Tacitus. The troops in Asia Minor, indeed, who beheld in their commander, Florianus, a near relation of the sovereign whose life they had taken away, were induced to raise him to the throne; but the legions of Syria, more powerful than the other, and, at the same time, better assured of the approbation of the senate, persevered in their choice, and resolved to enforce the concurrence of their brethren in arms. Probus, it is said, yielded with reluctance to the ardour of his soldiers. He accused them with acting precipitately, in electing a chief who had no desire to enjoy supreme power, and who possessed not those qualities which were best fitted to insure popular applause. In a letter to the Prætorian præfect, too, he declared that he had never wished for the empire, and had even accepted it with great unwillingness; but, he added, it is no longer permitted me to resign an office which exposes me to the utmost danger and odium: I must continue to act the part which the soldiers have imposed upon me.[3] Elected emperor with Florianus.

[1] Vopisc. c. iii. ix.; Aurel. Vict. Epit. [2] Vopisc. c. ix.; Jul. de Cæsar.
[3] Zosim. lib. i.; Eutrop. lib. ix.; Vopisc. in Prob. c. vii.

A. D. 276. Defeat and death of Florianus. July, A. D. 276.

The election of two emperors necessarily produced a temporary commotion in all the provinces beyond the Adriatic. It is even said that Rome and the West acknowledged Florianus, while Syria, Egypt, and the neighbouring countries declared for his rival; but it is manifest, from the position of the two armies, that the fate of the empire, and of the hostile competitors, could only be determined at a distance from the capital. The former, impatient of the opposition with which he was threatened, left the frontiers, which he had been appointed to guard, and advanced into Cilicia, with the view of giving battle to the Syrian legions. Probus, on the other hand, who knew that the climate would soon procure for him a bloodless triumph, satisfied himself for a time with watching the movements of his adversary; when finding that disease and disaffection were at length making rapid progress through his ranks, he attacked him with vigour at the head of a chosen body of troops, and deprived him at once of empire and of life.

Probus writes to the senate.

This victory having placed Probus on an undisputed throne, he forthwith addressed the senate in a letter full of duty and respect. "Nothing could be more suitable to the dignity of the Roman name than the conduct which, conscript fathers, you pursued last year, when your clemency gave to the world a head chosen from among yourselves; for you are the legal sovereigns of the empire, and the power which you derive from your ancestors ought to descend to your posterity. Happy would it have been for Florianus, had he waited for your decision, and not arrogated to himself the supreme authority as a private inheritance to which he might succeed as a matter of right! Since he thought proper to have recourse to arms, it became necessary to oppose him in the field. The victorious soldiers, who insisted upon punishing his usurpation with death, have conferred upon me the title of Augustus. But to you it belongs to determine whether I am worthy of the empire; and by your judgment on this head I shall regulate my conduct."[1]

His election confirmed by the senate.

When this respectful epistle was read in the senate, the election of the eastern army was ratified by the members with the loudest acclamations. A decree was immediately passed to confirm in the hand of Probus the sceptre which he seemed willing to relinquish, and to confer upon him all the several branches of the imperial dignity; the names of Cæsar and Augustus, the proconsular command, the tribunitian power, the office of Pontifex Maximus, the title of Father of his Country, and the privilege of making three motions in the senate in the same day: a mode of investiture, it has been remarked, which, though it seemed to multiply the authority of the emperor, expressed the constitution of the ancient republic.

His constitutional government.

That Probus was sincere in the deference which he thus paid to the senate is placed beyond doubt by the general tenour of his whole

[1] Vopisc. in Prob. c. xi.–xiii.

reign. On all occasions he confined himself to military affairs, and confided to the illustrious body now named, the full and unfettered administration of the civil government. Indeed, he not only preserved entire the privileges of the senatorial order, but even enlarged them to an extent fully equal to the constitution established by Augustus. By a declaration addressed to that assembly, he ordered that all appeals from inferior courts of justice, throughout the whole empire, should be submitted to their judgment. He likewise restored to them the power of appointing the proconsuls of such provinces as belonged to the jurisdiction of the people; and also insisted that the civil magistrates even of those provinces which were under the immediate direction of the emperor, should consent to receive their commissions from the senate.[1] A. D. 276.

The first exercise of power on the part of the new monarch was to punish those individuals who had been most active in the mutiny which led to the fall of his predecessor. But the restless spirit of the barbarians, by whom the empire was surrounded, soon called him to a service more congenial to his warlike character. Gaul, ever since the death of Aurelian, had been infested by the usual inroads of Franks, Burgundians, and other northern nations, who, not content with plundering the country, as formerly, seized upon the principal towns, and manifested everywhere an undisguised resolution to invest themselves with a permanent occupation of the land. Operations in Gaul.

Marching against the several hordes in their respective settlements, he succeeded, after a bloody campaign, in driving them across the Rhine, and in restoring tranquillity to the Gallic provinces. Four hundred thousand of the invaders are reported to have fallen the victims of their avarice or rashness. Vopiscus adds, that the Roman emperor, not satisfied with having delivered his territories from an enemy so active and rapacious, followed them into their own fortresses, and displayed the terror of his power on the banks of the Neckar and of the Elbe. To teach them the value of peace, he resolved to leave upon their minds a deep impression of the horrors and devastation which accompany an unsuccessful war. With this view he continued the pursuit and slaughter, until nine of the barbarian kings threw themselves at his feet and implored his mercy: and so complete was his success, that he hesitated for a moment whether he should leave them in possession of their rude independence, or subject their whole country to the condition of a Roman province. The latter object, he was aware, could not be obtained without inducing or compelling the natives to relinquish their arms; a concession which, he knew, they would not make, as long as there was a marsh or a forest in their rear to protect their scattered remains. He therefore thought it more expedient to limit the price of the peace which they sought to the restitution of the effects and captives which Great successes of the emperor.

[1] Zosim. lib. i. p. 663; Zonar. lib. xii. c. xxix. p. 637.

A. D. 276. they had carried away from the provinces; obliging the chiefs to punish such of their people as might refuse to comply with those terms to the full and literal extent. In addition, he imposed upon them an annual tribute of corn and cattle, for the use of the garrisons which he might find it necessary to establish along their frontier, as well as to reimburse the empire for the expense and loss occasioned by the war. Lastly, he demanded from them a contingent of sixteen thousand men, chosen from among the bravest of their youths, to serve in the Roman armies. These he took care so to distribute in distant provinces, and in separate corps, that not more than fifty or sixty individuals were under the same standard; observing that, though it might be wise to recruit the ranks of the legions from the barbarians, it was a species of aid which ought to be felt but not seen.[1]

He builds a wall from the Danube to the Rhine.

To insure a continuance of the tranquillity which he had thus enforced, he established a line of forts and other military stations from the Rhine to the Danube. About the reign of Hadrian, when that mode of defence began to be practised, these garrisons were connected, and covered by a strong entrenchment of trees and palisades. In lieu of so rude a bulwark, Probus built a stone wall of a considerable height, and fortified it by towers at convenient distances. From the neighbourhood of Nieustadt and Ratisbon on the Danube, it stretched across hills, valleys, rivers, and morasses, as far as Wimpsen on the Neckar, and at length terminated on the banks of the Rhine, after a winding course of nearly two hundred miles. This important barrier, uniting the two mighty streams which protected the Roman provinces in Europe, seemed to fill up the vacant space through which the northern barbarians could penetrate into the heart of the empire. But it has been well observed, that the experience of the world from China to Britain, has exposed the vain attempt of fortifying an extensive tract of country. The fate of the wall which Probus erected confirms the truth of this remark; for in a few years after his death, it was overthrown by the Alemanni, and its scattered ruins, still visible in our times, serve only to excite the wonder, or amuse the superstition, of the German peasant.[2]

His plans of colonization.

To the wise policy of Probus has been ascribed a practice, the general adoption of which at a later period might have conferred an important benefit on the empire; that, namely, of replenishing the border lands, exhausted by incessant war, with colonies drawn from the more crowded countries of the barbarians, strengthened by such Roman soldiers as chose to accept retirement, and a portion of the richest soil. It was not unusual to dispose of captives in the manner now described. Zosimus relates, that most of the prisoners taken

[1] Vopisc. in Prob. c. xiii.-xv.; Zosim. lib. i. p. 664; Aurel. Victor, et Vict. Epit.

[2] Vopisc. *ubi supra*; Zosim. lib. i.; Hieron. Chron.; Eutrop. lib. ix.

from the Franks, the Burgundians, and the Lygians, were transported into Britain; and hence it has been conjectured, that Wandlesburg, in Cambridgeshire, owes its name to a body of Vandals who were placed in that neighbourhood, during the reign of which we are now recapitulating the events. Many of the wandering tribes, too, consented to occupy settlements on the Rhine and the Danube; and we are told by Vopiscus, that a hundred thousand Bastarnæ cheerfully accepted an establishment in Thrace, and finally contracted the habits and feelings of Roman subjects, with whom they became insensibly identified. But Probus was not so successful in all his attempts at colonization, and an interesting narrative is preserved respecting a party of Franks, who had been carried into Pontus with the view of strengthening that frontier against the attacks of the Alani. Having got possession of some ships stationed at a port in the Euxine, they made their escape through the Bosphorus and Hellespont; and, entering the Ægean sea, they landed from time to time on the coasts of Asia and Greece, to supply their wants, or to gratify their revenge. Upon reaching the island of Sicily they attacked Syracuse with so much fury, that the inhabitants were unable to save either their lives or property. After this exploit they directed their course to Carthage, where they met with a check from a fleet sent out to oppose them; but their vessels not being materially injured, they still kept the sea, and turned their faces towards the shores of Spain. Passing the columns of Hercules they found themselves in the Atlantic Ocean; where, veering to the right, they at length touched the coast of Gaul, and finally completed their astonishing voyage by disembarking at the mouth of the Rhine.[1]

A. D. 277.

Voyage of the Bastarnæ.

In the course of the following year Probus conducted his victorious soldiers into Illyricum, where the peace of the empire had been again disturbed by the incursions of the Scythian tribes. He strengthened in his progress eastward the important line of the Rhætian frontier; and, after a short delay, advancing upon the barbarians in Pannonia, he drove them back, even without the necessity of coming to a general action. Victory attended his steps wherever he went; and the various Gothic nations, awed into submission by the terror of his name, immediately acknowledged their subjection, and relinquished the fruits of their plunder. He met, indeed, with more resolute enemies in Asia Minor. The Isaurians, long noted as the boldest of robbers by sea as well as by land, set at defiance the power of the Roman emperor; but being sensible that they could not encounter the discipline of his legions in the field, they shut themselves up in a strong fort, built on the top of a steep and lofty precipice. The siege to which this measure gave rise, was rendered remarkable by many instances of desperate courage, disgraced indeed with circumstances of minute

Probus subdues the Isaurians.

[1] Zonar. lib. xii. c. xxix. p. 637; Eutrop.; Aurel. Victor; Zosim. lib. i.; Vopisc. in Prob.

A. D. 278. horror, and the most barbarous cruelty. It is enough to relate, that the skill of the Roman engineers prevailed over the resistance of savage fury and despair. Probus expelled the marauders from their rocks and caverns; and with the view of improving the character of the inhabitants, he settled a number of his veteran soldiers as occupants of the soil, on condition that their sons should hold themselves bound to engage in the public service, and to abstain from the piratical habits which had so long proved the shame of Isauria. This precaution, however, like all other political arrangements that oppose the natural bent of an uncivilized people, was soon found unavailing; and accordingly in a few years, the hardy tribes whom Probus subdued, could boast of increasing numbers, and of unshackled independence, throughout all the rugged mountains which their ancestors had possessed.[1]

The army of the East elects Saturninus emperor.

It had been a main object with this enlightened emperor, ever since he ascended the throne, to strengthen the foundations of the civil authority, and thereby to withdraw the minds of the soldiers from the recollection of the dangerous privilege which they had so long exercised in the nomination of their sovereigns. But his example was not approved by the legions in the remoter provinces, who had ceased for several generations to reverence any other government besides that which was administered in their camp. We find, accordingly, that when Probus marched into the west, to repel the incursions of the Germanic hordes which had taken possession of Gaul, the armies of the East raised their commander, Saturninus, to the rank of Augustus. This unfortunate chief, who trembled at the distinction which his men had determined to force upon him, bewailed in eloquent language the miserable alternative to which he was reduced. "Alas!" he exclaimed, "the public loses this day the services of one who has laboured not unsuccessfully for the promotion of her interests; and the step which I have now been induced to take, cancels all my claims upon the gratitude of my countrymen. You know not," said he to those around him, "the misery of sovereign power. Swords are suspended over our necks; spears and darts are pointed against our persons. We dread our very guards; we distrust our dearest companions. In raising me to the imperial dignity, you have doomed me to an inevitable death; and in such circumstances there is only one consolation, the certainty that I cannot perish alone."[2]

His defeat and death.

The disaffection of the East was suppressed at small expense of blood, but not before Saturninus had paid the forfeit of his treason. It is said that Probus wished to save his rival from the fury of the soldiers, and that he had even entreated him to put confidence in his clemency, should the fortune of war decide against him in the field. But, in the unhappy state to which the empire was reduced by the

[1] Vopisc. in Prob. c. xvi.

[2] Vopisc. in Prob. c. xviii.; in Saturnin. *passim*; Zosim. lib. i.; Zonar. lib. xii.

ascendency of the military power, it was never deemed expedient either by the victors or the vanquished to spare the life of a defeated usurper. A. D. 278 to A. D. 282.

The success which crowned the imperial arms in Syria did not prevent a similar disturbance in Gaul. Proculus, who commanded in that country, assumed the purple, and prepared to maintain his pretensions at the head of his troops; but he was so ill supported by the Germans, whom he had attempted to gain over to his cause, that his resistance to the superior genius of Probus was equally short and ineffectual. The fate of this adventurer did not, however, deter Bonosus, the admiral of a small fleet which the Romans maintained upon the Rhine, from likewise withdrawing his allegiance. The war which ensued appears to have been vigorously conducted on both sides. Several battles were fought with various success; but the fortune of the emperor at length resumed its wonted ascendency, and compelled the faithless lieutenant to take refuge among the barbarians, from whom, it is said, he derived his birth. There he is reported to have delivered himself from his apprehensions by having recourse to a voluntary death, and to have thus terminated those insurrections in Gaul which so frequently disturbed the government of Probus.[1] Insurrection of Proculus, and Bonosus.

We find in Vopiscus and Zosimus an obscure narrative relating to an expedition into Egypt, conducted by two of the imperial generals. Firmus, during the preceding reign, had displayed the standard of rebellion; and it would seem, that, aided by the arms of a native tribe, the Blemmyes, his troops still kept possession of certain cities, and among the rest, Coptos and Ptolemais. On this occasion they were reduced by the lieutenants of Probus, who, to attest their victory, and grace the triumph of their master, carried as captives to Rome a considerable number of the people just named, whose singular appearance, it is added, excited in the capital a great degree of curiosity and astonishment.[2] Egyptian war.

In connection with this enterprise, the Augustan historian relates, that the king of Persia was so much offended or alarmed at the proceedings of the Roman emperor, that he resolved to take the field. An embassy sent by the former, found Probus already encamped in the mountains of Armenia. He received the representatives of the Persian monarch with studied simplicity; and charged them with an answer to their master which only served still farther to increase his fears. But we must not conceal, that the accompaniments which adorn the narrative of this interview, correspond rather to the luxuriant fancy of a rhetorician than to the dignity of such a character as that of Probus. We cannot believe that he would put any confidence Negotiation with Persia.

[1] Vopisc. in Prob. c. xviii.; et in Procul.; Aurel. Victor, Epit.

[2] Vopisc. in Prob. c. xvii.; Zosim. lib. i. For a marvellous description of the Blemmyes see Pliny, v. 8, where they are described to be a headless people, carrying their mouths and eyes on their breasts.

A. D. 278 to A. D. 282.

in the impression likely to be made upon the minds of a formal, stately people, by seeing him seated on the grass, and eating pea-soup and pickled pork for his dinner: or that he would pull off his cap to show his bald head, and assure the ambassadors that if the king their sovereign did not, before the sun should set, endeavour to repair the wrongs which he had done to the Romans, he should see, before the end of the month, all the land in the kingdom of Persia laid as bare as his head. At all events, it is certain that no hostilities ensued; whence we must conclude, that if the conference now mentioned took place at all, it was attended with a favourable result.[1]

Triumph of Probus.

The return of Probus to Rome, after having subdued the barbarians, and quashed the various insurrections which had shaken the faith of the provinces, afforded an opportunity for conferring upon him the greatest of all national honours, the solemnity of a regular triumph. This splendid spectacle was conducted with a degree of magnificence suitable to the merits of a patriot and a conqueror; and the people who had so lately admired the trophies of Aurelian, beheld, with equal delight, the greatness of their country reflected in the proud cavalcade which surrounded the car of Probus. Among the vanquished, whose humiliation ministered to the pride of the Romans, were the Germans and the Blemmyes; nations which at that period occupied the extreme boundaries of north and south in the Roman world.[2]

But this idle show was permitted by the emperor rather to gratify the spectators than to soothe his own ambition. Bred a soldier from his earliest days, he felt that his enjoyments as well as his fame were connected with the labours of the camp; for which reason, he had no sooner complied with the established usages of Rome, than he resumed his place at the head of the legions stationed beyond the frontier on the Danube and the Euxine. It is supposed that his ultimate object was to retaliate upon the Persians the injuries and disgrace which they had inflicted upon his countrymen in the person of the unhappy Valerian; but, in the meantime, he thought proper to employ his troops in such public works as might at once enforce his plans of discipline, and add to the wealth and beauty of the provinces. On this principle, while he commanded in Egypt, he built temples, bridges, porticoes, and palaces, improved the navigation of the Nile, and even increased the productiveness of the rich soil for which that country is distinguished. From similar motives he instructed his soldiers to cover with luxuriant vineyards the hills of Gaul and Pannonia; and not satisfied with such moderate undertakings, he resolved to drain an extensive tract of land near his native Sirmium, and thereby to convert a stagnant marsh into a beautiful plain, fitted for all the uses of agriculture. The warriors of Italy could not consent to endure the unremitting toil of Pannonian pea-

His public works.

[1] Vopisc. in Prob.; Synes. pp. 10–19. [2] Vopisc. in Prob. c. xix.

sants; and irritated by some expressions which the emperor had employed, either to urge their labour or subdue their pride, they threw down their spades and grasped their swords. Probus fled towards a tower, which he had constructed as well perhaps for safety as for surveying the progress of his works; but, before he could reach it, the soldiers plunged their swords into his body, and terminated the reign of one of the best princes that had occupied the throne of the Cæsars. A. D. 278 to A. D. 282. He is assassinated.

It would, indeed, be difficult to name among the sovereigns of Rome, one more distinguished than the emperor Probus. Victorious throughout his whole life, he added to his military talents the more valuable qualities of benevolence and integrity. Equal to Aurelian as a warrior, he was milder and more gentle in his disposition; as moderate, perhaps, as Marcus Aurelius, he possessed greater abilities as a commander, and exercised a clearer judgment in promoting the interest of the republic. In a reign of six years he built or repaired seventy cities; while he could number among his pupils some of the best generals, and most excellent princes that supported the might of the declining empire. His death was deeply lamented by the senate and people of Rome, and even the soldiers who took away his life laboured to perpetuate, by an honourable monument, the memory of his virtues, his talents, and his success. His virtues.

> Here lies the Imperator Probus—probity itself—
> Conqueror of all the barbarous nations, and of tyrants too.[1]

M. AURELIUS CARUS AUGUSTUS; M. AURELIUS CARINUS AUGUSTUS; AND M. AURELIUS NUMERIANUS AUGUSTUS.

FROM A. D. 282 TO A. D. 285.

THE sceptre which had been wrested from the hands of Probus was immediately placed in those of Carus; a prince whose character and motives do not enjoy that favourable light in the page of history to which his actions appear to have entitled him. The manner in which the late emperor was assassinated might have protected his principal officers from the charge of premeditation; but we find, notwithstanding, that the Prætorian præfect who succeeded him on the throne, and who exercised the severest justice on his murderers, did not escape the suspicion of being accessary to a crime to which he owed so great an advantage. Zonaras, indeed, goes so far as to affirm, that Carus was named to the empire before Probus was put to death. Vopiscus, however, who had better means of information, relates, that it was not until the soldiers had consummated their mutiny in the blood of A. D. 282. Accession of Carus. Suspicions entertained against him.

[1] Hic Probus Imperator, et verè probus situs est,
Victor omnium gentium barbarorum;
Victor etiam tyrannorum. *Vopisc. in Prob.* c. xxi.

A. D. 282. their victorious chief, that they cast their eyes on the præfect, as the most deserving of the purple.[1]

Doubts as to the place of his birth.

A certain degree of doubt still remains respecting the birthplace of the emperor Carus; but, upon comparing the statements of different authors, we may conclude that he was born in Illyricum, of parents, one of whom, at least, could boast of Roman extraction. On the same ground we may rest our belief that he was educated in the capital, and had even attained to some degree of literary reputation, before he turned the full bent of his talents to the profession of arms. After discharging the usual offices which led to the higher ranks of the state, he is supposed to have been honoured with the consulship; but, as his name does not appear in any of the regular lists, we must infer that he was appointed to succeed some one who had died before the end of his year. There exists more satisfactory evidence that he was proconsul of Cilicia. Vopiscus has preserved a letter written by Carus, while he held that office, to his lieutenant, Junius; in which he is pleased to make an allusion to the noble lineage of his own family, and to pay a compliment to his own prudence and virtue, while he explains the duties, and magnifies the responsibility, of him whom he had chosen to share the load of his anxieties.[2]



Carus.

His letter to the senate.

Upon ascending the throne, he thought it enough that he announced to the senate his acceptance of the arduous appointment conferred upon him by the legions. He congratulated them that an emperor had been chosen from their own order, and even from among the freemen of their own city: and, reflecting upon the barbarous origin of Claudius Aurelian and Probus, he added, that he would endeavour so to administer the government that they should not have occasion to make comparisons unfavourable to their own blood.[3]

Prepares for war against the Sarmatians and Persians.

The safety of the republic soon called him into the field. The death of Probus had given courage to the barbarians, who renewed their predatory inroads into Illyricum and Thrace. The Persians, too, who had yielded to the menaces of that warlike emperor, assumed once more a threatening attitude, and excited the fears of the Syrian provinces. Carus, who was not less a general than a statesman, longed to signalize his arms against those ancient enemies of Rome, and accordingly made preparations for entering upon the war with

[1] Zonar. lib. xii. c. xxx. p. 638; Vopisc. in Car. c. vi.
[2] Vopisc. in Car. c. iv.; Eutrop. lib. ix.; Aurel. Victor, Epit.
[3] Vopisc. c. iv. v.; Zonar. lib. xii.

speed and effect. But before he committed the fortunes of the empire to the decision of battle, he raised his two sons, Carinus and Numerianus, to the rank of Augustus: instructing the one to take the command of the legions in Gaul, and conducting the other to the Sarmatian frontier, which was already wasted by bands of plunderers.[1] A. D. 282.

His victories in Illyricum and Persia.

His success against the Gothic tribes was complete and decisive. Sixteen thousand of their slain covered the field of battle; while twenty thousand captives rewarded the valour and discipline of the Romans with whom they ventured to engage. Leaving a sufficient force to prevent the renewal of invasion, Carus led his troops against the Persians; whom, being either taken by surprise or distracted by varying counsels, he subdued with equal ease and rapidity. He reconquered all Mesopotamia, and even took Seleucia and Ctesiphon; but, when making arrangements to pursue the vanquished enemy beyond the Tigris, his death checked for a time the career of the Roman armies. This occurred under circumstances so extremely mysterious, as to leave much room for doubt whether it was the result of disease, of accident, or of violence. A letter written by Calpurnius, one of his secretaries, to the præfect of Rome, describes the occurrence in the following words: "Carus, our beloved sovereign, was confined by sickness, when a dreadful storm arose in the camp, attended with such furious thunder and lightning as struck the whole army with terror. The darkness which overspread the sky was so thick, that we could no longer distinguish what was going forward; in the midst of which, after a tremendous clap of thunder, some one uttered a cry that the emperor was dead. It was discovered that the attendants of the prince, stupified with grief for the loss of their master, had set fire to the royal tent; a circumstance which gave rise to the report that he was killed by the lightning, though, from the strictest investigation, there is reason to believe that his death was the natural effect of his disorder."[2]

Death of Carus. A. D. 283.

Conjectures as to its cause.

The obscure language of this epistle gives some countenance to the suspicion, that Carus, like the first sovereign of Rome, may have fallen a victim to the anger or ambition of his generals, rather than to the fury of the elements. The event has been confidently ascribed to the treachery of Arrius Aper, the Prætorian præfect, who was afterwards charged, upon similar grounds, with the murder of Numerianus; and yet, it is but justice to mention, that most of the historians who lived nearest the period in question, Vopiscus, Eutropius, Aurelius Victor, Hieronimus, Rufus, and Festus, have attributed the demise of the emperor to a natural cause.[3]

[1] Vopisc. in Car. c. vii. viii.; Zonar. lib. xii. c. xxx. p. 638; Aurel. Victor, de Cæsaribus; Eutrop. lib. ix.

[2] Vopisc. in Car. c. viii.

[3] Eutrop. lib. ix.; Vopisc. in Car. c. viii.; Aurel. Victor, de Cæsaribus et Aurel. Victor, Epit.; Hieron. Chron. in ann.

A. D. 283. Numerianus proclaimed, and induced to retreat from Persia.

The vacancy which ensued was soon supplied by the youngest son of Carus, whose accession was applauded by the unanimous voice of the soldiers. The rights of the elder brother, who already occupied the throne of the west, were at the same time recognised by the army in Mesopotamia; who, influenced by hopes which the good fortune of their late chief had inspired, and by apprehensions which were but too justly entertained respecting the selfish views of some of their leaders, were content that the imperial purple in this instance should be inherited without dispute. But the Roman public expected that the successor of Carus would pursue the path of victory which his father had opened for him, and without allowing the Persians to recover from their panic, would advance into the country which still remained unconquered. The superstition of the legions, however, opposed their farther progress towards the east. The line in which the city of Ctesiphon forms the main position was long regarded as the boundary determined by fate to the Roman empire; it was, therefore, esteemed impious to brave the will of heaven by crossing the Tigris; while the manner of the late emperor's death was viewed as a manifestation that the gods were resolved to vindicate their authority over the affairs of men. The young prince, accordingly, whatever might be his private wishes, found it necessary to listen to the entreaties of his soldiers, and to desist from the prosecution of a war, which, in their judgment, had ceased to be auspicious.[1]



Numerianus.

The Romans arrive at Chalcedon.

In compliance with an impression which could not be either wisely or effectually resisted, Numerianus began his march towards Syria; leaving the Persians at a loss to account for a retreat, which appeared to be undertaken in contempt of all the probabilities of war. Having passed through the various provinces of Asia Minor, the camp, at the end of eight months, was pitched near Chalcedon, on the shores of the Bosphorus. The health of the young emperor being materially injured by the climate of the east, or the unusual fatigues of a campaign, he was carried, during a great part of the retreat, in a covered litter; and when the army reached the western boundary of Asia, the imperial equipage was sent forward under a suitable escort, with the intention, perhaps, of securing for the patient the repose and medical assistance which could be best enjoyed in the capital. The imperial tent was guarded by the Prætorians with the strictest vigilance; and during many weeks that the emperor was invisible to

Sickness and death of the emperor. A. D. 284.

[1] Vopisc. c. ix.; Eutrop. lib. ix.; Zonar. lib. xii. c. xxx.

the troops at large, all orders were issued by the præfect, Arrius Aper, A. D. 284.
who professed to communicate the will of his master.[1]

At length the separation of the court from the camp began to excite suspicions regarding the fidelity of Aper. The soldiers insisted upon seeing the person of their prince, concerning whose fate so many rumours were already in circulation; and they had no sooner broke into his tent than they found that Numerianus had been some time dead. The studied concealment which had so long marked the conduct of the Prætorian præfect was held as indisputable evidence of his guilt; and he was accordingly seized, thrown into chains, and reserved for a public trial, in the presence of the whole army. To accomplish the purposes of justice or of revenge, Diocletian was elected emperor; who, ascending a tribunal which was erected in the middle of the camp, gave orders that Arrius Aper should be brought before him. Desirous, in the first place, to purify himself from any suspicion which might attach to his unexpected elevation, he lifted up his eyes to the sun, and calling to witness that all-seeing orb, he declared that he was entirely innocent of the death of Numerianus. Then pointing to Aper he exclaimed, "Behold the author of the crime!" and without allowing the accused an opportunity to justify his conduct, he plunged his sword into his breast.[2]

Election of Diocletian. A. D. 284.

Vopiscus adds to his narrative by recording a prediction, which, in his opinion, accounts for the fact that Diocletian choose to execute with his own hand the sentence of death upon the unfortunate præfect; for no one, says he, was ever more master of himself, or less subject to those bursts of passion, which anticipate reflection, and drive men to act before they have time to think. He had not been long in the army, when happening to be quartered at Tongres in Gaul, a druidess remarked that he was extremely economical in his personal expenses, and even reproached him with it. I will be more generous, he replied, when I am emperor. Your joke is not without foundation, rejoined the priestess, for you shall be emperor, but not until you have killed a boar. This prophecy made a deep impression on the mind of the young soldier. Observing that the imperial authority was often conferred upon men of low extraction, he permitted himself to cherish in secret the hope of one day obtaining it; and, taking the words of the druidess in their literal acceptation, he frequently engaged in field sports with the view of realizing the condition on which he was fated to ascend the throne. But it was not until Arrius Aper appeared before him as a criminal, that the mysterious language of the Gallic female revealed its true import to his understanding; to verify which, and to secure the splendid rank which fortune had placed within his reach, he consented to become, in his own person, the instrument for avenging the cause of Numerian. No other motive, he is said to have

A prophecy respecting him.

[1] Vopisc. in Numerian. c. xii.; Zonar. lib. xii.; Aurel. Victor, Epit.
[2] Vopisc. in Numerian. c. xiii. xiv.

A. D. 284. afterwards declared, could have induced him to mark his accession to the throne with an action so truly questionable; and which might have justly excited the suspicion, that in taking away the life of the præfect, he was resolved to gratify a vindictive or sanguinary temper.[1]

Carinus renders himself an object of contempt and hatred.

While these things came to pass in the east, Carinus employed his time in repressing sedition in Gaul, or in displaying his vices and luxury in the capital. Nature formed him with a mind and a body equal to all the enterprise and fatigues of war; and it is not denied, even by his greatest enemies, that when the emergencies of the empire required his presence in the field, he showed the best qualities both of a general and a soldier. But he disgraced the season of peace by the most contemptible vices and the fiercest cruelty. He banished or put to death the counsellors whom his father had placed around him to guide his inexperience; and he punished with the meanest revenge certain insults which his pride had sustained at the hands of his companions and school-fellows, who had not had sufficient penetration to discover that he was destined to fill a throne. He raised a door-keeper to be governor of Rome; and, in the place of the Prætorian præfect, whom he murdered, he appointed Matronianus, one of the ministers of his infamous pleasures. Regarding with the bitterest hatred every one who might remember his former obscurity, or condemn his present conduct, he studiously selected his favourites, and even the officers of his government, from the very dregs of the people. In a word, he is described as having equalled, during his short reign, the worst follies of Heliogabalus, and the darkest cruelties of Domitian.[2]

It was in September, A. D. 284, that Diocletian was raised to the empire, and thereby constituted the rival of Carinus. The winter appears to have passed in preparation for the contest, which in the ensuing spring was to decide the fate of one or other of these commanders; and we find, accordingly, that when the army of the east began their march through Illyricum towards Italy, the troops under Carinus advanced to meet them before they could pass the Rhætian Alps. After various skirmishes attended with alternate success, a general action took place in Mœsia, in which the ability of the western emperor and the valour of his troops were on the point of obtaining a signal triumph, when a tribune, whom he had injured, encouraged by others who had suffered similar wrongs, stabbed him to the heart. Thus, the baseness of his character, which had created in the breasts of those who could best defend his throne a deep feeling of hatred, terror, and revenge, snatched him away at once from life and from victory; affording a memorable example, that in no rank or station can the most brilliant talents atone for the want of integrity, justice, and temperance.

Gains a victory over Diocletian, but is assassinated.

[1] Vopisc. *ubi supra*, c. xiv.; Eutrop. lib. ix.; Aurel. Victor.
[2] Vopisc. in Car. c. xv.–xvii.; Zonar. lib. xii. c. xxxvi. p. 638.

CAIUS VALERIUS DIOCLETIANUS AUGUSTUS.

FROM A. D. 285 TO A. D. 305.

THE lineage of Diocletian has been traced by the historians of Rome, to a mean family in Dalmatia. His father appears to have been originally a slave in the house of Anulinus, a wealthy senator, by whom, even after he had obtained his freedom, he continued to be employed in the capacity of a scribe. The servile name of the future emperor was Docles, derived from the town or village of Doclia, wherein his mother was born. It is supposed to have been first improved into Diocles, in which form it is sometimes found, and finally into the more sonorous appellation of Diocletianus, which pleased the ears of the Romans and the taste of their master.[1] A. D. 285. Birth of Diocletian.



Diocletianus.

Having at an early age embraced the profession of arms, he rose fast in rank as well as in reputation under several successive princes. The school of Probus supplied him with the best maxims and the most striking examples of military excellence; and the young soldier profited so well by the advantages which he enjoyed in the imperial camp, that he was included in the list which Vopiscus has preserved of the distinguished generals who were formed by the discipline of the warlike Pannonian. In the course of promotion we can trace his rise as governor of Mœsia, as consul, and at length as commander of the domestic guards; that confidential body of troops which had superseded the Prætorians in the duty of the palace, and been intrusted with the personal safety and repose of the head of the government. We have seen, too, that when Numerian died on his return from the Persian war, the unanimous voice of the army called to the throne the son of the slave of Anulinus.[2] His rise in the army, and election to the throne.

The election of Diocletian was amply justified by the wisdom and moderation with which he began his reign. Although he had been successfully opposed in the field by the legions under Carinus, he buried his resentment in the grave of that emperor; and so far was he from punishing by death or deprivation those leaders who had fought against him under the banners of their lawful prince, that he His moderation and wisdom in government.

[1] Eutrop. lib. ix.

[2] Vopisc. in Prob.; Aurel. Victor, de Cæsaribus; Victor, Epit.

A. D. 285. rewarded their fidelity and talents by taking them into his own service. He honoured with his confidence Aristobulus the principal minister of the house of Carus, and requested him to continue in the office of which he had discharged the duties so well. The same indulgence was shown to other men of rank; insomuch that Aurelius Victor describes the astonishment of the Roman people at beholding a civil war brought to an end, without the usual accompaniments of forfeiture, exile, and the most sanguinary executions. We were accustomed, said he, to praise those princes who in such circumstances set moderate bounds to confiscation, banishment, and death; but history presents no instance of a similar contest being terminated without the loss in any case of fortune, dignity, or life.[1]

Represses the barbarian invaders in the west and east.

The extent of the empire and the activity of its barbarian enemies left to the new sovereign very little time for repose. In the east, the Persians, emboldened by the retreat of Numerianus, had already recovered all their conquests in Mesopotamia, and were about to enter Syria and the neighbouring provinces. The Gauls and Britons, in the west, were stimulated into rebellion by the intrigues of their ambitious chiefs, or by the deep feeling of oppression to which the peasantry had long been subjected. The Germans, too, accustomed to the enjoyments which spring from a rich soil and a fine climate, could not, without unremitting vigilance, be restrained from crossing the Rhine, and extending their occasional settlements as far as the Alps and the Pyrenees. On the authority of certain medals we are warranted to conclude, that the first year of Diocletian's reign was signalized by some advantages, gained by his lieutenants over the barbarians of the continent as well as those of Britain; but, although the honour of victory was reflected upon the head of the emperor, it is manifest that he had no share in the labour by which it was obtained, because he spent the winter which immediately followed his accession at his favourite residence of Nicomedia.[2]

Appoints Maximianus his colleague. A. D. 286.

The urgency of affairs suggested to Diocletian the expediency of nominating a colleague in the government, who might share with him the various toils incident to a state of war. He selected from among the commanders who had distinguished themselves in the eastern campaign Maximianus, a bold and successful soldier, whose qualities, fitting him rather for the field than for the cabinet, would supply the want which the emperor is supposed to have felt in his own character, without interfering with the more secret movements of the political machine. The deficiency to which we have just alluded in the successor of Carinus, respected military courage; for though it is difficult to conceive, that he who acquired and preserved the esteem of Aurelian, Probus, and Carus, could be chargeable with cowardice, it is, nevertheless, admitted that he did not possess that daring impetuosity which rushes into danger without measuring its extent, and

[1] Aurel. Victor. [2] Panegyr. Vet.; Aurel. Victor; Eutrop. lib. ix.

which seems to value enterprise in proportion to its hazard. Indeed, A. D. 286.
he himself appears to have estimated at a much higher rate the wisdom of the statesman than the valour of the soldier; and no sooner, accordingly, was he clothed with the purple, than he made known by the line of policy upon which he entered, that his labours for the welfare of the empire were to bear a greater resemblance to the thoughtful administration of Augustus, than to the brilliant reigns of those warlike princes who succeeded Gallienus.[1]

Lineage and character of Maximianus.

Maximianus was born near Sirmium, in Pannonia, of parents who belonged to the lowest class in society, who could not bestow upon their son any of the advantges of education. He was so ignorant, indeed, that, after he ascended the throne, a panegyrist who compared his exploits to those of Hannibal and Scipio Africanus, ventured to lavish upon him the ambiguous compliment that he had surpassed heroes with whose names he was probably unacquainted. Bred amid the toils and perils of war he exhibited much personal bravery, with the rough and honest frankness which is generated in the camp. His rise in military honours did not compensate the want of that early discipline which forms the manners to the mould of social life; for, even when in the palace of the Cæsars, he betrayed the fierce, the licentious, and, sometimes, cruel disposition of the Illyrian peasant. He aspired to nothing higher than the fame of an able general. Under Aurelian and Probus he had distinguished himself on every frontier of the empire; and though his talents were better fitted for executing the commands of a superior, than for regulating the movements of an extensive campaign, he was nevertheless capable, by his valour, constancy, and experience, of conducting the most arduous undertakings. He was formed by nature to be a fit instrument in the hand of Diocletian. In war he led the armies of Rome to certain victory; and at home he was ever ready to exercise those necessary severities which policy from time to time required, but from which the mild or timid character of his colleague habitually recoiled. It was the object of the latter to establish a reputation for clemency and gentleness; and, accordingly, while he employed the stern hand of Maximianus to inflict punishment or to gratify revenge, he usually contrived to interpose his influence in order to save such victims as he had no wish to sacrifice, and to moderate the rage which he himself had either kindled or inflamed. But, notwithstanding the difference of their characters, the two emperors cultivated on the throne the friendship which they had contracted in the camp; and the harmony which prevailed in the maxims by which the country was governed, soon diffused itself through all the subordinate departments of the state. The bold and turbulent spirit of the one submitted to the more enlightened genius of the other; and, although

[1] Lactant. de Mort. Pers. c. vii.–ix.; Zonar. lib. xii. c. xxxi. p. 640; Victor, Epit.; Aurel. Victor, de Cæsaribus.

A. D. 286. the popular voice was accustomed to recognise in the two masters of the empire an emblem of the golden and the iron age, the administration of affairs was conducted with not less success than unanimity. With an allusion, perhaps, to their respective qualities of intellectual and physical strength, they assumed the titles of Jovius and Herculius; intimating, that while the one was prepared to direct, the other was ready to perform.[1]

He is intrusted with the war against the Gauls.

It was at Nicomedia that Maximianus was invested with the name and power of Augustus; immediately after which he was charged with the management of the war against the rebellious peasantry of Gaul. The class of persons here mentioned are described by the name of Bagaudæ, a term which is understood to denote an insurgent or tumultuary assemblage. Oppressed by the extortion and tyranny of the nobles, the occupiers of the land had been occasionally driven to arms, in order to vindicate their rights or to defend their property; and, on the present emergency, they appear to have listened to the counsels of Helianus and Amandus, two ambitious chiefs, who employed their resentment with the view of accomplishing certain objects of their own. But undisciplined rustics could not long withstand the valour of the legions under such a commander as Maximianus. They were defeated in several battles, reduced once more to submission, and saw their leaders, who had assumed the purple, obliged to seek safety in flight. Having restored tranquillity in the southern provinces, the new Augustus advanced towards the Rhine, where he gained a succession of victories over the Franks, the Burgundians, and the Alemanni, who had, as usual, seized the moment of suspense or weakness to renew their depredations within the limits of the empire. He pursued them across the river, carried fire and sword into their country, and compelled the proudest of these barbarians to sue for compassion, and consent to hold their lands at the pleasure of the Roman emperor.[2]

War with the Franks, and defection of Carausius, who assumes the purple in Britain. A. D. 287.

But the Franks, although unequal to their powerful enemies in the field, maintained their superiority on the ocean. Emboldened by the successful enterprise which they completed in the reign of Probus, when they performed a voyage from the Euxine to the mouths of the Rhine and the Elbe, they had learned to put confidence in the sea; and having equipped numerous vessels of a light structure and convenient size, they were constantly seen hovering along the coasts of Gaul, Britain, and Spain, and ready to retaliate upon the defenceless inhabitants the losses which their countrymen suffered from the invading legions. To check the incursions of these pirates, Maximian resolved to form a navy; and fixing upon a port in the English Channel, as the most suitable station for his fleet, he intrusted the care of it to Carausius, an experienced sailor, who undertook to watch

[1] Panegyr. Vet. in Max.; Victor, Epit.; Eutrop. lib. ix.; Aurel. Victor, de Cæsaribus.

[2] Panegyr. Vet. ii. 4; vi. 8; Eutrop. lib. ix.

the movements of the northern freebooters. But it soon appeared A. D. 287. that the interests of the Roman admiral were at variance with his duty. Accustomed, perhaps, to the practices which he was now appointed to suppress, he connived at the ravages of the Saxon adventurers, that he might participate the more largely in their plunder. His increasing wealth was regarded as a proof of his guilt; and the emperor, accordingly, gave instructions to some confidential agent to supersede the admiral in the command of the fleet, and to put him to death. But the suspicions of Carausius anticipated the designs of his master. Dreading the punishment that awaited him, he sailed into Britain; where, having gained the troops which were stationed to defend that island, he assumed the imperial title and authority, and defied at once the resentment and the arms of his offended sovereign. He even formed an alliance with the Saxons and Franks, whose active squadrons, joined to his own, commanded the seas which separate Albion from the Continent. Retaining possession of Boulogne, the original seat of his power, he spread the terror of invasion from the Rhine to the promontory of Calpe; and so firmly established did his government in a short time become, that Diocletian and Maximian judged it expedient to resign into his hands the sovereignty which he had usurped, and to acknowledge him as one of the Roman emperors. A medal struck by Carausius, to commemorate this event, represents him in conjunction with his two colleagues, and bears for its legend the Pax trium Augustorum. His administration in Britain was more remarkable for vigour than for either wisdom or clemency. He chastised, indeed, the Caledonians on the northern border, and even rebuilt the wall of Severus; but, at the same time, he oppressed the subjects of the empire by cruel exactions, and during six or seven years set an example to his troops of every species of tyranny and licentiousness.[1]

Successes of Diocletian in the east. A. D. 288 to A. D. 292.

While Maximianus was carrying on a doubtful war with the rebellious Carausius on the western limits of the Roman world, his colleague is said to have been more successfully employed against the Persians in the east, and the barbarians in Thrace and Asia Minor. If we may trust to the authority of the Panegyrists, Mamertinus and Eumenes, Diocletian, in the interval now mentioned, gained victories in Africa, over the Saracens; in Pannonia, over the Sarmatians, the Goths, the Quadi, the Jugonthi, and the Carpians; and in Rhætia, over the more active and warlike Alemanni. The two emperors, in the winter of the year A. D. 290, had an interview at Milan, the object of which has not been transmitted to our times; but it was on this occasion that the first of the orators just named, while celebrating the concord which prevailed between the Augusti, took an opportunity of specifying their respective triumphs. "The laurels," said he, "which Diocletian gathered in the east, in Rhætia, and Pannonia,

[1] Panegyr. Vet. ii. 7–9; Eutrop. lib. ix.; Aurel. Victor.

A. D. 292. afforded to you, Maximianus, the most heartfelt joy; while, on the other hand, the defeat of the seditious tribes in Gaul, the conquest of Germany, and the successful termination of the war with the Saxon pirates, gratified the most ardent wishes of Diocletian." It may be questioned, indeed, whether this eulogy does not belong to a period somewhat later than the fifth year of their reign, and, consequently, whether the laurels gained by the imperial commander in Syria were not those which crowned his arms when he replaced Tiridates, the Armenian prince, upon the throne of his fathers.[1]

Constantius and Galerius appointed Cæsars, March, A. D. 292.

But whatever obscurity may attach to the chronology of the above events, it is manifest that the peace which they procured was not of long duration. The restless spirit of the Germans and Goths impelled them to new adventures; the Asiatic nations, at variance with one another, agreed in their hatred or jealousy of Rome; and the maritime tribes who inhabited the extreme boundaries of the west, were becoming every day more formidable to the provincials of Gaul, and even to the numerous cities beyond the Pyrenees. It, therefore, occurred to the wisdom of Diocletian, that the empire, exposed to be assailed on every side, ought on every side to be protected by a separate army, under a leader invested with supreme power. With this view, as well as to prevent the wanton exercise of the elective privilege so long assumed by the legions, he determined once more to divide his jurisdiction, and to confer on two generals, who were each to enjoy the title of Cæsar, an equal share of the sovereign authority. Galerius, surnamed the Herdsman, and Constantius, who, from some peculiarity in his complexion, had acquired the denomination of Chlorus, were the two individuals appointed to enjoy the subordinate honours of the imperial purple.[2]

Lineage of these commanders.

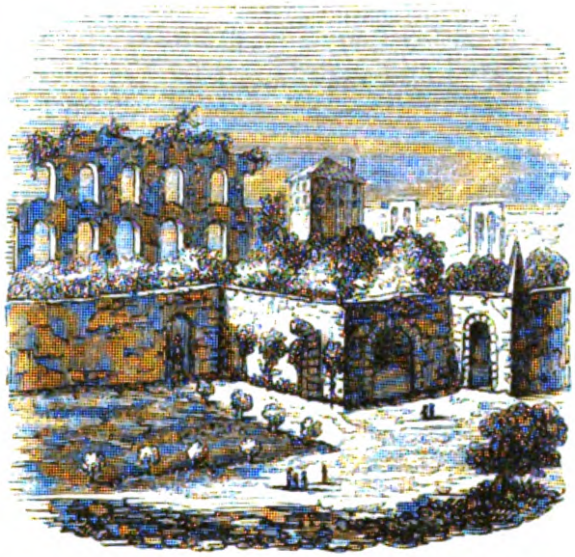
The former of these chiefs was born at Dacia, and could not boast a descent any higher than that of Diocletian, nor a more liberal education than that which had been enjoyed by Maximianus. Like the latter, his early youth was spent in tending cattle, and like him, too, he was rough in his manners, impetuous, and bloodthirsty. The birth of Constantius was less obscure, and his character was much more amiable. His mother was a niece of the emperor Claudius, and his father held an eminent rank among the nobles of Illyricum. Trained to arms from his childhood he rose to high promotion under Aurelian and Probus, whose interests he strengthened by several brilliant exploits against the enemies of the empire: and when Carus mounted the throne, his services were acknowledged by his being appointed to the important government of Dalmatia. To cement still more firmly the bonds of this political union, each emperor adopted one of the Cæsars as his son; Diocletian fixing his choice upon Galerius, and Maximian upon Constantius. In order to be more

They are adopted by the emperors.

[1] Eumen. in Panegyr. Vet.; Mamertin. Panegyr. in Maxim.

[2] Eutrop.; Lactant. de Mort. Pers.

closely engrafted into the imperial families, each of the new sovereigns accepted a wife at the hand of his adopted father: nor was the circumstance that they were both previously married, allowed to prove a bar to this domestic arrangement, for Constantius was desired to repudiate Helena, the mother of the famous Constantine, to make way for Theodora, the stepdaughter of Maximian, while Galerius performed a similar act to qualify him to become the husband of Valeria, the daughter of Diocletian. It has been noticed by a contemporary annalist, that each emperor, in exercising the rights of adoption, selected the Cæsar whose character was most opposed to his own; as if it had been intended, that in both cases the defects of the elder princes should be compensated by the qualities of the younger, and that, by combining in the same administration a variety of endowments, the balance of the constitution might be the better preserved. It has been thought further worthy of remark, that the rank of Constantius and Galerius was not settled according to the dignity of their adopted fathers; on the contrary, the pre-eminence was given to the former of these commanders, although the emperor into whose family he was introduced uniformly acknowledged the precedence of his elder colleague.[1] A. D. 292.



Baths of St. Helena. *Venuti, Antichita di Roma.*

But, whatever might be their respective claims on the homage of the Roman people, it is sufficiently manifest that the empire was now provided with four rulers, all of whom might be regarded as independent sovereigns. Every one of them had his court, his officers of state, and even a Prætorian præfect; who, in his turn, had lieutenants appointed in the different provinces of the general government. Galerius received from Diocletian the charge of Illyricum, Thrace, and Macedonia; while he himself retained the command of Greece, Egypt, and the rich countries of Asia from the Ægean to the Euphrates. The other emperor assumed for his peculiar department the defence of Italy and the African colonies; having intrusted to the warlike vigilance of Constantius the protection of Gaul, Spain, and Britain. This distribution has been held by historians rather as a simple partition

Their government and offices.

[1] Eumen. Panegyr. Vet.; Lactant. de Mort. Pers. c. lii.; Aurel. Victor; Eutrop. lib. ix.

A. D. 293. of official care, than as an actual division of territorial sovereignty; or, if each was independent within his own jurisdiction, all of them were bound to afford mutual assistance to their colleagues, as well by counsel as by arms. The Cæsars, in their exalted rank, confessed the superior majesty of the emperors; and the three younger princes invariably acknowledged, by their gratitude and obedience, the common parent of their fortunes. The suspicious jealousy of power found not any place among them; and the singular happiness of their union has been compared to a concert of music, the harmony of which is regulated and maintained by the skilful hand of the leader.[1]

Titles.

It was on the calends of March, in the year A. D. 292, that the Cæsars were installed into their high office. Diocletian, having assembled the legions at a short distance from Nicomedia, recommended to them his adopted son, and in their presence invested him with the purple. The same honour is supposed to have been conferred upon Constantius by the second Augustus, in one of the cities of Italy or Gaul, on which occasion both the young princes were addressed as emperors and fathers of their country, and clothed with the tribunitian power, the high-priesthood, and all the other attributes of sovereign authority.[2]

Constantius takes Boulogne.

Constantius was no sooner nominated to his government, than he made preparations for recovering Britain from the hands of the usurper. By reducing Boulogne, which continued in the power of Carausius, he diminished greatly the maritime strength of his antagonist, and acquired, at the same time, the means of building a fleet which he intended for the invasion of his insular kingdom. But the equipment of a sufficient number of ships to accomplish such an object, occupied the mechanics of Gaul nearly three years; in the course of which, the colleague of Maximian employed his troops in strengthening the defences of the Rhine against the Franks, whose daring spirit he repressed in several bloody engagements.[3]

Death of Carausius, and recovery of Britain. A. D. 293.

When everything was ready for a descent upon Britain, the news arrived that Carausius had fallen the victim of treason, and left the government to Allectus, his prime minister, who was accused of effecting his destruction. The assassin having assumed the purple, and thereby declared himself an enemy to Rome, the expedition was only delayed until such means were adopted as could not fail to render its object most complete. A squadron, which had been fitted at the mouth of the Seine, put to sea under Asclepiodatus, and reached without opposition a port on the coast of Kent or Sussex; while the remainder of the armament, conducted by Constantius in person, threatened the capital and the fruitful shores of the Thames. When the former landed his troops he burned the transports, resolving to conquer or die in the province which he had undertaken to recover;

[1] Lactant. c. vii.; Julian. in Cæsar.; Aurel. Victor.
[2] Lactant. c. xix.
[3] Eumen. Panegyr. in Const. August.

and, accordingly, Allectus had no sooner marched against him, than he put an end to the war and to the life of the usurper, by gaining a speedy and decisive victory. The approach of the Cæsar, therefore, bore a greater resemblance to a triumph than to the advance of a hostile army. He was welcomed with acclamations from crowds of obedient subjects, who seemed to regret their long separation from the empire, and who now prepared to celebrate an event which, after a rebellion of ten years, placed them once more under the protection of the imperial sceptre.[1] A. D. 294.

Mildness of the conqueror.

Constantius is said to have used his victory with mildness and clemency. Far from confounding the unhappy natives with their tyrannical oppressors, he studied rather how to compensate to the former the losses which they had sustained during the successive usurpations. He restored property to those from whom it had been unjustly taken away; placed the whole country under the protection of equal laws; and granted pardon to all who expressed contrition for their offences against the parent state. The year A. D. 296 is distinguished by the historians of Rome, as the period when Britain was completely recovered by the arms and wise counsels of the father of Constantine.[2]

His success against the German tribes.

Some years elapsed during which no event of peculiar magnitude arrests the attention of the reader. Galerius appears to have maintained a chain of positions along the Danube, which the diminished courage of the barbarians seldom urged them to attack. The duty of Constantius, who had returned from Britain to Gaul, was much more active but not less successful. Not content with repelling the various hordes of Germans from the banks of the Rhine he pursued them into their own territory, and even planted his victorious eagles on the Ems and Weser. Pursuing the policy which had been suggested by Probus, he conducted large bodies of such prisoners as preferred slavery to death, from the forests and bogs of the north, and settled them in those very districts of Gaul which they had wasted by their inroads. They were usually employed as shepherds and hinds, but were denied the use of arms, except when necessity called for their aid in the public service. Lands were sometimes granted to the more deserving, if willing to adopt the manners and to court the protection of the Romans; and on this principle the emperors conceded extensive privileges to the Carpi, Bastarnæ, and Sarmatians, who soon afterwards showed themselves willing to forget the servile tenure in which their possessions were held.

Insurrection in Africa and Egypt.

While the empire enjoyed tranquillity in the north and west, an insurrection broke out almost at the same moment in Egypt and Africa. In the latter country, five Moorish nations, who are known

[1] Eutrop. lib. ix.; Aurel. Victor; Eumen. Panegyr. in Const.
[2] Eumen. Panegyr.

A. D. 294 to A. D. 297. to the Latin historians by the name of *Quinquagentiani*, issued from their wilderness and attacked the provincials along the coast. Maximianus hurried to the scene of action, where he quickly drove back the savages into their desert, overran the greater part of Mauritania, and deprived them of certain strongholds in the mountains, whither they were wont to repair for refuge and the concealment of their plunder. Another exploit of the emperor is fixed at the same period, but it is extremely doubtful whether it does not relate to the same occurrence. We are informed that an officer, called Julian, had assumed the purple at Carthage; but we know not if he was encouraged to his rebellion by the presence of the Moorish invaders, or whether he had seduced the Roman garrison from their allegiance to favour his pretensions; or, finally, whether the disaffection of the troops had not compelled him to take the title of sovereign and lead them into the field. The result is clearly narrated. Julian was defeated; upon which, despairing of mercy from the hands of the enraged Maximian, he stabbed himself with a dagger, and immediately leaped into a pile of flames.[1]

To suppress the disturbance in Egypt, where another pretender had placed himself on the throne, Diocletian resumed his arms, which appear to have been for some time laid aside. He opened the campaign by the siege of Alexandria; which he endeavoured to reduce by cutting off the aqueducts which conveyed the waters of the Nile into every quarter of that immense city, and by rendering his camp impregnable to every sally which the despair of the inhabitants might urge them to attempt. At the end of eight months, the resources as well as the courage of the garrison being exhausted, they resolved to throw themselves upon the mercy of the emperor, who, irritated by their seditious and wavering temper, refused to exempt from military execution Achilleus, the author of the rebellion, and the principal accomplices of his guilt. The city, at length, was taken by storm, when an indiscriminate slaughter ensued of all ranks and ages; and those who fell not by the sword were condemned to the severer punishment of poverty and of exile. The magnificence of Alexandria was given up to the fury and rapacity of the soldiers, who had not learned to respect either its origin or its antiquities. Coptos and Busiris shared the same fate; being, by the orders of Diocletian, reduced and levelled with the ground. Extending his arms to the borders of Ethiopia, he inflicted a suitable chastisement upon the Blemmyes; who, though by themselves an insignificant enemy, had, since the days of Firmus, ever shown the utmost readiness to aid the rebellious and the disaffected in the remoter parts of Egypt. To prevent their irruptions for the future, the emperor invited a tribe of Nubians to take possession of an extensive range of country, above the Cataracts of the Nile, on condition that they should defend the frontiers of the

[1] Zosim. lib. i.; Panegyr. Vet. iv. 11.

lower provinces against those barbarians, with whom it was unworthy of the legions to wage a regular war.[1] A. D. 294 to A. D. 297.

The enemies of Diocletian have asserted, that in his Egyptian campaign he was not satisfied with the death of a rival who had dared to assume the imperial ensigns, and with the ruin of all who had placed themselves under his banners, but that he directed his hostility against science, and interdicted the most ingenious and interesting pursuits of philosophy. He caused, says an historian of the middle ages, the most diligent inquiry to be made for all the ancient books which treated of the wonderful art of producing gold and silver, and without remorse committed them to the flames; apprehensive lest the riches which the Egyptians should thereby procure, might inspire them with the resolution of rebelling against the empire. But even were we to admit the fact now stated, the motive assigned for the conduct of the emperor must appear exceedingly absurd. The wealth of a province naturally flows into the treasury of the dominant state; and the precious metals of Egypt, accordingly, must soon have added to the power and magnificence of Rome. We may therefore conclude, that Diocletian proscribed alchymy as a vain and pernicious imagination, fitted rather to dissipate gold than to create it; though it is still more probable that the accusation with which he is charged by a monkish writer originated in the malignity of a later age.[2] Supposed severity of Diocletian.



Remains of the Baths of Diocletian.
Venuti, Antichita di Roma.

We come now to record one of the most important events in the reign of Diocletian, his successful war against the Persians. Several reasons concurred at this time to induce the Romans to take up arms against their ancient enemies. They had not yet forgotten the indignity inflicted upon the empire in the person of Valerian; the sudden retreat of Numerianus was still recent; and the king of Armenia, whose family had long held their crown under the protection of the Roman people, was again expelled from his country, and forced to seek an asylum in a foreign land. In the year A. D. 296, Narses was on the throne of Persia; who, after crushing a rebellion at home, had He enters into a war with the Persians.

[1] Aurel. Victor, de Cæsaribus; Eutrop. lib. ix.; Euseb. Chron. in ann.; Oros. lib. vii. c. xxv.

[2] Joan. Antioch. apud Vales.

A. D. 297. carried his arms against Tiridates, the son of Chosroes, added Armenia, as we have just related, to his vast dominions, and was now, after the example of Sapor, his warlike ancestor, preparing to stretch the limits of his sovereignty to the farthest parts of Asia Minor.[1]

Exploits of Tiridates the Armenian prince. Defeat of Galerius.

The emperor fixed his head-quarters at the city of Antioch, whence he intended to direct the movements of his army. The immediate command of the legions was intrusted to Galerius, whose duty on the Illyrian frontiers was in the meantime transferred to an officer of inferior rank; when, equally confident in their strength and in the goodness of their cause, the two powerful hosts advanced to meet each other in the plains of Mesopotamia. Orosius narrates, that the Romans were three times worsted before they could be induced to yield ground; but the last action appears to have been so decisive, that only the scattered remains of their troops reached Antioch after a disgraceful flight. The young king of Armenia was in the battle, where, unsubdued by misfortune, he signalized his valour against the inveterate foes of his house. He was pursued as far as the Euphrates, on a wounded horse which could carry him no farther; but rather than surrender to the Persians, from whom he had reason to apprehend the most unworthy treatment, he plunged into the river, and at length reached in safety the opposite bank.[2]

Diocletian was greatly offended at the failure of Galerius; who, it should seem, was carried by the impetuosity of his temper to attack the enemy with an inadequate force, and on ground highly disadvantageous to the Roman infantry. He accordingly received the vanquished Cæsar with the strongest expressions of indignation, and even compelled him to walk a considerable way by the side of his chariot before he would vouchsafe to answer his entreaties, that he might be supplied with another opportunity to retrieve his character, and avenge the cause of the empire on the squadrons of Narses. Having drawn reinforcements from the hardy cohorts which served on the Danube, and strengthened his ranks by a large body of Gothic auxiliaries, who were taken into the imperial pay, Galerius once more crossed the Euphrates, and waited the approach of his antagonist.

Galerius gains a decisive victory over Narses. A. D. 297.

Taught by experience, he avoided the level plains on which he had found the Persian cavalry so formidable, and directed his march along the confines of Armenia, a hilly country, the inhabitants of which afforded him, at the same time, both supplies and intelligence. The enemy, elated by their recent success, had begun to despise the Romans and to neglect the safety of their own camp, whereupon Galerius, who had carefully examined their position, resolved to attack them in the night with his whole forces. The assault proved decisive. The army of Narses, consisting chiefly of horsemen, was thrown into confusion and totally routed: the king himself was wounded and

[1] Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxiii; Oros. lib. vii. c. xxv.; Zonar. lib. xii. c. xxxi. p. 640.

[2] Mos. Choren. Armen. Hist. lib. ii. c. lxxvi.

compelled to continue his retreat into the deserts of Media; leaving in the hands of the conquerors his wife, his children, and sisters, with all the wealth usually to be found in the tent of a Persian monarch. The character of the Roman Cæsar did not, indeed, present many points of resemblance to that of the renowned son of Philip; but on the present occasion he revived, in favour of his female captives, the generosity which has been so justly praised in the conduct of Alexander towards the wife and daughter of Darius. He protected them from rapine and violence, conveyed them and their attendants to a place of safety, and commanded that they should be treated with the respect which became their sex and dignity.[1] A. D. 298.

The Persians sue for peace.

The vanquished Persians, upon finding that Diocletian was advancing from Antioch to follow up the victory which his son had just achieved, had immediate recourse to negotiation. Their ambassadors, having arrived at the camp of Galerius, represented to the Romans that peace was now become desirable to both countries, and that the prolongation of the unfortunate war in which they were engaged could not fail to be productive of the greatest calamities, not only to themselves but to the human race at large. Apharban, the principal speaker, represented the rival empires as the two eyes of the world, and deplored on that ground the extinction of either. He also reminded the victor of the uncertainty and change which attached to all mortal grandeur, and besought him to exercise that moderation which became the prince of a great people, and of which the Persians on similar occasions had given so many striking proofs. Galerius could no longer restrain his impatience. "Ill does it become you," he exclaimed, "to expatiate on the vicissitudes of fortune, and on the forbearance which we ought to practise to one another; you, who, after obtaining by fraud the possession of an emperor's person, kept him in the most painful captivity till the day of his death! Think of the clemency which you showed to Valerian, and then consider what you have a right to exact at our hands. But, "he continued," it is not the practice of the Romans to trample on a beaten enemy; and, by the compassion which we are willing to bestow upon the supplicating Persians, we shall make manifest to the world that the soldiers of the west are not more gallant in the field of battle than merciful in the hour of victory."[2] A. D. 298.

The terms on which it is granted.

The unreflecting ambition of Galerius pointed, it was thought, to the complete and final subjugation of the Persian empire, which he was desirous to add as a province to that of Rome. But the mind of Diocletian, influenced by the wise maxims of Augustus and by the experience of Trajan, was disposed to pursue a more moderate policy; to humble the subjects of Narses, to strip them of a large portion of their territory, and thereby to deprive them of the means of renewing

[1] Aurel. Victor; Pet. Pat. in Legat.; Sex. Rufin.

[2] Aurel. Victor; Pet. Pat. in Legat; Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxii.; Eutrop. lib. ix.

A. D. 298. their incursions beyond the Euphrates. With this view he sent Sicorius Probus, one of his secretaries, to explain to the Persian court the terms on which peace might be obtained. In the first place the envoy was instructed to demand the entire relinquishment of Mesopotamia, the occasion of so many wars and disputes, and the cession to Rome of all the countries which extended from that province to the Chaboras, a stream which falls into the Tigris. The tract of land thus acquired, including Carduena, Arzanena, and Zabdicene, was of great value to Diocletian, because it formed a strong barrier on the eastern limits of the empire, and increased at the same time the number of his allies from among the hardiest and most warlike tribes of Asia. It was likewise stipulated that Armenia, upon being restored to Tiridates, should have its limits extended as far as Sintha, a fortress in Media, and be regarded as under the special protection of the Romans. The kings of Iberia were, in like manner, relieved from their vassalage to the Persian crown, and placed in a state of dependence on the imperial government; and as the people of that country had long been accustomed to the use of arms, and occupied the range of mountains which divides Asia Minor from the plains of Sarmatia, they proved to their new masters a powerful defence against the inroad of barbarians still more ferocious than themselves. The last article of the treaty respected the neutrality of Nisibis, as an emporium of merchandize for the mutual convenience of the two empires; an arrangement which, although it appears to have promised the greatest advantages to Narses, was, nevertheless, the only condition of the peace to which he thought proper, or was permitted, to make any objections.[1]

Its continuation for forty years.

It was in the year A.D. 298 that Diocletian effected the tranquillity of the east, after which nearly half a century elapsed before the Persians ventured again to make an appeal to arms. This happy result was secured not less by the valour of the legions than by the wisdom of the emperor; who employed his victorious troops in strengthening the frontier, along the Euphrates, the Tigris, and the Araxes, by a line of garrisons and several fortified towns. He bestowed particular care on the defences of Circesium, an important city in Mesopotamia, built at the junction of the first and last of the rivers now mentioned: by which means he rendered the chances of war so unfavourable to the enemy, that it was not until the thrones of Rome, Persia, and Armenia were occupied by new sovereigns, that any attempt was made to disturb the repose which Diocletian had established on so firm a basis.

Triumph of Diocletian and Maximian.

During the five or six years which followed the Persian campaign, the emperor devoted his attention to the arts of peace, and particularly to the extension and embellishment of his eastern capital. Feeling none of the attachments inspired by birth to the land or to the city

[1] Pet. Pat. in Legat.; Eutrop. lib. ix.

in which the Cæsars had first erected the imperial throne, he is supposed not to have visited Rome from the period when his election was confirmed by the senate, till, after a reign of twenty years, he repaired thither to celebrate the triumph which had been decreed to him and his colleague Miximianus. It was in the year A. D. 303, that he consented to commemorate his accession to power, and his victories over the enemies of the empire, by taking a share in the pageantry which was wont to reward the most important services of Roman generals. Unaccustomed to such spectacles, he acted his part in the splendid procession rather as a matter of duty than of inclination or pride; displaying even on this occasion his characteristic regard to economy, and showing himself more desirous to maintain decorum than to kindle the feelings of gratulation and delight. His trophies were, indeed, drawn from the remotest parts of the earth, and testified to the increasing boundaries of Roman dominion in the west as well as in the east. Persia and the British Isles, Africa and the forests of Germany, the Rhine, the Nile, the Euphrates, the Danube, and the Thames supplied their respective tokens of subjugation, and added to the interest and magnificence of his triumph. But Diocletian was not a Roman, and could not take a share in the sentiments which prevailed everywhere around him. His austere manners and parsimonious habits provoked the sarcasm of the populace; who, comparing the restricted splendour of his games with the recollection or description of those more brilliant exhibitions which had been given by Aurelian and Probus, conceived that their privileges had been violated and their wishes despised. This military pageant, however, has obtained in the eyes of posterity a distinction and an interest which it could not possess at the time—it was the last triumph ever witnessed in the streets of Rome. The city of Romulus soon afterwards lost the honour of being the seat of government; and the successors of Constantine did not long retain those warlike virtues, which used to adorn the capital of the empire with the trophies of vanquished nations and tributary provinces.[1]

A. D. 298 to A. D. 305.

Diocletian returns to Nicomedia, and determines to resign the empire. A. D. 305.

Disgusted with the licentiousness of the people, Diocletian made immediate preparations for returning to Nicomedia, his favourite residence. He set out about the middle of December, careless of the severe weather which he must encounter in the mountainous district through which he had to pass; or ignorant, perhaps, of the effects which it was likely to produce upon a constitution diminished in its vigour by fatigue and anxiety. On his journey he fell into an alarming illness, from which he never completely recovered. The following winter he was confined to the palace; and when, in the month of March, A. D. 305, he showed himself to his people, he was so pale and wasted by disease that he could scarcely be recognized by those to whom his person was the most familiar. In these circumstances

[1] Euseb. in Chron.; Eutrop. lib. ix. c. xxvii.; Lactant. de Mort. Pers. c. xxxviii.

A. D. 305. he adopted a resolution, the motives of which cannot now be fully ascertained, to resign the cares of government, and to retire into the peaceful seclusion of private life. Lactantius ascribes this determination to the intriguing impatience of Galerius, who longed to exchange the subordinate rank of Cæsar for the full honours of Augustus, and who, with this view, urged his benefactor to vacate the imperial office and dignities. But it is not necessary to descend into the depths of state policy, in search of reasons for a measure which appears to have been dictated by convenience and inclination. Nay, the very principle which had originally suggested to Diocletian the division of power and the increase of sovereign commanders, must now have demonstrated the expediency of confiding the government to younger minds and more vigorous hands; and there can be little doubt, that before he left Rome he exacted of Maximianus a promise to imitate his example in this respect, and to transfer the weight of public affairs to their adopted sons, and to such assistants as they might choose to appoint.[1]

He realizes his purpose. May 1, A. D. 305.

But whatever might be the motives which induced Diocletian to divest himself of the purple, he performed the ceremony of abdication with much solemnity and decorum. Having assembled the army and people in a spacious plain about three miles from Nicomedia, he ascended a lofty throne, and in a speech full of affection and dignity, declared his intention and explained his future purposes: immediately after which he stepped into a covered chariot, passed through the city which he had rendered fit to be the capital of a great empire, and proceeded forthwith to Salona, a pleasant village in his native province Dalmatia, where he had resolved to spend the remainder of his life. Maximianus, on the same day, executed a similar resolution at Milan, now become the place of his usual abode. In this act of self-denial, so much at variance with his natural love of power, he yielded to the ascendency which his wiser colleague had acquired over him, and immediately retired to a villa in Lucania, in search of that enjoyment which he had associated with his dreams of repose, but which neither his temper nor his habits were calculated to find amidst the scenes of tranquillity.[2]

Reflections on his plan of government.

Diocletian lived eight or nine years after his abdication; but as he never again mingled in the affairs of government, we may be permitted, at this stage of the narrative, to make a few remarks on the manner, the spirit, and the general objects of his administration; the most remarkable that occurs between the era of Augustus and that of Constantine. If we consider his origin, as an Illyrian peasant, and an unlettered soldier of fortune, the wise and comprehensive scheme which he devised for the maintenance of civil subordination as well as of military discipline, throughout the empire, will appear truly astonishing. He saw, at the first glance, that the conquests of Rome

[1] Aurel. Victor. [2] Panegyr. Vet. vii. 15.

had become much too extensive to be secured by a single executive authority, however active and intelligent; and remembering that the emperor was, properly speaking, nothing more than the commander-in-chief, he resolved to raise to that dignity three individuals, besides himself, who might exercise, in their several provinces, the imperial power, modified only by an obligation to support the unity of the empire, and to act upon a recognised and uniform system of politics. By this judicious measure he removed at once the jealousy and the power of the different armies, all of whom were found to covet the honour of being led by the sovereign, and who, to gratify their vanity or their avarice, were constantly setting up their favourite chiefs as rival masters of the Roman state, the alternate tyrants and victims of military licentiousness. He divided the empire into four great provinces, in every one of which there were a supreme head, an imperial camp, with officers and guards suitable to the rank of such a commander. Thus was the fidelity of each army secured, or, at least, its disaffection rendered impotent, by the terror of the three others, which, under their respective emperor or Cæsar, could be immediately marched against it. Hence we are enabled to explain why Diocletian sat twenty-one years on the throne of Augustus, and retired at length into an honourable repose, leaving the theatre of the world to his younger and more active associates. During his long reign, there was no insurrection to shake the foundations of the monarchy, or even to wrest the sceptre from the hands of any one of his colleagues, however unfortunate or unpopular. The constitution was so equally balanced, that an exercise of strength in one quarter was uniformly compensated by corresponding vigour in some other; so that the four sovereigns who wielded the energies of Europe and of Asia, found it their interest not less than their duty to confine their ambition within the limits of their several governments. In short, he adjusted so exactly the elements of civil and military power, distributed them with so much wisdom, and opposed them to each other in portions so well calculated to check every tendency to excess, that he converted the instruments of sedition and anarchy into the means of national security and confidence.

A. D. 305.

Division of the empire by Diocletianus.

It was with a similar view that he diminished the number of the Prætorian guards, those insolent and formidable soldiers who had so frequently assumed the right of giving away the imperial diadem, and supplied their place by two faithful legions of his own countrymen, who, under the titles of Jovians and Herculians, were appointed to perform the service of the imperial household. Regarding the senate, too, which since the days of Probus had recovered a part of its original influence, as an obstacle to the exercise of the simple despotism which he wished to establish in the person of the emperors, he resolved to annihilate the power of that venerable order, by transferring the seat of government to a distance from Rome. The plan

A. D. 305. which Constantine realized had its origin in the profound policy of Diocletian; and, in truth, before the son of Constantius ascended the throne of the Cæsars, the foundations of the eastern empire were laid in the maxims which had prevailed since the death of Carinus. It has been judiciously observed, that as long as the emperors resided in the ancient capital, though the senate might be oppressed it could not be entirely neglected. The successors of Augustus exercised the power of dictating whatever laws their wisdom or caprice might suggest: but those laws were ratified by the sanction of that assembly. The model of ancient freedom was preserved in its deliberations and decrees; and wise princes, who respected the prejudices of the Roman people, were in some measure obliged to assume the language and behaviour suitable to the general and first magistrate of the republic. In the armies and in the provinces they displayed the dignity of monarchs; and when they fixed their residence at a distance from the capital, they for ever laid aside the dissimulation which Augustus had recommended to those who were to inherit his power. In the exercise of the legislative as well as the executive authority, the sovereign advised with his ministers instead of the great council of the nation. The name of the senate was mentioned with honour till the last period of the empire; the vanity of its members was still flattered with honorary distinctions; but the assembly which had so long been the source, and so long the instrument of power, was respectfully suffered to sink into oblivion.[1]

Inquiry whether the republic could have been restored.

It is, perhaps, a useless speculation to inquire whether the Roman commonwealth still retained, in the time of Probus, a sufficient tincture of its original spirit and purity to have enabled it to throw off the corrupt taint which it had derived from its long association with arbitrary rule; and whether the senators could have resumed so much of their ancient authority as to have checked the insubordination of the armies, and extended once more the civil power of the consul over that of the military commander. But, whatever may be the opinion entertained on the point now stated, there can be no doubt that the progress of despotism was accelerated at Rome, by the practice of nominating the first magistrate of the state the principal officer of the legions: for, although the term of command was short, and the general descended into the citizen as soon as the hour of danger was past, the people were thereby accustomed to see the laws, civil and military, executed by the same person, and to obey in peace the authority at which they were accustomed to tremble in war. It was, accordingly, to be expected, that the individual who found himself placed permanently at the head of the army, would soon forget the origin and nature of the power with which he was intrusted. The civil offices of consul, proconsul, censor, and of tribune, by the union of which it had been formed, might, no doubt, remind him of its

[1] Gibbon, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, c. xiii.

republican extraction; but as all military jurisdiction is necessarily despotic, and must be exercised with a very slight respect to personal freedom or abstract rights, the government of Rome could not fail to become arbitrary, as soon as the commander-in-chief ceased to be elective. Had Probus thought fit to relinquish the prerogative conferred upon Augustus, and resigned his office at the end of the first year after his elevation to the empire, he might have restored the senate to vigour, and the constitution to the activity of its first principles. The title which he bore, it is true, denoted originally no higher rank than that of general of the Roman armies; but it had, long prior to his accession, assumed a more lofty import, and was felt to convey the unlimited authority of the most powerful of all princes, a military sovereign. It is probable therefore, that before the reign of the emperor just named, the influence of custom had become too strong for that of a mere speculative reverence for ancient institutions; and that the sword had too long triumphed over the gown to permit the existence of a rational hope pointed towards the restoration of public liberty. A. D. 305.

Diocletian's assumption of the pomp and manners of eastern sovereignty in Asia.

Diocletian did not attempt to imitate the example of his Pannonian predecessor, nor to amuse the Romans with the exhibition of a phantom which he had no intention to clothe with reality. He saw that the time was come when all the power of the state must be concentrated in the emperor, and when those who commanded the legions must direct the general affairs of the government at home and abroad. With this view he, perhaps, judged wisely, when he resolved to withdraw the exercise of such power from the eyes of the senate, and to establish in a part of the empire where magnificent titles and unrestricted authority were more familiar, his new system of honours and of administration. On the confines of Asia he deemed it expedient to adopt the dress and to inculcate the manners of eastern nations. Laying aside the military cloak of purple, which alone distinguished the imperial commander from the other officers with whom he served, he assumed the more splendid robes of the Persian court. He adopted also a diadem, that ornament so much detested by the Romans as the ensign of royalty, and the use of which had been considered as the most desperate act of the madness of Caligula. Multiplied forms and ceremonies obstructed access to the gates of the palace: and when a subject was at length admitted into the imperial presence, it was expected that he should fall prostrate on the ground, and adore, according to the oriental fashion, the divinity of his lord and master. The general character and subsequent conduct of Diocletian will not allow us to ascribe to mere personal vanity the ostentation which he established at Nicomedia. He flattered himself, it has been supposed, that the sight of so much splendour and luxury would subdue the imagination of the multitude; that the monarch would thereby be protected from the rude license of the people and

A. D. 305. of the soldiers; and that habits of submission would insensibly be productive of sentiments of veneration.[1]

Taxation. The support of such an establishment necessarily implied the existence of a regular system of taxation. We find, accordingly, that the reign of Diocletian is distinguished in the annals of Rome as a season of severe oppression, and of multiplied grievances. In former times the state of an emperor did not require a permanent revenue of great amount; and, if we except the occasional extravagance of Nero, and of two or three similar characters, we shall find that the Romans had no cause to complain that their wealth was squandered on the pleasures or magnificence even of the most tyrannical princes. A life spent in a camp, and frequently in the presence of an active enemy, presented few temptations to indulge in expensive show or sensual enjoyments. But when the more luxurious and majestic system of Diocletian was established, the Romans beheld four sovereigns in different parts of the empire, contending with each other for the vain superiority of pomp and grandeur; multiplying the number of their servants and officers beyond all example; and crowding every department of the state with dependents, who at once encouraged and imitated their profusion. Deploring the misery which resulted from such a condition of things, Lactantius asserts, that those who were maintained upon the public taxes, exceeded those who contributed to them, and hence that the provinces were oppressed by the weight of imposts and every other species of exaction. It is admitted, indeed, even by those historians who condemn this emperor for giving birth to a scheme so pernicious to the commonwealth, that the evil, during his reign, was confined within the bounds of moderation; that the revenue was managed with prudence and economy; that after all the expenses of the government were discharged, there still remained in the imperial treasury a sum which could be spared for the ornaments of peace, or for the exigencies of war; and, consequently, that he merited the reproach of fixing a bad precedent, rather than of exercising an actual oppression.

Moderation of Diocletian.

His remarks on the difficulty of governing well. But the character of Diocletian may be most distinctly appreciated, from the tranquil resolution with which he descended from the throne and retired into the privacy of domestic life. When the impatient and ambitious spirit of Maximianus attempted to place him once more on the theatre of public affairs, he replied, that if he had an opportunity to show to his colleague the excellent kitchen garden which he had planted with his own hands at Salona, he would no longer urge him to relinquish the enjoyment of an undisturbed repose for the uneasy distinctions of imperial greatness.[2] His remarks, also, on the

[1] Aurel. Victor; Eutrop. lib. ix. c. xxvi.; Panegyr. Vet.; Lactant. de Mort. Pers. c. xxxix &c.

[2] Utinam Salonæ possetis visere olera nostris manibus instituta, profectò numquam istud tentandum judicaretis.—Aurel. Victor, Epit. 54.

difficulty of governing well prove that he had studied to perform his duty as a ruler, and, moreover, that his success had not, on all occasions, corresponded to the sincerity of his endeavours. They have been preserved by Vopiscus, whose father, we are assured, heard them from the lips of the emperor himself. "Often," said Diocletian, "do four or five individuals combine to deceive their sovereign, and to tell him things which have no foundation in fact. The prince, shut up in his palace, has no means of arriving at the truth, and is compelled to believe what they are pleased to communicate. Hence, he promotes men who are unfit for the employment with which they are intrusted; and he removes from his service others whose fidelity and worth give them the best claim to his confidence. In short, by the collusion of a few unprincipled courtiers, a benevolent and even a cautious monarch, animated too with the best intentions, is frequently betrayed and sold; his power is rendered an instrument to effect the worst purposes, and his exertions for the public good are converted into the means of injustice and oppression."[1] A. D. 305.

Accused of dissimulation.

After this acknowledgment we ought not to be surprised, when we are informed that he was sometimes suspicious, and unwilling to resign himself to the professions of those who were the most ready to offer their services. Being taught by experience the necessity of reserve, he has been charged with timidity and artifice in the conduct of his government; and although it is admitted that he was singularly fortunate in the choice of the best instruments for effecting his purposes, the historians of his reign insinuate that his prudence was not always free from insincerity, and that in the selection of his ministers he was influenced much more by a regard to his own interest than by esteem for the character of the individuals whom he promoted. The qualities of his mind are supposed to have presented a considerable resemblance to those of Augustus, the founder of the empire. Neither of these princes was a stranger to dissimulation, while both proved excellent rulers, from a certain innate love of peace, as well as from an unusual dexterity in identifying the welfare of the state with their more secret views of personal aggrandizement.[2]

Palace of Spalatro.

The few years which he passed at Salona, after his resignation of the throne, were devoted to those pleasures in which a mind unembued with literature finds the readiest amusement and relaxation. He built, he planted and improved his fields; but the most splendid monument of his taste was the palace which he erected at Spalatro, a delightful spot about six or seven miles distant from his native village. A modern who has described the ruins of this ancient edifice informs us, that the "soil is dry and fertile, the air pure and wholesome; and, though extremely hot during the summer months, the

[1] Ego a patre meo audivi, Diocletianum Principem, jam privatum, dixisse nihil esse difficilius quam bene imperare, &c.—Vopisc. in Aurel. c. xliii.

[2] Aurel. Victor, Epit. Parum honesta in amicos fides. (Eutrop. lib. x c. i. ii.)

A. D. 305. country seldom feels those sultry and noxious winds, to which the coasts of Istria, and some parts of Italy are exposed. The views from the palace are no less beautiful than the soil and climate are inviting. Towards the west lies the fertile shore that stretches along the Adriatic, in which a number of small islands are scattered in such a manner as to give this part of the sea the appearance of a great lake. On the north side lies the bay which led to the ancient city of Salona; and the country beyond it, appearing in sight, forms a proper contrast to that more extensive prospect of water, which the Adriatic presents both to the south and to the east. Towards the north the view is terminated by high and irregular mountains, situated at a proper distance, and in many places covered with villages, woods, and vineyards." In this favourite retreat Diocletian ended his days A.D. 313; not without suspicion of having had recourse to a voluntary death, to which he is said to have been urged by the misfortunes of his family, and the crimes of his former associates.[1]

Death of Diocletian. A. D. 313.

CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS AUGUSTUS.

FROM A. D. 305 TO A. D. 306.

Constantius and Galerius assume the purple.

The retirement of Diocletian and Maximianus was immediately followed by the accession of the two Cæsars, Constantius and Galerius, to the imperial throne. The plan of government required that the new emperors should each appoint an assistant, to occupy the second rank in the state, and to command the legions in their respective provinces. Galerius, whose ambitious views are said to have extended to the possession of the whole empire, hastily usurped the privilege of election; and named as Cæsars his own nephew Daza, or Maximinus, and Severus, an officer of rank and ability, but more distinguished, perhaps, for his attachment to his master than for virtue or professional reputation.[2]

This arrangement excluded from power the son of Maximianus, who had married a daughter of Galerius, as also the heir of Constantius, the celebrated Constantine, who was at that period resident at Nicomedia, a visiter or a hostage in the hands of Diocletian. The former of these young men was rejected on account of his rough and disrespectful manners, which gave great offence to his father-in-law; the latter was confined to a private station, because it was apprehended that, if once invested with sovereign authority, his aspiring genius could not rest satisfied with any degree under the very highest.

Two new Cæsars, Severus and Maximin.

Maximianus could not conceal the reluctance with which he conferred upon Severus the ornaments of his new dignity. But Con-

[1] Morte consumtus est, ut satis patuit, per formitudinem.—Aurel. Victor, Epit.
[2] Eutrop. lib. x. c. i.

stantius, whose health was much impaired, and whose temper was naturally calm and pacific, submitted to the decision of his colleague without a murmur. Galerius, therefore, found himself the master of the greater part of the Roman dominions. He governed, in person, Illyricum, Thrace, and Asia Minor; he intrusted to Maximin the important provinces of Egypt and Syria; while he confided to the command of Severus the whole of Italy as well as that part of Africa which stretches from Cyrene to the Western Ocean. Constantius, on the other hand, saw in the administration of the civil and military duties connected with Gaul, Spain, and Britain, a sufficient field for the exercise of his talents, his virtues, and his ambition. His age, not less than the rank which he had held under Diocletian, entitled him indeed to the precedency in the empire, a distinction which does not appear to have been disputed by his more assuming and imperious colleague; but it is manifest, at the same time, that both from the situation of his government and the limits within which his power was restricted, the successor of Diocletian did not inherit the full share of his authority. A. D. 305.

The empire supposed to have been divided.

It has been maintained by several writers, ancient as well as modern, that upon the accession of Constantius and Galerius the Roman empire was actually divided. But there is no evidence on record that any departure was made, on this occasion, from the principle introduced by Diocletian, or that the distribution of provinces among the four rulers implied anything more than a convenient allotment of supreme authority, to be exercised for the benefit of the whole. Whatever might be the scheme contemplated by the intriguing mind of Galerius, his plans for its accomplishment were soon thwarted by the troubles which ensued in the east as well as in the west, and, more especially, by the rising fortunes of Constantine, who ultimately succeeded in reuniting under one head the extensive dominions of Rome, and in consolidating, once more, in a single hand, the scattered portions of imperial power.[1]

Constantine escapes from Nicomedia.

The distinguished person just named was, as we have already mentioned, at the court of Nicomedia when the late emperors executed their purpose of retiring from the throne. His affable disposition, his handsome figure, and above all, his military qualities had recommended him to the legions and to the people, as a worthy candidate for the vacant office of Cæsar. His relationship, besides, to the sovereign of the West, the acknowledged head of the empire, gave to his claims so much the appearance of right, that the elevation of the rude Maximin and of the pliant Severus, was regarded as a positive injury inflicted on the son of Constantius. Such symptoms of popular favour could not fail to exasperate the jealousy of Galerius, and to increase the danger of the young prince; whose departure, although earnestly solicited by his father, was delayed from time to time under the most

[1] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. viii. c. xiii.; Eutrop. lib. x.

A. D. 305. frivolous pretences. Permission being at length obtained, Constantine, who suspected the intentions of the tyrant, set out from Nicomedia in the night; and travelling with the utmost speed through Bithynia, Thrace, Dacia, Pannonia, and Italy, he arrived on the western coast of Gaul, just in time to join the legions which were about to sail for Britain, to make war upon the Caledonians.[1]



Constantine.

Constantius dies at York, and nominates Constantine his heir.

Having subdued the northern barbarians, Constantius returned to York, where he died in the month of July A. D. 306. Finding his end drawing near, he announced to the army that he had appointed Constantine the sole heir of his power, and desired that they
A. D. 306. would honour and obey him as their future emperor. The troops, who were deeply attached to the cause of their master, took pleasure in complying with his last request; and no sooner did he expire, than they saluted his son by the title of Augustus, and prepared to invest him with the purple. Ambition as well as prudence whispered to Constantine the expediency of accepting the high office to which he was thus invited. He forthwith wrote to Galerius, that death had deprived himself and the empire of a parent, and that the legions, actuated by a feeling of strong affection for their late commander, had substituted in his place the individual who now addressed him, and who, as he had not been able to obtain power in a regular and con-

[1] Zosim. lib. ii.; Lactant. de Mort. Pers.

stitutional manner, would have been much more gratified to see it bestowed elsewhere. The emperor of the east received the intelligence with a burst of passion, during which he threatened to cast both the messenger and the letter into the flames; but, when his resentment subsided, he saw the folly of questioning an appointment which he could not annul, and he, accordingly, acknowledged the son of his former colleague sovereign of all the countries beyond the Alps, Gaul, Spain, and Britain. But he refused to ratify the nomination of the soldiers in so far as it respected the rank which they had bestowed upon Constantine; degrading him to the lowest place among the four princes of the empire, and clothing his dependent Severus with the dignity of Augustus.[1] A. D. 306.

Maxentius seizes the purple, October, A. D. 306.

But the harmony of the empire, which the new Cæsar was unwilling to disturb, was soon violated by the turbulent ambition of Maxentius, the son of Maximianus, who appears to have fixed his residence at Rome. Galerius, following the example of Diocletian, attempted to humble the capital, by reducing still further the establishment of Prætorian guards, by imposing taxes on all classes of the people, and by removing from it the last remains of republican freedom and even of imperial grandeur. Five hundred years had passed since the Romans, by their extensive conquests, were relieved from the burden of contributing to the necessities of the state; and they could not now endure with patience the insolence of an Illyrian peasant, who from his throne on the confines of Asia, presumed to number the descendants of Brutus and of Scipio among the tributaries of his distant empire. Stimulated by the dissatisfaction which prevailed everywhere around him, as well as by the success of Constantine, who had boldly laid his hand upon the honours which were denied to his birth, Maxentius placed himself at the head of the few guards who were still allowed to continue embodied, invited the other troops to join his standard, and concluded by openly assuming the purple.[2]

Maximianus returns to power.

It is doubtful whether Maximianus was privy to this conspiracy on the part of his son; but no sooner was the standard of rebellion displayed than he left his retirement, to aid, by his counsel and military experience, the enemies of Galerius. Imagining that his authority would be more respected were he again seated on the throne, he readily listened to the suggestion of the senate, who advised him to resume the power which he had been induced to relinquish, and to wrest from an unworthy minion the sceptre of Italy, and of the African provinces. In consequence of this resolution, the empire beheld six princes invested with a species of independent sovereignty; some of them inflamed with the most hostile intentions towards the

[1] Eumen. Panegyr. Vet.; Victor, Epit.; Euseb. in Vit. Const. Eccles. Hist. lib. viii. c. xiii.; Liban. Orat. iii.

[2] Lactant. de Mort. Pers. c. xxv.; Panegyr. Vet. in Max. et Const.; Zosim. lib. ii.; Aurel. Victor, Epit.

A. D. 306. others; and all of them more disposed to pursue objects of personal aggrandizement than to support the unity of system recommended by Diocletian.

GALERIUS, MAXIMIANUS, MAXENTIUS, MAXIMINUS, LICINIUS, CONSTANTINUS.

FROM A. D. 306 TO A. D. 323.

Civil war begun.

It is not improbable that Severus was at Milan, or even a still remoter part of his province, when he received intelligence that Maxentius was in arms, and that Maximianus was again adorned with the insignia of empire. That he was not at Rome is manifest from the events which took place in the very beginning of the civil war which immediately ensued; for the capital was seized and its gates shut against him, before he had time to recover from the consternation into which his mind was thrown by an occurrence at once so alarming and unexpected. Finding himself abandoned by his troops, whom bribery or ancient attachment had drawn over to the ranks of the nsurper, he fled to Ravenna; where, it is likely, he meant to resist the impression of his enemies until he should be relieved by Galerius, who was still master of the sea, and at the head of a numerous and veteran army. Maximianus pursued him thither, and began to make preparations for a vigorous assault; but perceiving that the city was strong and well supplied with provisions, he resolved to effect his object rather by stratagem than by the tedious operations of a siege. He instructed certain emissaries, who had found admittance within the walls, to persuade Severus that a conspiracy was formed to betray the town into the hands of the insurgents; and that it would be wiser to accept the terms of an honourable capitulation than to incur the hazard of being delivered up to the rage of an offended conqueror. The plot succeeded; and Severus confided his life to the promises of Maximianus, who assured him that, except the loss of rank, he had nothing to apprehend. But the dangers which beset a captive prince are proverbially great; and, in the present case, we find that, after the usual expressions of respect and sympathy which console the sufferings of a fallen monarch, Severus was conducted a prisoner to Rome, where the only kindness which he received was a choice of the easiest means by which he might become his own executioner.[1]

Death of Severus, February, A. D. 307.

Constantine marries the daughter of Maximianus, and forms an alliance, March, A. D. 307.

The death of Severus did not, however, relieve Maximianus and his son from their fears of Galerius, who was already hastening to revenge the catastrophe which he had not been able to prevent. For this reason the aged emperor crossed the Alps to hold a conference with Constantine, and to induce him to unite his forces with those of Maxentius against their common enemy: on which occasion the

[1] Lactant. de Mort. Pers. c. xxvi.; Aurel. Victor, Epit.; Zosim. lib. ii.; Euseb. in Vit. Const.

sovereign of Gaul received from the hand of his new ally his daughter as a bride, (to whom he was united with great magnificence at Arles, Arelatum,) and the imperial purple, of which he had been divested by the jealousy of Galerius. This confederacy completely defeated the designs of the eastern despot; for when he entered Italy he found every town fortified and prepared to dispute his progress, while Constantine with a large army had advanced to the frontier and threatened to cut off his retreat. It does not appear that any general engagement took place; but so great were the losses of the invader by desertion and other casualties, that when he arrived at Narni (Narnia), about sixty miles from the capital, he felt himself reduced to the necessity of proposing terms of accommodation. His offers being rejected with contempt and firmness, he was compelled to give the signal to retire; upon which, he had the mortification to discover that many of the veteran soldiers whom he had brought for the conquest of Italy, abandoned his standard, and refused to employ their arms any longer against the native country of the Cæsars. It is observed by Lactantius, that if the pursuit had been conducted with spirit, Galerius must have been totally destroyed; but Constantine, more desirous to weaken his enemy than to annihilate him, allowed his scattered legions to pass unmolested, while Maxentius, elated with present success, thought not of the means of securing his ascendency. He even permitted the Illyrian fugitives to lay waste the finest parts of the Roman territory, and to carry away the wealth which the inhabitants had refused to contribute for their support; and satisfied that such barbarians were urging a hasty retreat, he calmly followed their steps through burning villages and desolated fields, without attempting to impede their march or provoke them to battle.[1] A. D. 307.

Before Galerius set out on this unfortunate expedition, he intrusted his friend Licinius with the government of the Sarmatian frontier; and, when he returned, he expressed his gratitude for the faithful services of his lieutenant by raising him to the first rank in the empire. It is extremely probable, that his object in this arrangement was to provide a successor to Severus, and to place on the throne of Italy an emperor devoted to his interests, and with sufficient talent and ambition to protect the honours with which he himself was now invested. In pursuance of these views he confided to his imperial colleague the command of Dacia and Pannonia; being still determined to punish the usurpation of Maxentius, whom he never acknowledged, and to strip Constantine once more of the purple, which he had a second time dared to assume. But new difficulties arose whence he least expected them; for no sooner was intelligence conveyed into Syria, that Licinius had been elevated to the station of Augustus, than Maximin, disdaining the inferior name of Cæsar, boldly challenged an

Licinius raised to the empire, November, A. D. 307.

[1] Lactant. de Mort. Pers. c. xxviii.; Zosim. lib. ii.

A. D. 307 to A. D. 309.

equal title. Unable to oppose the violent resolution of his nephew, Galerius, after trying some expedients which were rejected, agreed to accord to him and to the son of Constantius the highest honours of the state; and thus the Roman world for the first time saw its government in the hands of six emperors, without unanimity or subordination.[1]

Plots of Maximianus against Maxentius and Constantine.

It was not, therefore, to be expected that men of such opposite characters and views could long act together, or approve the same principles of administration; but, perhaps, the people of Rome were not prepared to witness the first tokens of dissension either in their own immediate neighbourhood, or between a father and his son. Maxentius, unwilling to possess a divided empire, opposed the interference of Maximianus; who, irritated at the ingratitude, the furious temper, and depraved morals of the other, left his court and went into Gaul. After failing to excite Constantine to take arms against the Italian emperor, he is said to have had recourse, for the same purpose, to Galerius, his implacable enemy; to whose plans against their common relation he was now very eager to become subservient. It was on this occasion, too, that he used his utmost efforts to prevail upon Diocletian to resume the purple; who, more pleased with his rural occupations, wisely declined the arduous duties in which his ancient colleague wished him to engage. But, in the east as well as in the west, Maximianus found his character suspected and his schemes pronounced impracticable; wherefore he soon afterwards retired from the dominions of Galerius, and sought a final refuge in the territory of his son-in-law beyond the Alps. He was received with kindness by this politic prince; who, though he concurred in the expediency of his resigning a rank which had ceased to be accompanied with power, still treated him with the respect due to his age and dignity, permitted him to retain all the magnificence which belonged to his former office, and at every public ceremony gave him the highest place of honour. For such generous usage Maximianus made no suitable return. Constantine was called to the banks of the Rhine to defend his borders against the barbarians; an expedition in which he employed only a part of his troops, the remainder of whom he left in the southern provinces to watch the movements of his Italian neighbours. The old emperor, seduced by this opportunity to ascend a throne, or misled by a rumour that his son-in-law had perished in the field, lavished upon the soldiers an immense treasure which he found in the city of Arles, and once more arrayed himself in the sovereign purple. The speedy return of Constantine disconcerted all his measures and put a period to his life. After a vain attempt to maintain Marseilles in the face of a victorious army, he found that an irrevocable sentence of death was pronounced against him; the mode of executing which being left to his own choice, gave rise to a report

Death of Maximianus. A. D. 309.

[1] Eutrop. lib. x.; Aurel. Victor, Epit.; Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. x.

prevalent among the historians of the time, that he fled from remorse and despair to an act of voluntary suicide.[1] A. D. 311.

Death of Galerius, May, A. D. 311.

The reign of Galerius did not extend much more than a year beyond that of Maximianus. The disorderly course of life which he pursued was visited with a severe punishment in the form of a loathsome and incurable disease, which terminated his days, in the month of May, A. D. 311, at Sardica, the capital of Dacia, his native country. The character of this prince, though stained with many foul passions, appeared to some advantage as long as he held the subordinate station of Cæsar, and acknowledged the superior wisdom and virtues of Diocletian. His administration, after he attained the rank of Augustus, was not distinguished either by success in war, or by those studies and improvements which confer an ornament on peace. It is asserted, indeed, that he spent the few years which he survived after his Italian campaign, in clearing from wood an extensive district in Pannonia, and in rescuing from the waters of the lake Pelso a fertile plain in the same provinces, to which in honour of his wife he gave the name of Valeria; but the destructive hand of time has long effaced the patriotic labours of Galerius, and the Danube has again converted the fine fields which he had prepared for the plough, into a useless and deformed marsh.[2]

Maximin and Licinius divide his dominions.

The death of the eastern emperor was regarded by Maximin and Licinius as a signal to collect their forces, with the intention of disputing or of dividing the dominions which had been under his personal government. An amicable distribution prevented an appeal to the sword. It was agreed that the former should receive, in addition to Syria and Egypt, the rich provinces of Asia Minor; and that the latter should be established master of all the territory bounded by the Hellespont, the Danube, and the Adriatic. The narrow straits which connect the Black Sea and the Mediterranean constituted the mutual limits of their empire; the shores of which were soon covered with camps and fortifications, affording thereby the most striking evidence that Europe and Asia, though parts of one great political body, were no longer under one head, nor devoted to one interest. A secret treaty is said to have speedily united the views of Constantine and Licinius; while Maxentius in Italy, and Maximin in Syria, resolved to consult their security by entering into a similar league.[3]

Maxentius prepares to attack Constantine.

It is not a little remarkable, that although Constantine, Licinius, and Maximin recognised one another's title to the rank of Augustus, they unanimously refused this honour to Maxentius, who possessed the ancient seat of government and the important provinces of Italy and Africa. On the other hand, it is true, the Italian emperor con-

[1] Lactant. de Mort. Pers. c. xxxii.; Eumen. in Panegyr. Vet. lib. vii. c. xiv.; Lactant. de Mort. Pers. c. xxix.; Zosim. lib. ii.

[2] Aurel. Victor, c. xl.; Lactant. de Mort. Pers. c. xxxiii.

[3] Euseb. lib. ix. c. vi. x.; Lactant. de Mort. Pers. c. xxxvi.; Zosim. lib. ii.

A. D. 311. sidered himself as the only sovereign prince, and described his three colleagues as merely his lieutenants, appointed to defend the frontiers against the barbarians of the east and of the north. His proximity to Constantine, whom he regarded with equal hatred and suspicion, soon involved the western parts of the empire in war. He affected to bewail the death of his father, who had fallen a victim to the just resentment of that emperor, and to be seriously offended upon hearing that his titles had been erased and his statues thrown down by the same authority. He therefore gave orders to inflict a severe retaliation upon all the statues which had been erected to Constantine in any part of Italy or Africa; and openly avowing his pretensions to the undivided monarchy of the west, he prepared a large army to invade the Gallic provinces by the way of the Rhætian Alps. His forces, drawn from Italy and Africa, are said to have amounted to nearly two hundred thousand men, including about twenty thousand cavalry in heavy armour. Constantine did not remain long ignorant of these formidable preparations; for the senate, apprehensive that Maxentius, should he prove victorious, would employ his success to rivet their chains more closely, sent ambassadors to conjure him, in the name of the Roman people, to deliver their country from a detested tyrant. This appeal to his generosity coincided with the views of his ambition; and accordingly, without weighing the reasons which were urged by the more timid of his generals against an enterprise so full of hazard, he resolved to anticipate the movements of his enemy, and to carry the war at once into the heart of his dominions.[1]

At the head of ninety thousand foot and eight thousand horse the sovereign of Gaul entered the passes of the Alps, through which he marched his squadrons with so much expedition, that he was ready to pour down upon the plains of Italy before Maxentius had received information of his departure from the banks of the Rhine. Susa, a place of some strength at the foot of Mount Cenis, manifested a disposition to check his progress; but Constantine, too sensible of the value of time, in such circumstances, to have recourse to the tedious forms of a regular siege, resolved to reduce it by an immediate assault. Accordingly, applying fire to the gates and scaling-ladders to the walls, he led his veterans to the charge, who soon compelled the inhabitants to submit at discretion. From thence he directed his steps towards Turin; in the neighbourhood of which he found a powerful army assembled, and prepared to give him battle. Its principal strength consisted in a large body of heavy horse, equipped after the manner of eastern nations, and disciplined according to the mode of warfare practised in Egypt and Syria. The experience of Constantine suggested a method of attack which rendered their massive armour not only useless, but positively injurious and destructive; and, having defeated the cavalry, he obtained, at

Victory gained by Constantine near Turin.

[1] Zosim. lib. ii.; Zonar. lib. xiii.; Panegyr. Vet. ix. x.

less expense of bloodshed, a complete triumph over the raw levies which the lieutenants of Maxentius had drawn into the field. The fugitives sought refuge in Turin; but the citizens having declared for the conqueror, shut their gates, and beheld with satisfaction the slaughter of those mercenaries, whose arms the tyrant had threatened to use for the entire subjugation of the western empire. This example was immediately followed by almost all the cities between the Alps and the Po; they were willing to regard the son of Constantius rather as the friend of Roman liberty, than as the ambitious rival of a prince whom he had resolved to expel from the throne.[1] A. D. 312.

The generals of Maxentius made a second attempt near Brescia to drive back the invader; but their troops being inferior both in skill and bravery to the Gallic legions, they found it necessary to retreat under the walls of Verona. Rusicus Pompeianus, an officer of great reputation, commanded the province of Venetia, and discharged, at the same time, the duties of imperial lieutenant. Confiding in the strength of the fortifications, he threw himself with a powerful garrison into the city; hoping by that expedient to employ the activity of Constantine until a large army, under Maxentius in person, should advance from Rome to crush the assailant. But Rusicus soon had reason to apprehend that Verona would fall before the Emperor could reach the banks of the Adige; for which cause he retired privately from the town, and employed his utmost zeal in raising such a force as might be sufficient to meet Constantine in the field, or, at least, compel him to raise the siege. The sovereign of Gaul was not intimidated by this unexpected movement; but leaving a part of his army to occupy the attention of the garrison, he placed himself at the head of those cohorts on whose valour and attachment he could principally depend, and advanced to anticipate the designs of Pompeianus. A furious battle ensued, which terminated in the complete discomfiture of the Italians, who had to bewail their brave commander among the number of the slain, and to blush for the greater portion of their soldiers, who surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Verona immediately opened her gates to the conqueror; Aquileia and Modena invited him to take possession of their territory; and no obstacle now remained to retard his progress until he should arrive on the borders of the Tiber.[2] His further successes.

Maxentius, still detained in Rome by its pleasures and amusements, was at length roused to a sense of his danger; and urged by the clamours and reproaches of the people, he consented to lead forth the Prætorians and such other troops as could be raised on that emergency, to make one vigorous effort for the defence of his capital. It was with no small pleasure that Constantine, upon reaching a place called the Red Rocks (Saxa Rubra), within nine miles of the city, saw the army of his antagonist drawn up in order of battle, along Final victory near Rome. October 28, A. D. 312.

[1] Panegyr. Vet. ix. 3, 10, 11. [2] Ibid. ix.

A. D. 312. the eastern bank of the river; which, at once, protected their rear and cut off their retreat. The troops on both sides actuated by the strongest passions, and seeing before them only the simple alternative of victory or of inevitable destruction, prepared for the combat with a cool and unalterable determination. The Prætorians, in particular, who had provoked the indignation of Constantine, looked for no mercy at his hands, and accordingly indulged in the most powerful emotions of revenge and despair. But these feelings were of little avail when opposed by the steady valour of practised soldiers. The persevering efforts of the guards procured for them nothing more than an honourable death; the praise of covering with their dead bodies the ground which they had occupied before the commencement of the fight. The other troops of Maxentius sought safety by rushing into the deep and rapid current of the Tiber; while he himself, attempting to return into the city over the Milvian bridge, was forced by the crowd of runaways into the water, where he was immediately drowned or crushed to death. His head presented to the people on the top of a spear, convinced them that their deliverance from a hated despot was now achieved, and prepared them to receive with acclamations of loyalty and gratitude, a hero who equalled in the rapidity of his conquests the first and greatest of the Cæsars.[1]

Policy of Constantine.

Constantine used his victory with moderation and clemency. He, indeed, put to death the two sons of the tyrant, but when the voice of the people called for a greater number of victims, he loudly condemned the sanguinary disposition which he had resolved not to gratify. Influenced by prudence rather than by revenge, he abolished for ever the Prætorian guards whom Maxentius had restored to their wonted privileges and number. He destroyed their camp, which had assumed the form and even the strength of a fortress; taking care to disperse the remainder of that formidable body of troops among the legions which were stationed on the remotest frontiers. But he carried not his severities any farther. On the contrary, he made haste to pass a general act of oblivion, which secured to his subjects, as well in Italy as in Africa, the full possession of life and property. In return, he received from the senate the compliment of the first rank among the three emperors who continued to govern the Roman world; the honour of various games and festivals decreed to commemorate his exploits; and, finally, a triumphal arch, which the capital of the empire had no longer sufficient talent to complete, without stripping of its ornaments an edifice consecrated to the memory of the illustrious Trajan,[2]

While the two emperors of the west were disputing the sovereignty

[1] Lactant. de Mort. Pers. c. xliii. xliv.; Panegyr. Vet, ix. 16; x. 27; Euseb. in Vit. Const.; Zosim. lib. ii.

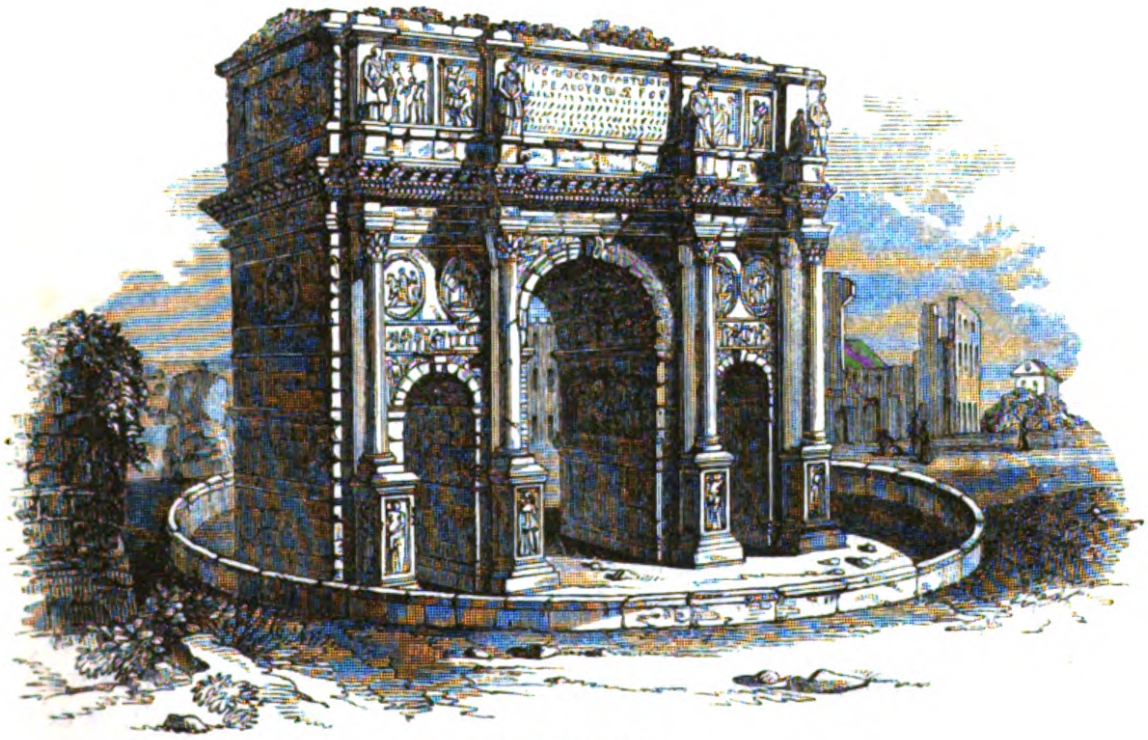
[2] Panegyr. Vet. ix. 20, 21; Zosim. lib. ii.; Lactant. de Mort. Pers. c. xliv.

of Rome, those of the east awaited with deep interest the issue of the conflict; aware that one or both of them would soon become the victim of the conqueror. Before Constantine engaged in the war he secured the friendship of Licinius, to whom he had promised his favourite sister in marriage. Maximin, the sovereign of Asia, had from similar motives attached himself to the fortunes of Maxentius; whom he aided, however, not by appearing in the field against the armies of Gaul, but by occupying the attention of the Illyrian emperor on the eastern frontier of his provinces. After the conquest of Italy was completed by the victory at the Tiber, Constantine invited his ally to meet him at Milan, where the latter might celebrate his nuptials in a manner suited to his rank as well as to the happy circumstances in which the empire was now placed.

A. D. 313.

War between Maximin and Licinius.

A. D. 313.



Arch of Constantine.

But the two princes were not long permitted to enjoy the festivity, by which they had meant to cement the union of their families and of their political interests. An irruption of the barbarians summoned Constantine to the Rhine, while Licinius received information that Maximin, at the head of a large army, had invaded Bithynia, and threatened to lay waste the richest provinces of Asia Minor. As this inroad was made in the very depth of winter, the Syrian legions suffered greatly from the severity of the more northern climate into which they were conducted; and, accordingly, before they reached the Thracian Bosphorus, many of the soldiers had sunk under

A. D. 313. fatigue and cold, and had lost, owing to bad roads and rapid movements, the most valuable part of their heavy baggage. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, Maximin, who had still under his command about seventy thousand veterans, reduced Byzantium before Licinius could collect a sufficient force to hazard battle. At length the Illyrian cohorts appeared in the field, to the amount of thirty thousand men. An obstinate engagement took place, in which military skill in their leader had to contend against superior numbers aided by discipline and long experience in war. The talents of Licinius finally prevailed over the ignorant impetuosity of his antagonist. Maximin sustained a decisive defeat, and fled in the utmost consternation towards Syria: but stopping at Tarsus, to recruit his army and to watch the movements of the conqueror, he fell a victim either to disease or to violence, in the course of three months, leaving the provinces of Asia to increase the territories of his victorious rival.[1]

Death of Maximin. A. D. 313.

Cruelty of Licinius.

The success obtained by Licinius was sullied with wanton cruelty, not only towards the family of the vanquished emperor, but also upon private individuals who had it not in their power to disturb the tranquillity of his reign. He murdered a son of Severus, although chargeable with no other offence than that of being the offspring of a person who had the misfortune to be raised to sovereign authority. He took away the life of Candidianus the son of Galerius, his own friend and benefactor; and he concluded by putting to an ignominious death Prisca and Valeria the wife and daughter of Diocletian, to whose self-denial he owed his elevation to the imperial throne.

War between Constantine and Licinius.

The Roman empire was now in the hands of two rulers, of whom the one was animated by an insatiable ambition, the other was noted for jealousy and faithlessness. We cannot, therefore, be surprised to find that before twelve months had elapsed, they were both disposed to make an appeal to arms. It is difficult to ascertain the true cause of the war which ensued; for, in reading the annalists of that interesting period, we have to deplore a total absence of facts, while we see, in every page, the most unequivocal tokens of party spirit, or of personal hatred. Zosimus accuses Constantine of injustice and perfidy: other writers lay the blame on Licinius, who is said to have thrown down the statues of the western emperor, and to have given an asylum to certain traitors who had fled from his court. It admits not of any doubt, however, that towards the end of the year A. D. 315 the two emperors, at the head of their respective armies, met near Cibalis in Pannonia; where a sanguinary battle was fought, which, after a conflict from the rising to the setting of the sun, terminated in the defeat of Licinius with the loss of twenty thousand men. In his retreat he conferred the dignity of Cæsar on Valens, his general on the Illyrian frontier, and who was esteemed, notwith-

Defeat of Licinius. A. D. 314.

[1] Zosim. lib. ii.; Lactant. de Mort. Pers. c. xlv. xlviii. l.; Aurel. Victor.

standing the sarcasms of the conqueror, an officer of courage and experience.[1] A. D. 314.

This measure gave so much offence to Constantine, that he refused to listen to any terms of accommodation, until the new sovereign should have been degraded. A second battle accordingly took place, in which Constantine again had the advantage, although not without having sustained a very severe loss both of horse and foot. The fears of Licinius now induced him to consent to the sacrifice of Valens, who appears to have been deprived at once of the purple and of his life. A treaty immediately followed without encountering any material obstacle; of which one of the conditions was, that the emperor of the East should relinquish the provinces of Pannonia, Dacia, Dalmatia, Macedonia, and Greece, and rest satisfied with the possession of Thrace, Asia Minor, Egypt, and Syria. It was likewise agreed on the same occasion, that two sons of Constantine should be declared the Cæsars of the West, while the younger Licinius should be exalted to a similar authority in the dominions of his father; a proportion of honours which asserted, on the part of the Roman chief, the superiority of his arms and power.[2] **New division of the empire.** A. D. 317.

The empire now enjoyed a peace of nearly eight years' duration, in the East as well as in the West. This interval was employed by Constantine in enacting laws and establishing institutions; some of which have been described as more deserving of praise on account of their humanity than of their wisdom. Crispus, the eldest son of the emperor, was stationed in Gaul, where he had occasional opportunities to display his valour and military conduct against the Franks and Alemanni, who had not yet been taught to respect the boundaries of Roman power. Similar triumphs crowned the arms of Constantine himself, on the banks of the Danube and in the wilds of Scythia. An obscure warfare is mentioned by Eusebius, who, on this occasion, however, relinquishes the office of an historian for the pleasure of rhetorical declamation and personal eulogy. But we may collect from the facts to which he alludes, that most of the Gothic tribes were reduced to submission, that they acknowledged the supremacy of the emperor, and even consented to augment his legions with a large body of recruits, drawn from among the bravest and hardiest of their youth.[3] **Constantine employs his arms against the Goths.** A. D. 320. A. D. 322.

Finding that the reputation of Licinius for wisdom and clemency, so far from increasing with his years, had now sunk under a load of vice and selfishness, Constantine resolved to deliver the empire from a domination which had ceased to inspire any other sentiments than those of contempt and abhorrence. Besides, he could no longer endure a partner in the government, and began to consider that it **Renewal of civil war.** A. D. 323.

[1] Lactant. de Mort. Pers. c. l. li.; Aurel. Victor; Anon. apud Vales; Zosim. lib. ii.

[2] Eutrop. lib. x.; Aurel. Victor.

[3] Penegyr. Vet. x. 33; Euseb. in Vit. Const.

A. D. 323. would be the greatest glory of his reign, to replace the whole Roman world under one sceptre, and to direct its allegiance to one sovereign. The eastern emperor prepared for the contest with a degree of spirit and activity worthy of his better days. He assembled in the plains of Hadrianople an army of a hundred and fifty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse, while the Straits of the Hellespont were occupied with his fleet, consisting of nearly four hundred galleys of a large size. Constantine could not muster a force either by land or by sea so numerous and imposing as that now described. He brought into the field about a hundred and twenty thousand troops, cavalry and infantry; but the ports of Italy, Africa, and Greece, could not supply him with more than two hundred small vessels.[1]

Battle of Hadrianople. July 3, A. D. 323.

The hostile armies, on the third of July in the year A. D. 323, came in sight of each other near the banks of the Hebrus, at no great distance from the city of Hadrianople. After various manœuvres and repeated skirmishes, a general action ensued, when the troops of Licinius were beaten and completely dispersed, and himself compelled to flee for safety to the stronghold of Byzantium. Thirty-four thousand remained dead on the field of battle, and on the following day a still greater number surrendered to the conqueror as prisoners of war.[2]

Siege of Byzantium.

Pursuing his object with the firmness and resolution which marked his character, Constantine immediately laid siege to Byzantium, which was justly regarded as the key of Europe and of Asia. His labours in this arduous undertaking were greatly assisted by the bravery of his son Crispus, who engaged the fleet of Licinius in the narrow seas, forced the passage of the Hellespont, and carried into the camp of the besiegers an ample supply of ammunition and provisions. Apprehensive that the place could not long resist the skill and activity of the assailants, the beaten emperor contrived to escape from its walls; and conveying with him a mass of treasure and a few faithful officers he determined to raise a fresh army in the Lesser Asia, and to trust his fortune once more to the decision of arms. On this emergency he elevated to the rank of Cæsar his lieutenant Martinianus, in whose zeal and fidelity he had been accustomed to repose the utmost confidence.[3]

Battle of Chrysopolis, and defeat of Licinius. Sept. 18, A. D. 323.

Constantine did not neglect this last effort on the part of his rival; but, without intermitting the operations of the siege, sent across the straits a large portion of his victorious army. Licinius was at the head of more than fifty thousand men, ill disciplined, indeed, but courageous and devoted to his interests; and knowing that the fate of the empire depended upon their exertions, they expressed a determination to conquer or die. The decisive conflict took place on the heights of Chrysopolis, a short distance from the city of Chalcedon,

[1] Eutrop. lib. x. c. v. [2] Zosim. lib. ii.; Anon. apud Vales.
[3] Aurel. Victor; Zosim. lib. ii.; Aurel. Victor, Epit.; Anon. apud Vales.

where victory was disputed with not less obstinacy than on former occasions. It is doubtful whether Constantine commanded in person against his brother-in-law, in this important action, or whether he had intrusted the conduct of the legions to one of his sons. Whichever might be the leader, the soldiers of Europe gained a complete triumph over the tumultuary levies of Asia, and confirmed by the superiority of their military character the claims of their master to universal empire. Twenty-five thousand men fell dead around the standards of Licinius: the remainder dispersed through the adjoining provinces, or yielded themselves to a temporary captivity; while their imperial leader fled to Nicomedia, rather with the view of gaining some time for negotiation than with the hope of being able to make any effectual resistance.[1] He employed the intercession of his wife, Constantia, the sister of the conqueror, to obtain a favourable hearing; to whom was given a solemn promise, sanctioned by an oath, that after surrendering Martinianus and relinquishing the purple, Licinius himself should be permitted to pass the rest of his days in peace and security. The conditions were complied with; and the emperor of the East, after descending from the throne to the condition of private life, was sent to Thessalonica, the place chosen for his future residence, where he soon afterwards terminated his miserable existence by an ambiguous death. Zosimus hesitates not to assert, that Constantine ordered him to be strangled; a charge made by Eutropius and repeated by St. Jerome. The younger Licinius was doomed by the jealousy of the victor to undergo a similar fate, although he had only completed his eleventh year, and had manifested no dispositions but such as were amiable and meritorious.[2]

A. D. 323.

His death at Thessalonica.

The events now stated paved the way for the reunion of the Roman empire, nearly forty years after the introduction of the new scheme of government by Diocletian, which admitted a plurality of sovereigns and a corresponding distribution of territory. It was in A. D. 324 that this consummation was effected; and from this date Constantine is to be regarded as sole emperor of the East and West, as possessing all the power which was bequeathed by Augustus and exercised by the most warlike of his successors.

[1] Zosimus (lib. ii.) says that Licinius had in the field 135,000 men, of whom 100,000 were slain or taken prisoners.

[2] Euseb. in Vit. Const.; Eutrop. lib. x. c.vi.; Aurel Victor.



Constantine the Great.

CHAPTER XV.

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

FROM A. D. 323 TO A. D. 337.

A. D. 323. Foundation of Constantinople inaugurated A. D. 330.

THE period of peace, which succeeded his triumphs, enabled Constantine, who was now no longer in the glow of "youth and fervent years," to reflect on the means by which he might best consolidate his power, and perpetuate his name. Born, educated, and exalted to the imperial dignity in countries at a distance from Rome,[1] in which he had never resided for any length of time, he could have felt but little of the attachment which animated her sons, and that little appears to have been gradually converted into estrangement and disgust.[2] Motives no less of policy than of personal ambition induced him to aspire to the fame of being the founder of a new capital, a design which was said to have been entertained by the first Cæsars.[3] The necessity of repressing with equal vigour the Persians on the one hand, and the barbarians of the Euxine on the other, pointed out as the

[1] Gibbon, Decline and Fall, &c. c. xvii.

[2] Zosimus says that Constantine founded a new capital, from aversion to Rome, where he was treated with scorn and detestation: *οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν δὲ τὰς παρὰ πάντων ὡς εἰκῆ βλασφημίας, πόλιν ἀντίρροπον τῆς Ῥώμης ἐζήτει, καθ' ἣν αὐτὸν ἔδει βασίλεια καταστήσασθαι* (lib. ii.). Eutropius attributes his conduct to the desire of displaying his power (p. 488). Comp. Sozom. lib. i. c. iii. &c.

[3] Before the death of Julius Cæsar, there was a report at Rome that he had intended to transfer the seat of empire to Troy or Alexandria. Quin etiam valida fama percrebuit migraturum Alexandriam vel Ilium, translatis simul opibus imperii, exhaustâque delectibus Italiâ. (Sueton. in Vit. Jul. Cæsar, c. lxxix.) The beautiful ode, in which Horace endeavours with the nicest art to deter Augustus from adopting the supposed design of his relation, is well known. (Lib. iii. 3.) Constantine pretended that he fixed upon Byzantium in consequence of a vision.

most desirable position some spot which might command the neighbouring shores of Europe and of Asia. The peculiar situation of the ancient Byzantium, the excellence of which Constantine had had an opportunity of remarking when besieging Licinius, was in the highest degree adapted for the attainment of this object.[1] It was built on a peninsula, which on the west is united with the continent of Europe, and on the east, advancing towards the Bosphorus, approaches to the confines of Asia. Its southern side is washed by the Propontis, and its northern forms an ample and secure harbour.[2] The salubrity of the climate and the richness of the soil; the facility with which the fleet of an invader may be excluded, and the supplies of allies and traders drawn in; the abundant resources derived from the harvests of Thrace and the fishery of the Propontis, when the passages of the Hellespont and the Bosphorus are closed, and the immense commerce, which flows from all quarters by the Euxine and the Mediterranean, when they are opened;—these are some of the obvious advantages which combined to mark it as the centre of a mighty empire. A. D. 323.

In the execution of this great design neither labour nor expense[3] was spared. The forests on the banks of the Euxine, and the marble quarries of the Isle of Proconnesus, afforded copious materials, and the establishment of privileged schools and professors in various provinces, for the encouragement of architectural studies, was calculated to increase the numbers and to stimulate the genius of artificers. While the walls of the ancient city were fortified and extended, so as to enclose five of the seven hills on which Constantinople is seated, the utmost activity was exerted in raising buildings which might vie with the most stately structures of the western metropolis. A capitol, a circus or hippodrome, theatres, temples, and palaces, among which the imperial mansion shone conspicuous, interspersed with aqueducts and gardens, and adorned with obelisks and statues in rich variety, seem to display all the resources of art drawn forth to correspond

Architectural ornaments.

[1] It is said that Constantine intended at first to have built the new capital in the plain which lies below ancient Troy, towards the Rhætæan promontory and the Tomb of Ajax.

[2] The river Lycus, formed by the conflux of two little streams, pours into the harbour a perpetual supply of fresh water, which serves to cleanse the bottom, and to invite the periodical shoals of fish to seek their retreat in that convenient recess. As the vicissitudes of tides are scarcely felt in those seas, the constant depth of the harbour allows goods to be landed on the quays without the assistance of boats; and it has been observed that, in many places, the largest vessels may rest their prows against the houses, while their sterns are floating in the water. From the mouth of the Lycus to that of the harbour, this arm of the Bosphorus is more than seven miles in length. The entrance is about 500 yards broad, and a strong chain could be occasionally drawn across it, to guard the port and the city from the attack of a hostile navy.—Gibbon, Decline and Fall, c. xvii., from whose admirable description much of the above account has been drawn.

[3] Six hundred centenaries (about 2,500,000*l.*) were expended on the erection of the walls, the porticos, and the aqueducts.—Codin. Antiq. Const. p. 11.

A. D. 323. with the magnificence of nature.[1] Among the numerous pieces of ancient workmanship, of which the pagan shrines were stripped to decorate the new capital,[2] was a colossal statue of Apollo, the supposed work of Phidias, placed on a lofty pillar of porphyry. While frequent largesses gratified the lower orders, splendid abodes, estates, and pensions, liberally bestowed on favourities, served to confirm the desire which would naturally be manifested by a large class of aspirants to accommodate themselves to the imperial taste in the selection of their place of residence. The influx of settlers from all quarters soon became so great that it was found necessary to enlarge the limits of the new city to a considerable extent, by erecting additional buildings on moles advanced into the sea.[3] Constantinople was divided into fourteen regions: the public council received the name of senate; and the privileges of Italy were conferred on the inhabitants of the infant city, which being raised with extraordinary expedition[4] under the name of second or new Rome, was dedicated with the greatest solemnity.[5]

A. D. 330, and A. D. 334.

Political regulations of Constantine.

The new regulations, or rather the new form of government, introduced or improved by Constantine and his successors, has strong claims on our attention, as leading to the discovery of some of the internal causes of the downfall of the empire.

The loss of substantial greatness is often followed and perhaps disguised by the substitution of ostentatious ceremonies. The gradations of rank were now marked with the utmost minuteness. The magis-

[1] A particular description, composed about a century after its foundation, enumerates a capitol or school of learning, a circus, two theatres, eight public and 153 private baths, fifty-two porticos, five granaries, eight aqueducts or reservoirs of water, four spacious halls for the meetings of the senate or courts of justice, fourteen churches, fourteen palaces, and 4,388 houses, which, for their size or beauty, deserved to be distinguished from the multitude of plebeian habitations. (Gibbon, Decline and Fall, c. xvii.) See also Bridges' Roman Empire under Constantine the Great, London, 1828, c. v.

[2] Constantinopolis dedicatur penè omnium urbium nuditate.—Hieron Chron. p. 181.

[3] The custom of building on huge piles driven into the water, particularly at Baiæ, is often mentioned by Roman writers. The reader will, doubtless, recall to mind the lines of Horace:—

——————— sepulchri
Immemor, struis domos;
Marisque Baiis obstrepentis urges
Summovere littora,
Parum locuples continente ripâ.
Lib. iii. Od. 1. Comp. lib. ii. Od. 18.

[4] On the time spent in building Constantinople, see Tillemont, Hist. des Emp. tom. iv.

[5] According to the Alexandrian Chronicle, p. 285, as often as the birthday of the city was celebrated, the statue of Constantine, bearing in its right hand an image of the genius of the place, was carried in procession, and when it was opposite the throne, the emperor, rising, showed his reverence to the memory of his predecessor.

trates were divided into the three classes, the Illustres,[1] the Spectabiles, and the Clarissimi; and a variety of titles, which the old Romans would have spurned as ridiculous, or as degrading, were lavished with oriental extravagance on the different officers of state. The consuls, from the time of Diocletian, were chosen, not by the vote of the senate, but by the sole will of the emperor, in whose palace their inauguration took place. The creatures of a despot, whose names but serve to mark the date of the year, they affected to despise their great predecessors, who had submitted to all the toils and mortifications of a popular election. Gorgeous decorations and public rejoicings, with the mimickry of manumitting a slave, distinguished the assumption of an office, which retained some of the outward spendour, but had lost the real power of that whose name it affected. "Honour without labour"[2] was become the privilege of consuls—their disgrace and their boast. The distinguished rank of patrician, which was no longer an hereditary title, was usually conferred for life on favourites, and enabled them to enjoy free access to the presence of the emperor.

A. D. 334.

The consuls.

The patricians.

The Prætorian præfects, who had gradually risen to a degree of military and political influence in the camp and in the palace, which often armed them with powers to protect or to control, to raise or to destroy, their imperial masters, were now, by the suppression of the select guards, on which the continuance of their ascendency depended, reduced to the less dangerous situation of civil and provincial magistrates. Four præfects (besides the two officers of the same name who presided with municipal power over Rome and Constantinople) were set over the four divisions into which, by the arrangement of Diocletian, the Roman empire had been portioned—the East, Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul,[3]—which four præfectures were subdivided into

Prætorian præfects.

[1] Clarissimi (most honourable) became the title appropriated to senators; spectabiles (respectable) to those of the senatorial order, who were distinguished above the rest; illustres (illustrious) to more eminent personages, as the consuls and patricians, the prætorian præfects, with the præfects of Rome and Constantinople, the masters-general of the cavalry and infantry, and some ministers of the palace. See Howell's History of the World, vol. ii.

[2] Mamertin. in Panegyr. Vet. xi. 2.

[3] 1. The præfect of the East stretched his ample jurisdiction into the three parts of the globe which were subject to the Romans, from the cataracts of the Nile to the banks of the Phasis, and from the mountains of Thrace to the frontiers of Persia. 2. The important provinces of Pannonia, Dacia, Macedonia, and Greece, once acknowledged the authority of the præfect of Illyricum. 3. The power of the præfect of Italy was not confined to the country from which he derived his title; it extended over the additional territory of Rhætia as far as the banks of the Danube, over the dependent islands of the Mediterranean, and over that part of the continent of Africa which lies between the confines of Cyrene and those of Tingitania. 4. The præfect of the Gauls comprehended under that plural denomination the kindred provinces of Britain and Spain, and his authority was obeyed from the wall of Antoninus to the foot of Mount Atlas. (Gibbon, c. xvii.) See Zosim. lib. ii. pp. 109, 110. Comp. Univ. Hist. vol. vi. p. 270. Bridges' Life of Constantine, p. 244, and particularly Howell's History of the World.

A. D. 334. thirteen diocesses, containing in all one hundred and sixteen provinces.

Military discipline.

The military power, which was formerly enjoyed by the Prætorian præfects, was bestowed by Constantine on two masters-general, one of whom had the command of the cavalry, and the other of the infantry. Their number was afterwards doubled, on the division of the east and west, and, at length, increased to eight, four more being stationed on the borders of the Rhine, of the Upper and the Lower Danube, and of the Euphrates. Under them were thirty-five commanders, who were placed in different provinces. All these were styled dukes, or, as the name imports, military chiefs; but ten were distinguished by the new title of counts, or companions.

By a careful separation of the civil and military departments, the personal safety of the emperor was promoted, but the internal strength of the empire impaired. Activity, for good as for evil purposes, was checked. The same jealousy which would prevent co-operation between independent powers, whilst it unquestionably diminished the facility of conspiracies, tended also to distract and to thwart the energies of defence against foreign hostility. Another error in the institutions of Constantine, which was productive of the most fatal consequences, was the distinction introduced between the palatines, or troops of the court, and the borderers, or troops of the frontiers. The palatines, though exposed to far less toil and danger, received higher pay, and greater privileges than the borderers. The former, therefore, were enervated by luxury: the latter relaxed by discontent. While one body oppressed the cities, the other but inadequately defended the extremities of the province. Severity was unsuccessfully employed to prevent the results of impolicy. The remedy could at best be but transitory; the mischief was permanent.

Reduction of the legions.

The reduction of the legions from six thousand to one thousand, or fifteen hundred men, served also to diminish that feeling of importance and strength, which, especially when blended with the uninterrupted associations which the memory suggests, often proves most effectual in inspiring subordination and courage. The enumeration of one hundred and thirty-one legions gratified perhaps the vanity, but weakened the power of their masters. The rest of the troops was divided into several bodies of infantry and cavalry, and the whole military establishment of the successors of Constantine has been reckoned at six hundred and forty-five thousand soldiers.[1]

Barbarians were gradually introduced into the various ranks of the army, and, as might have been expected, the dangerous consequences of this step were sometimes visible, when they were employed in resisting the invasion of their countrymen. It was also found necessary to resort to severe means in order to obviate the difficulties which attended the raising of levies.

[1] Agathia, lib. v. p. 157.

Besides the magistrates and generals, there were seven important officers: 1. The Præpositus Cubiculi, or chamberlain, whose familiar access to the emperor naturally gave him considerable influence. 2. The Master of the Offices, who possessed great power in the direction of public affairs. He commanded the military and civil schools; he took cognizance of causes which related to those privileged individuals, who, from their connection with the court, declined the ordinary tribunals; and he superintended the post and arsenals, and the supplies of military machines and weapons which were manufactured in different cities for the use of the Roman army. Under his administration, four offices, which employed a hundred and forty-eight secretaries, were occupied in managing the correspondence between the emperor and his subjects. 3. The Quæstor, who composed orations, or rather edicts, in the name of the emperor, and who, sometimes, with the assistance of the Consistory, decided causes which had been considered doubtful by the inferior courts of judicature. 4. The Count of Sacred Largesses, or Public Treasurer, who regulated the internal revenue and the foreign trade of the empire. 5. The Count, or Treasurer, of the Private Estate; part of which had perhaps arisen from testaments or purchases, but the chief portion from confiscations. 6. and 7. Two Counts of the Domestics, who commanded the splendid body-guard of the emperor, which consisted of three thousand five hundred men. A. D. 334. Various officers, &c.

Among the defects of the imperial government may be reckoned the increased number of established spies and informers, who under the name of Agents were encouraged to communicate to the suspicious inmate of the palace every appearance of conspiracy, real or imaginary, in the provinces. A fatal and corrupt expedient, which not unfrequently left the innocent a prey to the designing, and gave the name of loyalty and zeal to malice, vindictiveness, or rapacity. In cases where treason, or rather a hostile intention, against the emperor or the state was suspected, the examination by the rack—that most uncertain as well as most inhuman test, from which the Roman citizen of old claimed the peculiar privilege of exemption—suspended its terrors without distinction over members of the highest, no less than over the lowest orders of society. Civil law.

The system of oppressive taxation was an evil of far more extensive range. The tribute, or indictions (as the edicts were called, which were subscribed by the emperor), imposed burthens which were sometimes found too excessive to be borne. An account of the intricate state of the finances would exceed the limits within which the present sketch is confined. The landed property, of which the measure was carefully taken, and the value ascertained throughout the empire by appointed surveyors, was subjected to a tax which produced the most fatal effects upon agriculture. The assessment was in the form of a capitation, the number of tributary subjects in Finances.

A. D. 334. every province, and the amount of the impositions being returned, the latter sum was divided by the former, and the rate of each head calculated. But it must be remarked that several poorer persons might be considered as composing but one of these heads, while one wealthy citizen might represent several.[1]

A tribute was also raised, which, with a few exceptions, fell on the trading part of the community the merchant, the mechanic, and the usurer. To these impositions, which were demanded with much severity, may be added the free gifts, or coronary gold. The ancient custom practised by the allies of Rome, of bestowing voluntarily crowns of gold on victorious generals, and afterwards of sending current coin, was now changed into a duty, which was demanded on the occasion of any occurrence in his reign which the emperor thought fit to consider as important.

Death of Crispus.

The closing years of Constantine was clouded by a domestic calamity, of which he had to reproach himself as being the rash and unfeeling author. The military fame of Crispus (his son by Minervina), combined with his private virtues and accomplishments, which excited the esteem and admiration of the people, appear to have awakened the jealousy of his imperial father. The aspiring youth soon found himself deprived of further opportunities of pursuing his career of distinction. Under these circumstances it is but natural to suppose that he indulged in the language of impatience and indignation, which the arts of treachery may afterwards have distorted and coloured.

October 1, A. D. 325. An edict of Constantine betrayed his fears of secret treason and invited accusations against those to whom he had extended in an especial manner his patronage and friendship.[2] His object was easily understood by the intriguers who infested the court, and its effect was some time after tragically apparent. The unfortunate Crispus, seized in the midst of a banquet, was decapitated[3] or destroyed by

July, A. D. 326. poison,[4] near Pola, in Istria. This dark event,[5] of which the causes and circumstances were never revealed, is attributed to the scandalous accusations of his stepmother Fausta, who dreaded the offspring of a former marriage, and the supposed successor to the empire, as the rival of her own children. But the grief of his aged mother, Helena, at length induced Constantine to enter into a more scrupulous examination, which ended in establishing the innocence of his son. Fausta, it is generally supposed, though, perhaps, on very doubtful authority, being convicted of criminal intercourse with a slave, was stifled by

[1] Gibbon, Decline and Fall, &c.

[2] Cod. Theodos. lib. ix. tit. iv.

[3] Codin. p. 34.

[4] Sidon. Apollinar. Epist. v. 8.

[5] Eusebius passes over the story in his life of Constantine, which was published after the death of Crispus, of whom he speaks in flattering terms in his Hist. lib. x. c. 9. Evagrius (lib. iii. c. 41) would infer from his silence that the fact is doubtful; he should rather have inferred that the historian was a courtier.

the steam of a bath.[1] Numerous subsequent executions,[2] and among others that of his nephew, seem to indicate that the mind of Constantine had been filled with bitterness and remorse for the death of his son.[3] A. D. 326.

The only military events of importance which took place in the latter part of this reign arose from the contests of the Goths and Sarmatians. Gothic war, A. D. 330.

The Sarmatians were an uncouth and savage race, who roved without permanent settlement over the vast plains near the Tanais. Their strength consisted chiefly in their horses, which were remarkable for their docility and swiftness. Their defensive armour was a strong cuirass, formed of thin pieces sliced from the hoofs of horses, and sewed one upon another;[4] their offensive weapons consisted of a short dagger, a long javelin, and arrows, of which the barbs, made of fishbone, were dipped in poison. In their movements, which spread terror and desolation, they had gradually proceeded in a westward direction into the plains of Upper Hungary, between the Danube and the Carpathian mountains. They had chosen a king from the Vandals, whose tribe appears to have fled before the Goths. Fierce conflicts were waged between the two hostile tribes, and at length the Sarmatians applied to Constantine for assistance. The emperor had scarcely acceded to a request which his own policy, that of perpetuating differences among the barbarians, rendered desirable, before Araric, king of the Goths, crossed the Danube, and laid waste the territories of the empire. His triumph, owing at first to the disgraceful retreat of the Roman troops, was soon afterwards arrested with immense slaughter by their superior skill, and by the co-operation of the people of Chersonesus. The defeated Goths gave the son of Araric as a hostage for the attainment of peace, and the services of the Chersonesites were amply rewarded. But the Sarmatians, thus freed from fear, turned their arms against the dominions of their deliverers. Their ingratitude, punished by an unexpected defeat, induced Constantine to abandon their cause. Overthrown in a decisive battle by the Goths, the Sarmatians were reduced to the necessity of arming their slaves, which enabled them in their turn to overcome their invaders. But the victorious slaves, by whose assistance this advantage had been obtained, having once felt their importance, combined with the enemy, and, under the name of Limigantes, seized

Sarmatians. A. D. 332. A. D. 334.

[1] St. Chrysostom (Hom. 15, in Phillipp.) pretends that she was exposed on a mountain to be devoured by wild beasts.

[2] Primum necessitudines persecutus, Crispum filium egregium virum, et sororis filium commodæ indolis juvenem interfecit, mox uxorem, post numerosos amicos. Eutrop. lib. x.; Brev. Hist. Rom. lib. x. c. vi.

[3] It has been asserted that Constantine raised a statue of silver and gold to Crispus, with this inscription, "My son, unjustly condemned." Ἠδικήμενος υἱὸς μοῦ.

[4] Pausanias, lib. i. See also Amm. Marcell. lib. xvii.; Valer. Flacc. Argon. lib. vi. Comp. Ovid. Trist. &c.; Bridges' Life of Constantine, c. iv.

A. D. 334. upon the country which they had been so instrumental in defending. Their banished masters, to the number of 300,000, applied for refuge to Constantine, who incorporated some into his legions, and assigned settlements to the remainder in different parts of Pannonia, Thrace, Macedonia, and Italy.

Death of Constantine, May 22, A. D. 337.

Ten months after, having celebrated the thirtieth year of his reign, Constantine, in his sixty-fourth year, expired at Aquyrion, a castle near Nicomedia, whence his body was transported to Constantinople, and being splendidly decorated, as if in mockery of greatness, received for a time the same expressions of reverence which it had excited during life.

Character.

The character of Constantine has been represented in a manner so widely different by Christian and by pagan writers, that the only safe path for the modern historian seems to consist in choosing a medium between the praises of the one and the censures of the other. As a military commander, and, in many respects, as a statesman, his talents will ever be held in high estimation. Beset by extraordinary difficulties at the commencement of his career, he surmounted them with consummate dexterity and courage. His operations, no less vigorously executed than ably conceived, struck awe into the barbarians, and arrested their destructive progress. Yet in the midst of the most active occupations, as he moved from city to city, he still found time to devote to private study and composition. And, whatever opinion may be entertained of his own literary powers, it cannot be denied that he deserves to be considered as a patron of learning. His chastity and temperance, virtues very uncommon in a situation of unlimited power and in times of extreme degeneracy, were acknowledged. His natural love of justice and good government, may be fairly inferred from the number of excellent laws of which he was the author.[1] At the same time it must be allowed, that these brilliant qualities were not unaccompanied by defects. Fond of ostentatious parade to a degree surprising in a mind which was wont to outsoar the frivolousness of narrower spirits, he had recourse to means which oppressed his subjects, and alienated their affections.[2] A certain facility of disposition led him to commit important offices to men unworthy of his favour.[3] His faults, and particularly a tendency to cruelty and prodigality, were much more conspicuously displayed in the latter than in the earlier part of his life.[4]

[1] Civilibus artibus et liberalibus studiis deditus, affectator justitiæ et amoris, quem omninò sibi et liberalitate et docilitate quæsivit.—Eutropius. See Howell's Hist. of the World, p. 2, and Lardner's Credib. part. ii. c. lxx.

[2] Zosim. lib. ii. [3] Aurel. Vict.; Ammian. lib. xvi.; Euseb. lib. v.

[4] Hence Aurelius Victor, though with more point than truth, has thus described his character during three different periods of his reign: Proverbio vulgari Trachala decem annis præstantissimus, duodecim sequentibus Latro, decem novissimis Pupillus ob profusiones immodicas nominatus. Epit. c. xli.



Constantinus II.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONSTANTINUS II., CONSTANS, AND CONSTANTIUS.

FROM A. D. 337 TO A. D. 361.

A. D. 337. The three sons of Constantine proclaimed emperors. Massacre of Dalmatius, Hannibalianus, &c.

UPON the death of Constantine, the army, and subsequently the senate, expressed their determination to acknowledge no other emperors than his sons, although Dalmatius Cæsar and Hannibalianus his nephew had received from the late monarch a share in the partition of the empire. About four months afterwards, the three brothers assumed the title, to which their claim had been so readily admitted. A scene of blood[1] then followed. A tumultuous soldiery destroyed in indiscriminate massacre Julius Constantius, the deceased emperor's brother, Dalmatius and Hannibalianus, the patrician Optatus, who had married the sister of Constantine, five of his nephews, one of whom was the eldest son of Julius Constantius, the præfect Ablavius and others, who, having been ministers in the late reign, excited either resentment or suspicion.[2] The numerous family of Constantine was thus reduced to his three sons and two nephews, Gallus and Julian, the youngest children of Julius Constantius. Gallus, who was then twelve years old, owed his safety to a sickly state of health, from which it was not expected he would recover: Julian, who was

[1] Constantius is charged with the guilt of this massacre by Julian (Ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 270). So also Athanasius (Solit. p. 856) and Zosimus (p. 692). But Eutropius (p. 558) and Socrates say he rather permitted than commanded it.

[2] Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. iv. c. lxviii.; Zosim. lib. ii.; Julian, Ep. ad Athen.

A. D. 337. but six, to his extreme youth.[1] The murder of Dalmatius and Hannibalianus was succeeded by a division of their dominions. For this purpose the three brothers, Constantine, Constans, and Constantius, met in Pannonia. Constantine, the eldest, who fixed his imperial seat at Constantinople, had Thrace; Constans, Greece and Macedonia. Each of them retained the territories which had been assigned by the late emperor during his lifetime. Constantine retained Gaul, Spain, and Britain; Constantius, Asia, Syria, and Egypt; and Constans, Illyricum, Italy, and Africa. Constantine appears to have ceded, this same year, Thrace to Constantius, and Constans Africa to Constantine. When they assumed the purple, the eldest of the brothers was twenty-one, the second twenty, and the third only seventeen years of age.

Division of the empire.

Invasion of the Persians.

The throne of Persia was at this time occupied by Sapor, an able and enterprising prince, who had long desired to circumscribe the eastern possessions of Rome, but had hitherto been deterred from the prosecution of his ambitious schemes by the fame and power of Constantine. No sooner, however, was the object of his fears removed, than he invaded and ravaged the Roman dominions, and made himself master of several of the strongholds of Mesopotamia. He received support from the Armenians, who revolted, drove their king, who favoured the Romans, into exile, and destroyed or expelled the priests of the Christian religion, which, through the instrumentality of their late king, Tiridates, had been established in Armenia. Frequent irregular inroads spread continual alarm and desolation. Nine battles were fought, in which the Persians were generally successful. A signal engagement at length took place at Singara, a city of Mesopotomia.

Sapor passed the Tigris over three bridges, and, having fixed his camp near the village of Hilleh, fortified it with a deep ditch and high ramparts, on which, as well as on the adjacent eminences, he placed numerous bodies of archers. The banks of the river and a plain stretching out above twelve miles, were likewise covered with his forces. The Romans, eager to begin the conflict, urged Constantius to lead them up to the camp, which they attacked with the utmost vigour, in despite of the arrows which were thickly poured down upon them from the heights and the resistance which was offered to their progress.

Battle of Singara.

A. D. 348. The Persians, perhaps merely as a feint, fled in confusion. The Romans pursued with an imprudent ardour, which Constantius endeavoured ineffectually to check. Having soon filled up the ditch and destroyed the rampart, they dispersed themselves through the camp, and prepared at night, without suspicion of danger, to rest from the fatigues of the day or to enjoy the fruits of their victory. Sapor observed their movements and immediately seized the ad-

[1] Socrat. lib. iii. c. i.; Ammian.

vantages which their false security presented. Under cover of darkness large bodies of his army, who had viewed the engagement in safety, descended from the eminences on which they had been stationed, and his Persian archers suddenly poured their arrows on the defenceless bands, which were sunk in careless revelry.[1] After having caused dreadful havoc among the Romans, the Persians retired at daybreak beyond the Tigris, and broke down the bridges to prevent the pursuit of a foe, on whom they had executed such signal vengeance. The loss on both sides was considerable. Among the captives taken by the Romans was the son and heir of Sapor. He was publicly scourged, tortured, and put to death—an act of inhumanity which stamps indelible disgrace on the character of his victor.[2] A. D. 348.

Sapor was aware that victories in the field, however brilliant, were not sufficient to effect the attainment of his object, unless he could obtain possession of the strongholds of Mesopotamia. The capture of the important city of Nisibis, which was considered the bulwark of the east, was the principal object of his attention. After having besieged it at two different periods, the first time during sixty-three days, the second during three months, he made one more vigorous, though equally unsuccessful, attack. Animated by the prayers of James their bishop, directed by the experience and bravery of Lucilianus, and encouraged by the result of the two former sieges, the inhabitants defended themselves with the most determined courage. The engines which were brought to batter and to undermine the walls, proved, through the skilful measures of the Romans, entirely ineffectual. Thus baffled, Sapor had recourse to a novel expedient. He caused the course of the river Mygdonius, which flowed through Nisibis, to be stopped below the town, and its waters to be confined by huge moles of earth, by which means the surrounding country was deluged, and the city presented the appearance of an island in the midst of the sea. On this sheet of water, thus suddenly and artificially raised, an immense number of ships and boats, advancing, armed with troops, and various kinds of military engines, attacked, nearly on a level, the forces assembled upon the ramparts. The violent rush and pressure of the waters broke down a part of the wall and opened a breach of a hundred and fifty feet. The Persians, imagining that the capture of the place was now within their grasp, pressed on with loud shouts to the assault. Their efforts, however, even at this apparently favourable moment, were unavailing. The cavalry, encumbered with heavy armour, were clogged and impeded in the deep mud, and great numbers were lost in hidden holes which the bursting waters had filled up. The wounded elephants, furious and ungovernable, trampled the archers under foot. The Persian king, a

Siege of Nisibis. A. D. 338. 346, 350.

[1] Amm. lib. xviii. c. v.; Eutrop. x. 10.
[2] Liban. Orat. iii. p. 133.; Julian, Orat, i. p. 24.

A. D. 339. spectator of this confusion and disorder, gave the signal of retreat, and suspended for some time the assault. The inhabitants availed themselves of this respite, and at the dawn of the next day, Sapor saw with surprise a new wall of six feet in height already raised, where the breach had seemed to open to him the prospect of success. He adhered, however, with surprising pertinacity to the prosecution of the attack, notwithstanding continual repulses, and it is uncertain how long he would have struggled to accomplish a design, on which all the energies of his mind seem to have been bent, had not an invasion of the Massagetæ[1] induced him, after the loss of more than twenty thousand men,[2] to abandon in haste a siege, which had lasted almost four months, and to make a truce with the Roman emperor.

Constantine invades the dominions of Constans, and is surprised and slain. A. D. 340.

About three years after the division of the empire, Constantine, the eldest brother, dissatisfied with his share, after having ineffectually attempted to obtain of Constans the cession of the whole or at least of some part of Italy, placed himself at the head of a tumultuous host, marched from Gaul, and, entering into his brother's territories by the Julian Alps, first exercised his vengeance on the country round Aquileia. Constans, who was then in Dacia, immediately detached a chosen portion of his forces, by whose skilful artifices the imprudent Constantine, having been drawn into an ambuscade, was encircled and slain. His body, which had been thrown into the river Alsa, at a small distance from Aquileia, was afterwards discovered and removed to Constantinople, where it was interred near the tomb of his father.[3] In consequence of this event, Constans, who refused to transfer to Constantius any part of the dominions of the deceased prince, became sole master of the provinces of the west, and remained in possession of upwards of two-thirds of the Roman empire.

Revolt of Magnentius, and murder of Constans, February, A. D. 350.

Ten years after the death of his brother, Constans himself experienced a fate no less sudden and disastrous. While the want of activity and talent which he betrayed had exposed him to universal contempt, the marked favour, which, it is said,[4] his depraved passions led him to show towards some German captives, naturally excited scandal and disaffection. The rapacity and oppression of his favourites and ministers must have contributed deeply to increase this alienation.[5] Magnentius, a soldier of barbarian extraction, but of a daring spirit, who commanded some forces, to which the defence of the banks of

[1] Zonar. tom. ii. lib. xiii. p. 11.

[2] Julian, Orat. ii.; Thesphan. p. 33.

[3] Zonar., Vict. Epit., Eutrop. &c. Constantine is described by his panegyrist as an accomplished and pious prince. (Monod. seu Orat. in Constant. Junior. Mort. p. 7, &c.) His unprovoked and ill-contrived invasion of his brother's dominions is not calculated to increase our idea either of his probity or of his abilities.

[4] Aurel. Vict. p. 527; Zosim. lib. ii. p. 692; Zonar. p. 11. Libanius, however, extols his continence.

[5] Lib. Orat. iii. p. 212; Vict. Epit. p. 544; Eutrop. p. 588.

the Rhine had been assigned, resolved to wrest the reins of govern- A. D. 350.
ment from hands which were evidently too feeble to keep firm hold of them in any dangerous crisis. He communicated his project to Marcellinus, count of the sacred largesses, and to some other officers, who readily concurred in advancing his views. When the moment for executing the plot had arrived, Marcellinus, under pretence of celebrating the birthday of his son, gave a sumptuous entertainment to the chief officers of the army, then resident near the city of Autun. The sentiments of the guests were elicited, and their passions inflamed by the freedom of enthusiasm. Convivial indulgence continued till the night was very far advanced. Magnentius, who had withdrawn for a short time, then returned arrayed in the imperial robes, and invested with the ensigns of sovereign power. Such of the party as were conspirators immediately saluted him with the title of Augustus. The rest, who seem not at first to have regarded the proceeding in a serious light, heated with wine, staggered with surprise, moved by vague hopes or fears, soon followed the example of the conspirators, and acknowledged by acclamation the title of the usurper. The guards having taken the oaths, he immediately took possession of the imperial palace of Autun, distributed the treasure among the populace, and thus drew into his interest both the city and the neighbouring country. Anxious to seize Constans, before the indolent prince could be apprized of the rebellion, Magnentius despatched Gaiso, a principal commander of the army, to put him to death. Information, however, of the revolt having already reached him, he endeavoured, though deserted by his soldiery, to direct his flight towards Spain, but Gaiso, having learned the route which he had taken, pursued him closely with a select band of troops. He was overtaken near Helena,[1] a small village at the foot of the Pyrenees, and murdered with many wounds.

After the death of Constans, the title of Magnentius was soon recognised in Gaul, Italy, and the western provinces. To insure assistance and support, he declared his brother Desiderius, and Decentius,[2] (who is, by some writers, called his brother, by others his cousin,) Cæsars. In Illyricum, the legions under the command of Vetranio prevailed upon him, after having manifested either real or apparent reluctance, grounded on his gratitude and fidelity to the family of Constantine, to allow himself to be invested with the imperial dignity. Constantina herself, the wife of the unfortunate Hannibalianus, placed the diadem on his head. Vetranio, a native of Upper Mæsia, descended from obscure parents, was now far advanced in years, after having served in the army from his infancy. His natural abilities

Vetranio assumes the title of emperor.

[1] So called by Constantine, from his mother's name. Before called Illiberis, now Elne.

[2] Decentius assumed also the names of Magnentius and Magnus. He is likewise distinguished by the unusual title of Fortissimus.

A. D. 350. were respected, but his deficiency in education was so great that it was after his elevation that he first learned to read.[1] His integrity and affability, however, joined to the success which had uniformly attended his arms, rendered him universally beloved by his forces.[2]

Nepotianus takes the title of emperor, and seizes Rome.

A third aspirant arose, either exasperated at the sight of a successful barbarian as master of the west, or dazzled by the seductive lustre which conceals the dangers of imperial, and more especially of usurped power. Nepotianus, the youthful son of Eutropia, sister to the great Constantine, having drawn together a company of gladiators and other desperate men, assumed the purple, and took possession of Rome, on which he wreaked his vengeance, and slaughtered among others the Præfect Anicetus, who, having been appointed by Magnentius to command in the city, had made against him an unsuccessful sally. His hopes were destined to be soon blasted. Marcellinus was despatched against him by Magnentius. A bloody battle was fought, but Nepotianus being betrayed by a senator named Heraclitus, his men were routed, and himself slain, after having reigned during the short period of twenty-eight days.[3] Marcellinus caused his head to be carried through the city on the point of a spear, put to death such as had espoused his cause, and involved in a general massacre all who were in any way related to the family of Constantine. Among those who fell victims in this scene of butchery, was Eutropia, the mother of Nepotianus.[4]

His death.

Constantius rejects the terms of peace proposed by Magnentius.

Magnentius having by the most cruel and oppressive means raised such sums as might enable him to meet the expenses of civil war, assembled a considerable army. Aware, however, of the uncertainty of the field, he resolved to try the effect of negotiation. Constantius was then at Antioch, in which city, on receiving intelligence of the death of his brother, he had asserted his claim to the empire of the west, and prepared to support it with a considerable army and a very powerful fleet.[5] Leaving Antioch about the beginning of autumn, and proceeding through Constantinople, he arrived at Heraclea, in Thrace, where he gave audience to the ambassadors of Magnentius and Vetranio, who had joined for their mutual support. The conditions proposed were,—that they would assist him in the prosecution of the



Constantius.

[1] Zosim. lib. ii. [2] Eutrop. p. 588.
[3] Zosim. lib. ii.; Eutrop. 588; Aurel. Victor; Ammian.
[4] Themist. Orat. ii.; Julian, Orat. iii. [5] Julian, Orat. i.

war against the Persians and other barbarians, and also acknowledge his pre-eminence in point of rank as emperor of the east, provided he conceded to them the uninterrupted enjoyment of their titles. They further proposed, with a view to cement their alliance, two marriages, one between Constantius and the daughter of Magnentius, and the other between Magnentius and Constantina, the widow of Hannibalianus.[1] Constantius deferred his answer till the next day, when, having doubtless considered the most effectual method of inspiring the people with feelings correspondent to his own, he declared to them that on the preceding night the shade of his father Constantine had appeared to him in a vision, and, presenting the corpse of the slaughtered Constans, had warned him to revenge his murder, and assured him that in so just a cause his efforts would be crowned with success. The terms of accommodation were then indignantly rejected. One of the deputies was sent to communicate his resolution; the remainder, without regard to the law of nations, were thrown into confinement. Constantius advanced with the utmost speed from Heraclea to Sardica. Anxious, however, to avoid being engaged with two enemies at once, he offered to contract a separate treaty with Vetranio, whose conduct he seemed not disposed to regard with harshness and severity. Constantius acknowledged him as lawful emperor, on condition that he would abandon his coalition with Magnentius, and fix upon some place where they might meet together to confirm their reconciliation by fitting solemnities. Accordingly, Vetranio proceeded to Sardica with his numerous troops. A scene, artfully contrived to ascertain the feelings and to work upon the passions of the people, took place. The conjoined armies assembled in a large plain, in the centre of which a tribunal, from which the two princes might address them on the aspect of public affairs, was erected. The wily Constantius, who, in consequence of his birth, was the first speaker, made a very eloquent, ingenious, and seductive speech. He dwelt on the bounties which they had received from his father, the oaths of fidelity which they had taken to his sons; he lamented, in pathetic language, the inhuman murder of Constans, and at the same time skilfully urged that a brother should succeed a brother, not a stranger, much less an enemy of the imperial house.[2] The speech was apparently directed against Magnentius alone, but the soldiery, crowds of whom encircled the tribunal, instigated by those who were instructed how to conduct this singular proceeding, immediately applying it to Vetranio amid loud shouts and clashing of arms, cried out that they would fight nnder none but the son of Constantine. The aged Vetranio, stunned with astonishment and overpowered by the fearful opposition which seemed to rise around him in all quarters, took the diadem from his head and threw himself at the feet of Con-

A. D. 350.

Vetranio deposed, December 25, A. D. 350.

[1] Zonar. lib. v. c. xiv.; Them. Orat. iii.; Julian, Orat. ii.

[2] Julian, Orat. ii.; Zosim. lib. ii.; Athan. Solit.

A. D. 350. stantius. The emperor treated him with great mildness and indulgence. Raising him from his suppliant posture, he embraced him and addressed him by the affectionate and respectful name of father. A suitable maintenance was allowed him, and Prusa, in Bithynia, was assigned as his residence. Vetranio, who was remarkable for his simplicity of character, there calmly spent the six remaining years of his life in acts of devotion and charity, without engaging in the slightest degree in public affairs. Frequently, it is said he wrote to Constantius to express his gratitude for the kindness which had released him from the cares and troubles of sovereign power, and enabled him to obtain the happiness and content which attended the tranquil obscurity of his retirement.[1]

Magnentius rejects all terms of peace.

A. D. 351. Magnentius was an enemy far more formidable than Vetranio. He assembled a considerable army, consisting of Gauls, Spaniards, Franks, and Saxons, marched from Italy, and having passed the Alps that divide it from Noricum, he entered the plains of Pannonia, where Constantius had assembled his forces. Magnentius invited his antagonist to decide the validity of their claims on the plain of Sciscia, on the Save: the challenge was accepted; but the troops of Constantius advancing in confusion, fell into an ambuscade and were routed with great loss. Magnentius afterwards took Sciscia by assault, and rased it to the ground. He then wasted the country which lies on the Save, which he had unsuccessfully attempted to pass, and attacked Sirmium, the metropolis of Illyricum. His superiority in the field during the greater part of the summer was manifest. The forces of Constantius were disheartened, and his fame had suffered considerable diminution. His pride seemed broken down. In these circumstances, the emperor proposed by Philip, his ambassador, an eloquent man, to yield to the usurper Gaul, Spain, and Britain, and to acknowledge his title of emperor, on condition that he relinquished Italy. Magnentius, utterly regardless of the proffered terms, detained Philip, and sent Titianus, a Roman senator, to advise Constantius, as the condition of pardon, to relinquish the purple, and to spend the remainder of his life in retirement. To this arrogant message, and to the reproachful insults which the deputy vented against Constantine and his children, the emperor was content to reply, that he trusted heaven would support his cause and revenge the blood of his brother on his murderers.[2] It was some encouragement at this dispiriting crisis, that Sylvanus, the Frank, an able general, deserted from Magnentius, and joined the emperor with a large body of cavalry which was under his command.

Battle of Mursa, Sept. 28, A. D. 351.

Magnentius, unable to reduce Sirmium, proceeded to attack the important town of Mursa. This step immediately induced Constantius to quit his station at Cibalis, where he had professed a desire to

[1] Zonar. p. 14; Socrat. lib. ii. c. xxviii.; Zosim. lib. ii.
[2] Zosim. lib. ii.; Julian, Orat. i. ii.

encounter the enemy, hoping that his forces would be inspired with courage at the remembrance of the victory which, on the same field, his father had formerly gained over Licinius. On his advance, having received information that Magnentius had posted four thousand Gauls in a neighbouring wood, to fall upon the rear of his army at the moment of engagement, he made himself master of the avenues which led to the place of ambuscade, and cut off the body of troops which was intended for his destruction. Having removed this obstacle, Constantius advanced to Mursa, and drew up his army on the naked plain which adjoins it. The river Drave, on which Mursa stood, was on his right, while his left stretched on beyond the right flank of Magnentius. Thus ranged in order of battle, the two armies remained in the presence of each other during the greatest part of the morning. Constantius then encouraged his troops, and having, if we may believe the account, retired into a neighbouring church, there waited the issue of the memorable battle which ensued. The onset was marked by the utmost fury. The centre of Magnentius was soon thrown into confusion by the left wing and cavalry of Constantius.[1] But the Gauls and barbarians, commanded by men of courage and experience, although broken, frequently rallied; and, notwithstanding the determined attacks of the successful army, maintained their ground till a very late hour of the night. Some, under cover of the darkness, effected their escape: but by far the greater number was slaughtered or precipitated into the Drave, and drowned. This decisive, though long-doubtful victory, is ascribed to the cavalry of Constantius, which, locked in complete armour, and armed with enormous lances, were calculated to overpower the ill-protected bodies of the barbarian hosts. The number of slain on both sides was very considerable: Magnentius lost twenty-four thousand men, and Constantius, it is said, thirty thousand,[2] a proof of the extreme obstinacy and long fluctuations of a battle, which was regarded as one of the most deplorable calamities which had befallen the empire;[3] the forces, by their numbers, their discipline and their valour, capable of contributing, in an eminent degree, to the security and the triumphs of Rome, being fatally consumed in civil war. Magnentius, it is pretended,[4] no sooner saw the disorder of his troops at the beginning of the contest, than he abandoned his standard and betook himself to a disgraceful flight. But, according to different and far more credible accounts,[5] he continued in the field till the defeat of his army was entire, and narrowly escaped being taken captive. It is added that he turned his horse loose, adorned with the imperial trappings, that the enemy, supposing the rider to have been slain, might desist from the pursuit. Such, however, was not the result. He was constantly followed, yet he contrived, though with difficulty, to reach the foot of the Julian Alps.

A. D. 351.

Losses of Magnentius and Constantius.

[1] Julian, Orat. i. ii. [2] Vict. Epit.; Hier. Chron.; Eutrop.
[3] Zonar. [4] Julian, Orat. [5] Zosim. lib. ii.; Zonar. p. 15, &c.

A. D. 351. In this battle, Marcellinus, who had contributed in so great a measure to the accomplishment of these events, displayed his courage, but was never afterwards heard of;[1] a circumstance which renders it probable that he was one of the numbers who were destroyed in the rapidly-flowing waters of the Drave. As the day arose, Constantius, viewing from an adjacent height the field bestrewed and the river choked up with the bodies of the dead, is said to have been unable to refrain from tears. He ordered the slain to be honourably buried, the wounded to be carefully treated, and a general pardon to be extended to all who had taken up arms against him, with the exception of such as were involved in the murder of Constans.

The exhausted state of his army probably induced Constantius to suspend the prosecution of the war, and winter, which had now approached, afforded a plausible reason for this delay. Magnentius remained at Aquileia, having previously fortified the passes of the Alps. Constantius, however, when the season became more favourable to conduct his operations, having taken by surprise a strongly-guarded castle on those mountains, and having showed his intention of forcign the rest, Magnentius, doubtless aware that he had no share in the affections of the people, abandoned the possession of Italy, and though he defeated his pursuers at Pavia, finally retired with his forces into Gaul.

Constantius, now master of Rome, despatched the imperial fleet to Africa and Carthage, which yielded a ready submission. Their example was soon after followed by Sicily and Spain. In Gaul, also, several cities, no longer able to endure his oppressive measures, revolted from Magnentius; among the rest, the important city of Treves shut its gates against Decentius, who had been invested by his brother with the title of Cæsar or of Augustus. Magnentius, dispirited by his misfortunes, despatched a senator, and afterwards some bishops, with the offer of resigning the sovereignty, on condition that the emperor would allow him to spend the remainder of his life in some honourable service. Constantius received the senator as a spy, and dismissed the bishops without an answer. Magnentius, now convinced that his situation was desperate, vigorously prepared to sustain the impending blow. But the signal rout and defeat of his troops in the Cottian Alps, near a castle called Mount Seleucus, forced him to take shelter in Lyons. The few forces who attended him resolved to gratify his successful enemy by an act of treachery. His house was surrounded: his escape cut off. When he advanced to address them, he was interrupted by the unanimous cry, "Long live Constantius Augustus!" The usurper, who easily saw that they designed to purchase their own safety or advancement by delivering up the object of the emperor's inflexible resentment, closed his existence by falling on his sword. Before his death, (if the account deserves credit,) he slew with his own hands his mother, his brother

Defeat and death of Magnentius, August 10, A. D. 359.

[1] Julian, Orat. ii.

Desiderius, and such of his friends and relations as were with him in that moment of fury and despair.[1] Decentius, then at Sens, and enclosed on all sides by hostile forces, strangled himself on receiving intelligence of his brother's death. The panegyrist[2] of Constantius describes his conduct as having been marked by the most admirable lenity towards those whose former outrages he had experienced, or whose future fidelity he had reason to suspect. But historians[3] represent him as giving scope to a proud and inhuman disposition. Many persons, both in civil and military capacities, charged with having rendered services to the usurper, were dragged in chains to the imperial tribunal and sentenced to death; some lost their estates by confiscation; others were banished to desert islands; sometimes on the accusation of inimical or unprincipled witnesses, sometimes upon mere suspicion; nor was the rack unemployed to precede and aggravate the miseries of exile. By this indiscriminate severity many innocent subjects were wantonly sacrificed. Informers, the constant attendants of suspicious and timid tyranny, soon abounded. The most notorious, Paulus, (surnamed Catena, or "The Chain," from the fearful facility with which he linked together a series of accusations,) was sent to perform his horrid occupation in Britain. His injustice and inhumanity roused the indignation of Martinus, a man of known probity, vice-præfect of the island. As he nobly interposed to save the innocent, Paulus threatened to send him as a traitor in chains to the emperor. Aware of the consequences of his conduct, Martinus drew his sword against the informer, who, by a dexterous movement, received but a slight wound. Martinus then buried the weapon in his own breast.[4]

A. D. 359.

At the time when the revolt of Magnentius, now extinguished, called forth the most vigorous exertions of Constantius in the west, intelligence was received that the Persians were preparing to attack the Roman empire in its eastern provinces. In this emergency, the emperor invested his cousin Gallus with the dignity of Cæsar, and endeavoured to strengthen the bonds of political union by marriage with his sister Constantina, the widow of Hannibalianus. Gallus and Julian, saved as we have above related, in the massacre which ushered in the reign of the three sons of Constantine, had been placed first in Ionia and Bithynia, afterwards, during six years, when advance of age began to excite alarm, in the castle of Macellum, near Cæsarea. Experienced masters to direct their studies, and numerous attendants who, though careful to keep guard upon their persons, stood ready to comply with their commands, joined to the agreeableness of the site, rendered their residence as tolerable as the precariousness of their situation would allow.

Gallus declared Cæsar, March 5, A. D. 351.

[1] Zosim. lib. ii. See, however, Zonar. p. 16. [2] Them. Orat. vi. &c.
[3] Zosim. lib. ii.; Ammian. lib. xiv. Comp. Liban. Orat. ii.
[4] Ammian. lib. xiv.

A. D. 351. Gallus was now removed from a state of inactive confinement to a post of dignity and of danger. Not only the East, but even Thrace and Constantinople, were assigned to his care.[1] Previously to his departure, he had an interview with Constantius, and the two princes took a solemn oath, in the presence of the bishops who were then at court, to cherish mutual and unalterable fidelity.[2]

Cruel and extravagant conduct of Gallus.

Gallus, having fixed his residence at Antioch, undertook the administration of the eastern provinces, but soon evinced his incompetency for the task. Destitute of experience, he showed himself equally deficient in prudence and sagacity. The sudden reaction of prosperity on a mind long checked and fretted by ill fortune and the vague fears of solitary imprisonment, soon manifested itself by a display of insupportable haughtiness and arrogance, and by scenes of the utmost violence and extravagance. While some unimportant successes, exaggerated by the adulation of panegyrists, contributed to nourish his infatuation, his wife Constantina, whom the historian stigmatizes with the appellation of the Megæra of her sex,[3] sharpened his natural cruelty, and stimulated him to acts of the most atrocious injustice. A necklace of great value was a sufficient bribe to obtain a death-warrant against a nobleman, whose only crime was his exemplary virtue. Spies and informers were encouraged, and multiplied. Mere suspicion was esteemed sufficient to justify peremptory punishment. Numbers, without even the form of trial, were hurried to execution or privately destroyed. Gallus himself, in order to discover new victims, often, in disguise, walked the streets at night, and mixed with the populace in public taverns. Innocence offered no security of person or of property. Confiscations and murders became fearfully familiar. The imperial apartments presented the spectacle of instruments of death and torture. The cities and provinces were deluged with blood. Thalassus, then præfect of the east, inveighed against his measures with more warmth and roughness than skill and prudence, and by openly informing the emperor of them in exaggerated language, only incensed the haughty Cæsar to increased excesses. The conduct of Gallus, in short, resembled rather that of a man labouring under a partial aberration of mind, than that of any person, however capricious and inhuman, in full possession of his faculties.

Bad administration of the eastern provinces.

Constantius, who had affected to be ignorant of the disgraceful administration of the eastern provinces during the continuance of the civil war, had no sooner brought it to a successful close, than he determined to institute a severe investigation into the proceedings of Gallus. A circumstance took place which was justly considered not only as barbarous in itself, but as an insult to the emperor. The inhabitants of Antioch, having requested Gallus to give orders for

[1] Aurel. Victor; Zosim. lib. ii.; Ammian. lib. xiv.
[2] Philostorg. lib. iv. c. i. [3] Ammian. lib. xiv.

the importation of foreign corn into their city, he replied, that if their supplies were not sufficient, the fault rested with Theophilus, governor of Syria. The remark was not forgotten; and, at a moment when the price of provisions had increased, Theophilus, a man of mild and unblemished character, was barbarously murdered by an enraged populace. By a special commission, Domitian, who had been appointed, on the death of Thalassus, præfect of the east, and Montius, quæstor of the palace, were instructed to examine the state of these affairs, but at the same time to treat the Cæsar with all the deference and attention which his birth and station entitled him to receive. Domitian was not possessed of those arts of politeness and address which were requisite to effect the designs of the emperor. A. D. 351.

On arriving at Antioch, he passed before the palace without paying his respects to the Cæsar; and, under pretext of indisposition, remained several days retired at home, procuring information respecting the measures of Gallus, and transmitting to the emperor a memorial calculated to increase his exasperation. At length, at the solicitation of Gallus, he appeared at court; but careless of resorting to the artifices of persuasion, he signified at once to the prince, in an abrupt manner, that it was the emperor's will that he should immediately repair to Italy, and that he himself would punish any refusal to comply, by suspending the allowance for the maintenance of his household. Having delivered this haughty message, he retired without adding a single word, or waiting for a reply from the Cæsar, who both called him back and afterwards requested him to return to court without success. Gallus, naturally incensed, ordered the rash præfect to be delivered to the custody of a guard. Montius strongly remonstrated with Gallus, observing that he ought to pull down the statues of Constantius, before he ventured on laying violent hands on his præfect.[1] According to another account, he contemptuously exclaimed, "The emperor has not thought proper to empower you to create a single magistrate, and you speak of putting a præfect to death!"[2] Irritated in the highest degree, Gallus complained of this conduct to his guards, who, immediately seizing Montius and Domitian, and binding their legs together with cords, dragged them through the streets of Antioch; and, after having inflicted on them many insults, cast their bodies into the river Orontes.[3]

Massacre of Domitian, præfect of the east, and Montius, the quæstor. A. D. 354.

The wily Constantius, repressing his indignation, till it could be displayed without hazard, addressed frequent epistles to Gallus, couched in the language of unsuspecting friendship, and filled with earnest solicitations to be relieved from a portion of his arduous duties in the west by the presence and assistance of the Cæsar. At the same time, under a variety of pretences, he insensibly drew off the veteran legions from the eastern provinces. Gallus, whether aware

[1] Ammian. lib. xiv.; Zonar. p. 10.
[2] Philostorg. lib. iii.
[3] Socrat. lib. ii. c. xxxiv.; Ammian. lib. xiv.

A. D. 354. or not of the dangers which surrounded him, took no measures calculated to avert the blow. The death of Constantina, on whose influence with the emperor he depended, threw him into the greatest perplexity. The resolution which he is said to have entertained of assuming the title of Augustus,[1] and staking his fortune in open revolt, receiving no encouragement from his former friends, whom his savage and ungovernable passions had alienated, was abandoned. He was at length prevailed upon by the artful assurances of the tribune Scudilo, who was sent to him as a messenger by the emperor, a man of a crafty mind and insinuating manner, to quit Antioch, and to set forward on his journey to Italy. He stopped some time at Constantinople, and, like a person who is free from apprehension, entertained the people with an exhibition of Circensian games. As he advanced, he was met by officers, who, under pretence of waiting on him, kept a vigilant eye on his motions, and prevented the receipt of any communications likely to be the means of causing civil war. To avoid all risk, arising from any tender of services on the part of the troops, so easily seduced by corruption, the garrisons were carefully removed from the towns through which he passed. Repeated letters required him to accelerate his progress. After having remained a few days at Hadrianople, he was haughtily commanded to proceed with a small retinue to Milan, where the emperor then resided. On his arrival at Petavium, in Pannonia, he was met by the General Barbatio, who entered his lodging on the same evening with a band of soldiers, stripped him of the ensigns of his dignity, and hurried him away to Flanona, not far from Pola in Istria, where, twenty years before, the blood of Crispus Cæsar, the son of Constantine, had been shed. The eunuch Eusebius, and Pentades, his secretary, were sent hither to examine him respecting his administration. Gallus confessed the errors of which he was accused, but, by ascribing them to the evil counsels of his wife, provoked the indignation of her imperial brother. After this partial procedure, Constantius suffered himself to be persuaded that his safety could not be insured without the destruction of his cousin, and signed the sentence of death. Gallus was beheaded in prison like the meanest criminal. According to some accounts, the emperor, soon relenting, countermanded his execution; but the eunuchs, avowed enemies of the Cæsar, pretended that the reprieve had arrived too late.[2]

Stratagem of Scudilo.

Death of Gallus, December, A. D. 354.

Situation of Julian.

On the elevation of Gallus, the situation of Julian, his companion in the splendid prison of Macellum, was considerably improved. Relieved from the irksomeness of continued seclusion, he was allowed to prosecute his studies at Constantinople. But the fame, which soon represented him as a prince worthy of reigning, disturbed the rest of the jealous Constantius, who commanded him to withdraw to

[1] Socrat. lib. ii. c. xxxiv.; but compare Zosim. lib. ii.

[2] Ammian. lib. xiv. &c. Comp. Julian, ad Athen. and Liban. Orat. xii.

the more retired quarters of Asia Minor. The misfortunes which soon closed the chequered life of Gallus, exposed that of Julian to the most imminent danger. Arrested and consigned to guards, he was removed from the quiet scenes of Ionia to the city of Milan, where the court was then held. There he remained above seven months, aware that he was continually exposed to the hatred of intriguing eunuchs, and apprehending the same calamities which had terminated the career of the adherents of his unfortunate brother. All his actions were malignantly watched. His very looks were studiously scanned.[1] His enemies would fain have fathomed his inmost thoughts to find matter for crimination. An expression of complaint, so natural in his forlorn state, would infallibly have led to immediate ruin. Under this harassing scrutiny, Julian, though not usually given to taciturnity, behaved as one schooled in adversity, with a cautious reserve, by which he extricated himself from the snares that encompassed him, without at the same time sacrificing the regard which he owed to his own character. He was too discreet to betray his feelings, however intense: too conscientious and high-minded to stoop to court imperial favour, by a semblance of approbation of the murder of his brother. But his safety is mainly attributable to the protection of the empress Eusebia, a woman of a humane disposition, and attached to the sciences, whose influence on the mind of her husband prevailed over the powerful hostility of the eunuchs. Through her means, Julian was admitted to an interview with the emperor; the manner in which he defended his cause produced a favourable impression, and a second audience was promised. But the artifices of the eunuchs were effectual in preventing it, and Julian retired into the neighbourhood of Milan, till the emperor permitted him to proceed to Athens, a kind of exile indeed, but an exile which his passion for the language and the literature of the Greeks rendered peculiarly agreeable. His residence of six months in this celebrated city, produced a very marked effect on the train of thought, and tone of feeling, which he manifested at a subsequent period. Orators, philosophers, and priests, naturally prepossessed in favour of a youthful prince, remarkable for his talents, his rank, and his misfortunes, tended to encourage, at once, his abilities and his vanity. The pontiff of Eleusis, famed for his knowledge of theurgy, obtained his friendship and nourished his superstition. A reception so congenial to his temper, inspired him with an affection for Athens, which he never laid aside. But the turns of fortune soon obliged him to quit the city, which he regarded as his true country, and in which he expressed the desire of fixing his permanent residence.

A. D. 354.

Sent to Athens, May, A. D. 355.

The sole government of the immense empire of Rome, with all its numerous and complicated duties, embarrassed Constantius. Re-

Recalled to Milan.

[1] Ammian. lib. xv.

A. D. 355. bellion had scarcely ceased to thin the flower of his armies, before the prospect of external wars of momentous consequence arose. Gaul was ravaged by hosts of barbarians. The Isaurians also, pouring down from their rocks and mountains, and not satisfied with predatory excursions alone, had ventured to besiege Seleucia, though defended by three Roman legions. To complete his difficulties, Sapor, his most formidable enemy, exulting in the remembrance of success, again assumed a warlike attitude, and the provinces of the East were in danger of being wrested from the grasp of Roman power.

Constantius resolves to associate Julian in his government.

At this critical conjuncture, Constantius was convinced of the necessity of resting upon some able and vigorous colleague a portion of the burthen which, singly, he felt unable to sustain. Without heirs united to him by the ties of natural affection, by whom his dominions might be successfully defended, and to whom they could be securely bequeathed, the emperor doubtless experienced some touch of remorse at the bloody tragedy, in which the members of his family had untimely perished. One scion alone of the tree, thus unsparingly stripped and mutilated, remained, on which he might still rest his hopes. On him, therefore, he now turned his eyes, persuaded by the counsels of Eusebia, which triumphed over the selfish policy of the eunuchs. To prevent the example of the late Cæsar from forming an objection to her plans, she with great address marked the contrast between the dispositions of the two brothers, showing that, from their earliest youth, Julian had been compared to Titus, and Gallus to Domitian. It is true, the deep wrongs endured by the prince, who was thus proposed, must naturally have inspired him with feelings of alienation and resentment, however cautiously dissembled; but it was hoped that a foretaste of imperial power would at once produce oblivion of the past and loyalty for the future. These arguments prevailed, and it was determined that Julian, after having been united in marriage with Helena, sister of the emperor, should be invested with the dignity of Cæsar, and take his share in stemming the torrent of dangers which burst on all sides of the Roman empire. On receiving the order, which recalled him to court, Julian felt that he was destined to relinquish scenes of leisure and retirement, in order to be entangled in suspicions and peril, under the disguise of splendour and authority. The bloody image of Gallus presented itself to his mind. He raised his hands for protection to the temple of Minerva, and before his departure, he prayed the goddess, with a flood of tears, not to abandon her most devoted votary.

On his arrival at Milan, he received an encouraging reception from Constantius and Eusebia, but he found difficulty in reconciling himself to a situation so well calculated to excite his fears, and so little adapted to his former habits. Previously to the proclamation of his new title, his beard was shaved, and the cloak of the philosopher

exchanged for the accoutrements of a warrior. A secluded scholar, he was wholly unacquainted with the grace and etiquette of rank, and the perplexed and maladroit awkwardness of his manner, under this kind of masquerading process, was a source of temporary diversion to the court. A. D. 355

The sanction of the army towards the nomination of the Cæsar was now solemnly required. For the emperors at this degenerate period were always confident of the consent of the senate, which could scarcely be refused to any measures that had previously received the acquiescence of the soldiery. The forces stationed at Milan being assembled under arms, the emperor ascended an elevated tribunal, encircled with Roman eagles, holding by the hand the nephew of Constantine, who entered on that very day into the twenty-fourth year of his age. After having in a concise speech touched upon the wants of the invaded empire, he set forth the merits of Julian, and declared his design, if it met with their approbation, of raising him to the dignity of Cæsar. A murmur of applause interrupted his speech as he invested the young prince with the purple. As soon as the proclamation was concluded, the troops, who had gazed on the ingenuous glow of Julian's countenance, which, at first abashed and embarrassed, soon brightened with an open confidence at the demonstrations of surrounding joy, and who observed that the fire which gave brilliancy and animation to his eyes, was blended with a look of inexpressible sweetness, and announced an union of courage with amiableness,—loudly struck their shields against their knees, to express, in their usual manner, their entire concurrence and delight.[1] The approbation which followed the emperor's address was marked by that fine sense of decorum, which neither exceeds, nor falls short of, the measure of praise which reverence for a superior demands. The ceremony being finished, the two princes returned in the same chariot to the palace. Yet Julian, though the current of events had raised him to an unexpected pitch of honour, could not banish the workings of secret fears from his mind. He remarked with horror that he was surrounded by the assassins of his family, and he repeated a line of his favourite author, Homer, by which, by turning an epithet from its original meaning, he intimated his

Julian declared Cæsar, November 6, A. D. 355.



Julian.

Reflections of Julian.

[1] Ammian. lib. xv.; Socrat. lib. iii.; Sozom. lib. v. c. ii.

A. D. 355. apprehensions of the dangers which lurk in the rich folds of the purple:

Ἕλλαδι πορφύριος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή.[1]

His situation, during the twenty-four days which he spent at Milan, was not indeed entirely calculated to release him from his terrors. Adorned with honours, he was scarcely possessed of freedom. His movements were subjected to a sedulous espionage. He was allowed to retain only four of his ancient domestics; his librarian Evemerus, his physician Oribasus, and two young pages. Constantius himself wrote with his own hand a set of instructions to regulate not only his conduct on the slightest points, but even the service of his table, with such minuteness of detail that they resembled rather the rules which might be given to an inexperienced schoolboy, on the eve of entering his preceptor's roof, than the directions of a prince, to whom was committed the arduous administration of the East. But as if he were a mere automaton, decorated with imperial ensigns, he was not permitted to carry on his measures independently of the officers who commanded in Gaul, nor were these officers unapprized that the Cæsar was to be viewed with as much distrust as the enemy itself. The kindness of his patroness, however, continued unabated, and the gift of a numerous and valuable collection of books tended to diminish his regret at his absence from Asia, and as it were to transplant the literary charms of Greece into the unlearned regions of Gaul.[2]

False accusation, revolt, and death of Sylvanus, September, A. D. 355.

The suspicions of Julian were not likely to be allayed by reflecting on the unmerited fate which had awaited Sylvanus, a man of eminent merit, in the summer prior to his own promotion. That general had been appointed to protect Gaul from the inroads of the barbarians, at the recommendation of insidious courtiers, who designed by removing him, under colour of distinction, from the presence of the emperor, to effect his ruin with greater facility and success. The following plot was accordingly devised. A dexterous agent of the intriguers, having obtained from Sylvanus some letters of recommendation, erased the entire contents except the signature, filled the vacant space with treasonable projects, and contrived that the supposed scheme should be communicated to the emperor. The fraud, indeed, was in consequence of an inquiry detected, the treachery of the devisers laid open to shame, and the innocence of Sylvanus established. But the ill-requited general, informed only of the malice of his enemies, had already been forced to resort to measures of resistance, and a real conspiracy arose out of one which had been invented. His estate had been hastily seized, his friends were arrested and put to the torture. As a measure of common defence, therefore, he assumed the purple at Cologne, and, supported by his troops, pre-

[1] Him purple death and mighty fate hath seized.

[2] See Julian, Orat. ad Athen. iv.; Ammian. lib. xv. c. viii.; lib. xxvi., lib. v. &c.; La Bleterie, Vie de Julien, lib. i.

pared to prosecute the rebellion into which he had been thus unexpectedly driven. Struck with extreme astonishment and alarm, the emperor immediately despatched against him Ursucinus, a general, who was soon enabled to fulfil his wishes by an act of treachery, which tarnishes the lustre of his military reputation. Under pretence, it would seem, that, goaded by wrongs, he had deserted the cause of Constantius, and hastened to share the fortunes of Sylvanus, he found no difficulty in gaining the confidence it was his object to betray; thus decoying into ruin the very man whom he insidiously professed to admire and assist. Some of the guards, corrupted by his promises, at the dawn of morning forcibly entered the palace with drawn swords, and, having overtaken Sylvanus as he attempted in his flight to take refuge in a neighbouring church, butchered him with repeated blows. The insurrectionary forces afterwards returned to their allegiance. Thus perished an able and successful chief, who had rendered signal services to Constantius—the victim of the intrigues of ministers and the credulity of their master; and thus ended the dangers of a revolt which calumny alone had caused, and perfidy defeated.[1] A. D. 355.

Constantius had never visited the ancient metropolis of his empire: an interval of peace, which, after Julian had departed somewhat more than eighteen months, gave him respite from his cares, afforded a favourable opportunity for the gratification of his curiosity. Accordingly, having proceeded from Milan by the Æmilian and Flaminian Ways, he entered Rome with all the pomp of a triumphal procession.[2] Seated alone in a gilded chariot, resplendent with a rich variety and blaze of precious gems,—amid a gorgeous display of purple banners fantastically shaped as dragons, which, bound on the ornamented tops of spears, waved and coiled their flexile folds in the wind,—he passed through glittering lines of full-armed cuirassiers and other troops splendidly begirt with their different accoutrements. He was attended by the senate and magistrates, who had come forth to meet him in their robes of ceremonial, amid the acclamations of an immense multitude. During the whole march, the emperor, the slave of rigid etiquette, preserved that extreme affectation of stateliness and of imperturbable, almost motionless, gravity, which forbade him even to raise his hands to his face or to turn his eyes to the right or to the left. During his stay of thirty days, he presided in the senate, harangued the people, and examined the magnificent structures which adorned the seven hills and plains of the Eternal City. The extensive baths of Caracalla and Diocletian,—the towering amphitheatre of Titus—the majestic Pantheon—the Temple of Peace—the Theatre of Pompey, and, above all other edifices, the Column and Forum of Trajan, called forth his unbounded admiration. He acknowledged that fame, which generally exaggerates, had given him but an

Constantius visits Rome, April 28, A. D. 356.

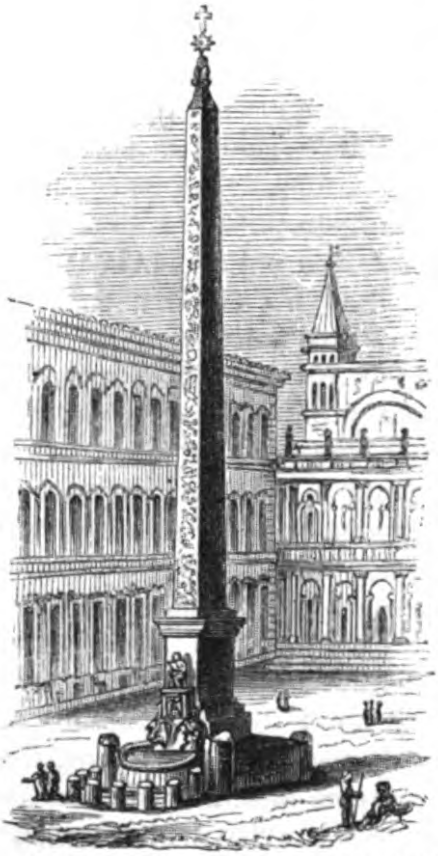
[1] Ammian. lib. xv. &c. [2] Ibid. lib. xvi.

A. D. 356. New obelisk.

imperfect description of the wonders which he witnessed. Inspired with a desire of adding his own name to the list of those who had enriched this seat of grandeur with monuments of surpassing beauty and strength, he brought to Rome an enormous obelisk of granite, a hundred and fifteen feet in length, which Constantine had removed to Alexandria, from the Temple of the Sun at Heliopolis, and which in consequence of his death had remained there. It was afterwards, though not without great difficulty, erected in the Circus Maximus, and in later times was placed by Pope Sixtus V. in the square before the Church of St. John Lateran.[1]

War with the Quadi and the Sarmatians. A. D. 357–359.

The political horizon wore again a lowing aspect, and Constantius was soon called away from these peaceful occupations, on the description of which the historian dwells with pleasure, as upon spots of verdure which are sparingly scattered over a sickening waste of foreign wars, or domestic assassinations. He received intelligence that irruptions had been committed by the Suevians and by the Quadi. After continued inroads, the emperor at length marched in person to repel the invaders, crossed the Danube on a bridge of boats, and spread desolation and terror through the hostile regions into which he penetrated. The barbarians, alarmed at his progress, came in suppliant crowds to solicit peace, which they obtained upon condition of restoring their prisoners, and delivering up selected hostages. Constantius then proceeded against the Limigantes, a race of slaves, who had expelled the Sarmatians, and seized their ancient possessions. Frequent irruptions into the Roman dominions, sufficient in themselves to call for heavy retaliation, confirmed the obvious policy which dictated the restoration of the expatriated Sarmatian exiles, and the erection and consolidation of a government attached to Rome by every tie of gratitude and dependence. The attempt, however, was rendered peculiarly hazardous by the wild and marshy nature of the country, which was no less perplexing to strangers than favourable for the shelter and for the stratagems of the experienced inhabitants.



Obelisk of Constantius and Church of St. Giovanni in Laterano.
Overbeke's Les Restes de l'Anc. Rome.

[1] Gibbon, Decline and Fall, &c. c. xix.

The devices which were attempted by one of the fierce tribes dwelling in an islet towards the conflux of the Danube and the Teyss, were utterly baffled, and great numbers were trodden down and slaughtered, without having deigned to beg for quarter, or to relax the grasp which still unyieldingly clenched their weapons in the pangs of death. The invasion was prosecuted with the utmost energy and vigour. Pursued with fire and sword into the very heart of their wretched wilderness, though the most undaunted of the Limigantes preferred to fall in the field rather than to submit to the conqueror, the greater number sued for mercy at the hands of the Romans. Constantius assigned them a distant country, where they might dwell in future unmolested. The wily barbarians returned, before they could have occupied their place of exile, to complain of their new settlement, and to entreat the emperor that it might be fixed within the boundaries of the Roman empire. The unsuspecting Constantius gave them audience in a large plain: he addressed them, as they insensibly surrounded the tribunal, in the language of mildness, when suddenly one of the apparently attentive but faithless crowd gave the signal of defiance and tumult. They rushed furiously towards the imperial speaker, whom the gallant defence of his guards, who perished round him, enabled to escape. So signal an act of treachery, was avenged by the total extermination of the Limigantes.[1] The Sarmatians, declared a free people, were restored to the possession of their native country. One of the chiefs of their nation, Zizais, was placed over them with the title of king, and his subsequent conduct justified the choice which was then made. For these important achievements the army saluted the victorious emperor with the surname of Sarmaticus.

A. D. 357. Extinction of the Limigantes.

While Constantius in the west and Sapor in the east were employed in repelling the progress of barbarians, who threated the tranquillity of their respective dominions, Musonianus, præfect of the east, had entered into a private negotiation with the satrap Tamsapor, the result of which was transmitted to the Persian king. In consequence of this overture, Sapor sent Narses as an ambassador to Constantius, then at Sirmium, with an epistle, couched in the pompous style of Oriental arrogance, and carefully folded in a silken covering, to intimate that Sapor, "King of Kings, and brother of the Sun and Moon," though justified, as the successor of Darius Hystaspes, in considering the river Strymon in Macedonia as the real limit of his empire, was content to confine his demands to the restitution of Armenia and Mesopotamia, of which his ancestors had been most unjustly deprived. He added, that unless these proposals were favourably received, he was determined to assert the justice of his cause by the force of his victorious arms. Constantius replied, that although he was not unwilling to conclude peace upon honourable terms, he could not, now that he was sole master of the Roman

Persian and Roman negotiations. A. D. 358.

[1] See Ammian. lib. xvii. &c.

A. D. 358. empire, accept the same conditions which he had rejected with indignation, while his power was limited to the provinces of the east. A few days after the departure of Narses, Constantius, who was seriously desirous of peace, or at least of an armistice, sent a solemn embassy, consisting of a count, a notary, and a sophist, by which combination of rank, ingenuity, and eloquence, he hoped that the imperious prince might be persuaded to accede to more reasonable demands.[1] The conciliating courteousness of Narses was well adapted to purposes of diplomacy, and had been exerted to diminish the impression of the haughty message with which he had been charged. Their efforts towards procuring pacific measures, however, were rendered abortive by the opposition of Antoninus, a Roman subject of Syria, who, having fled to the court of Persia, proved, as well by the intensity of his resentment as by his knowledge of the resources of the empire, a very able and dangerous opponent to the people, whose oppression he had experienced, and whose cause he had deserted. After this failure, ambassadors of a higher rank were sent, but the Persian king, threatening to regard them as spies, detained them some time in close confinement, though eventually he dismissed them uninjured.[2]

Sapor invades Mesopotamia.

A. D. 359. The views of the Persian cabinet were materially assisted at the Roman court by the intrigues of the eunuch Eusebius. Ursucinus, an officer so eminently fitted by his military talents for the task, which devolved upon him, of resisting the invasion of the Eastern provinces, was removed from his command, and replaced by Sabinianus, a decrepit veteran, whose only merit consisted in his immense wealth. Antoninus no sooner learned this change, than, well acquainted with the incapacity of the newly-appointed general for the sphere of action in which he was engaged, he pressed Sapor to march directly to the Euphrates, without wasting his time in the siege of towns, and crossing that river, to enter and reduce the rich and ill-defended province of Syria. The Persian monarch made preparations on a large scale to execute the proposed plan. Constantius, with an inconstancy produced by alarm, again ordered Ursucinus to hasten back to the boundaries of Mesopotamia, and left him to undertake the dangers and responsibility of a war, from the glory of which he was shamefully debarred. By the wisdom, however, of his operations, the advance of Sapor, whose army consisted of more than a hundred thousand men, was materially obstructed. The inhabitants of Mesopotamia had been enabled by a timely warning to remove their effects into places of safety; the forage and even the corn, already ripe, were set on fire, in order to deprive the enemy of all means of subsistence; the fords of the Euphrates were fortified with stakes, and its banks with military engines. Thus obliged to abandon his intention of

[1] Ammian. lib. xvii.; Gibbon, Decline and Fall, &c. c. xix.
[2] Ammian. lib. xviii.

attempting a passage by the bridge of Thapsacus, the Persian monarch, by the advice of the sagacious Antoninus, bent his march by the foot of the mountains which divide Mesopotamia from Armenia, towards the head of the Euphrates, where that river was fordable. In pursuance of the counsels in which he had acquiesced, Sapor seems seriously to have intended to press forward without interruption. On approaching the strong city of Amida, however, being desirous merely of sounding the intentions of the garrison, he appeared with regal pomp and parade before the walls. A discharge of arrows, one of which pierced his royal robes, excited, in a high degree, his indignation and anger. Another occurrence inflamed still further his offended pride, and silenced all the suggestions of prudence. The ensuing morning, as Grumbates, king of the Chionites (who had accompanied and co-operated with his army), advanced towards the gates with a chosen band, to demand the surrender of a city, his only son, a youth remarkable for his courage and personal charms, was stretched dead at his father's feet, being pierced through the heart by a weapon shot from one of the balistæ. Transported with ungovernable resentment, and reckless of his former schemes, Sapor resolved that the city of Amida, which had inflicted on him and his aged ally so bitter an affront, should serve as a funeral pile for the unfortunate prince. Amida, besides a supply of warlike engines, was reinforced by seven legions, at the time it was attacked by Sapor. An assault, conducted with the utmost impetuosity and repelled with the most obstinate resolution, having failed of success, a regular siege was begun, in the prosecution of which the most striking efforts of art and of valour were displayed. At length, when the garrison was reduced in numbers, and exhausted by watching, and wasted by disease, the Persians made a successful breach and entered the town, which had resisted their attack during seventy-three days, and before which, upwards of thirty thousand of their veterans had fallen. The city was rased to the ground, the chief officers were crucified, and the rest either massacred or carried into captivity, with the exception of a small number (who contrived to make their escape in the dead of night, through a postern gate), one of which number was the historian and warrior, Ammianius Marcellinus,[1] who, having been himself shut up in the town, and enabled to be an eyewitness of the manœuvres both of the assailants and of the assailed, has left us a detailed narrative of this siege, from which the sketch we have given has been drawn. During the whole continuance of the siege, Sabinianus was employed in exercising his troops with useless parade under the walls of Edessa. Ursucinus continually pressed him to adopt some determined plan: he suggested to him to harass the enemy by cutting off their parties, and intercepting their convoys, by which means he might have checked the vigour, and perhaps wholly have prevented the success

A. D. 359.

Siege of Amida.

A. D. 359.

Escape of Ammianius Marcellinus,

[1] Lib. xix.

A. D. 359. of the besiegers of Amida. The indolent chief merely replied, that he had received instructions not to endanger the safety of his forces. Yet when Amida was taken, Ursucinus was most unjustly subjected to a partial inquiry, which, though it led to no decision, extorted from him the unguarded expression, that, as long as the government of eunuchs continued, the emperor himself would be unable, at the head of his army, to protect his eastern dominions. His words were immediately reported with the usual accompaniment of exaggerations, and Ursucinus—the best officer of his age—at a moment of danger which peremptorily called for his consummate abilities and long experience, was deprived of his rank, and condemned to retire to his native country.

Siege of Singara, &c. A. D. 360.

Sapor had reason to regret that, in the ebullition of anger, neglecting the judicious counsels of his guide, he had sacrificed so large a body of his troops, and lost the opportunity of extending his power, in order to satiate his desire of revenge. His army was thinned and disheartened, and his schemes were proportionably contracted and lowered. Entering into Mesopotamia in the following year, he took by assault the strong post of Singara, and carried the garrison and citizens into captivity. He next reduced Bezabde, a fortified town on the Tigris, put most of the inhabitants to the sword, and subjected the rest to slavery. He demolished Singara, but repaired the fortications of Bezabde, and left it defended by a garrison of his veterans. He then proceeded against Virta or Birtha, on the most distant borders of Mesopotamia; but after repeated unsuccessful attacks he abandoned the siege of that fortress, celebrated for its great strength, without entering upon any other enterprise, and returned to his own dominions.

Constantius marches into Mesopotamia.

Constantius, after having quelled the barbarians of the Danube, proceeded into his eastern provinces. As he pursued his march to Amida, he could not behold the melancholy scene presented by a city, once so formidable, with its lofty towers and ramparts, now lying a neglected heap of ruins, without giving vent to feelings of humanity, not unmixed, perhaps, with the regrets of disappointed ambition; and he shed many tears. He then attempted to regain possession of Bezabde; but his frequent assaults were intrepidly repelled, and the besieged, though almost reduced by famine, still resisted, till at length the severity of the season, in which heavy rains prevailed, obliged him to lay aside the fruitless enterprise and to retire into winter-quarters at Antioch.

Our attention has been hitherto turned to the affairs of the Romans in the east; it is necessary to take a retrospective glance at the events which had taken place in the province of Gaul, and the brilliant union of military and political talents, which exalted the character of Julian to a high pitch of glory.

After having been raised to the dignity of Cæsar, Julian left Milan,

[1] Ammian. lib. xx.

attended only by three hundred and sixty soldiers, in order to proceed to Gaul. The situation of that province was, at this period, peculiarly distressing. In the civil wars which had marked his reign, Constantius, more eager to promote his personal advantage than the general weal of the empire, had rashly engaged the Alemanni to make a diversion in his favour, by the invasion of Gaul, promising to concede to them all the territories which they should reduce. It was not long before the blind policy of the measure became apparent. Intent on enriching themselves by depredation and rapine, the barbarians were soon discovered to be but unprincipled and dangerous allies. When Julian arrived in Gaul, they had ruined forty-five cities besides castles and villages. They had stationed themselves along the Rhine, from the sources to the mouth of the river, and the extent of the country over which they poured the ravages of war was three times greater than that which they had conquered. The open towns, still distant from these scenes of desolation, were deserted through fear, and the inhabitants of fortified posts, plundered of their flocks and of their harvests, were obliged to be satisfied with the small supply of corn which could be raised within the enclosure of their walls. An inexperienced prince, whose life had been spent far from the din of arms, in obscurity and retirement, was appointed to enter upon a career of warfare and peril, and to remedy a state of the utmost confusion and misery.[1]

A. D. 360. Julian proceeds to Gaul.

At Vienna, where Julian spent the winter in making the necessary preparations for the ensuing campaign, he received intelligence that the barbarians, who had besieged Autun, had been effectually baffled, and forced to abandon their design by the unyielding bravery of the few veterans by whom it was defended. The young Cæsar, careless of personal ease, and deaf to the counsels of flattery and of effeminacy, placed himself at the head of a small band of archers and heavy cavalry, marched in pursuit of the enemy, who moved in large masses about the country, and gave an early symptom of his prompt decision and vigour by preferring the shorter, but the more dangerous of the two roads which led from Autun to Auxerre. Thence, as he advanced to Troyes, he was attacked on all sides by the barbarians, who, though far superior in numbers, were put to flight, many of them slaughtered, and some of them taken prisoners. From Troyes he proceeded to Rheims, where the main body of the army was assembled. Leaving Rheims, with a design of falling on the enemy, he was taught by an incident, which might have been attended by fatal consequences, the necessity of circumspection and foresight in forming the character of a general. The Alemanni, assisted by their local knowledge, concealed themselves in ambush, and taking advantage of a dark and wet day, unexpectedly attacked his rear, and would have almost destroyed two legions, had not the alarm been

Julian's first campaign in Gaul. A. D. 356.

[1] Ammian. lib. xvi.; Gibbon, c. xix.

A. D. 356. Defeats the Alemanni.

suddenly raised and assistance given. He had soon an opportunity of retaliating, by defeating the barbarians, though not with great havoc, in the neighbourhood of Brotomagus, now Brumt, in Alsace. This slight victory opened him a way to Cologne, which the Germans ten months before had destroyed; for as they were wont to look upon towns as prisons and sepulchres, it was their practice to ruin, not to fortify, the places which they had taken. Having repaired the walls of Cologne, he fixed his winter-quarters in the city of Sens, where, with a small number of troops, the rest being dispersed throughout the wasted province, he was besieged by multitudes of the barbarians. In this extremity, Marcellus, the commander-in-chief of the cavalry in Gaul, either yielding to petty jealousy, or complying too literally with the orders of the suspicious emperor, which instructed him to distrust the Cæsar, refused, though stationed in the neighbourhood, to advance to the relief of the distressed town. Julian, thus shamelessly abandoned by those on whose obedience he relied, made a most vigorous resistance, which compelled the barbarians, at the end of a month, to retire in despair. Thus ended the first campaign of Julian, which would doubtless have been signalized by more glorious exploits,[1] had he not been under the guardianship of generals, who, anxious to gratify the envious humour of Constantius, made it their object to thwart and disconcert, not to promote, his designs, and to give him far more scope for the exercise of his patience than of his activity and courage.[2] The insult of Marcellus, however, was so marked, that the emperor could not safely dissemble it. Marcellus was deprived of his command, and succeeded by Severus, an experienced officer, possessed of a high spirit of disinterestedness and honour, who united the talents of a consummate general with the obedience of a faithful soldier. He was commissioned to act dependently on Julian, who, by the interest of the empress, was at length appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces in Gaul.

His second campaign. A. D. 357.

The line of operations, by which the emperor designed to repress the devastations of the enemy, was wisely drawn. Julian, who had reinforced his troops by new levies, was to march against the Alemanni, and, at the same time, Barbatio (who had been appointed general of infantry, in room of Sylvanus), proceeding from Italy at the head of twenty-five or thirty thousand men, was so to time and direct his advance, that the barbarians, simultaneously enclosed and pressed between two armies, might be either exposed to destruction, or compelled to retire into Germany.

But Barbatio was an officer whose reputation for military skill must be regarded as factitious, or whose conduct was influenced either by

[1] Ammianus describes this campaign as very glorious (lib. xvi. c. ii. iii.); but Julian himself acknowledges that he performed nothing worthy of notice (ad Athen. p. 510).

[2] Liban. Orat. ix.

private instructions or dishonourable motives. His presence, instead of seconding the views, seems destined merely to cross and embarrass the projects of Julian. The Leti, a German nation, having contrived to pass between the two camps, penetrated as far as Lyons, which they hoped to surprise; but experiencing a decided resistance, they contented themselves with pillaging and burning the surrounding country. Upon the first intelligence of this aggression, Julian sent detachments to seize the passes through which these bands of adventurers were to return. By these means all were destroyed, except such as directed their route near the camp of Barbatio, who not merely suffered them to escape without molestation, but, by complaining to Constantius of some officers who had attempted to interrupt their retreat, caused them (one of whom was Valentinian, afterwards emperor[1]) to be cashiered. A portion of the Alemanni still retained their acquisitions, blocking up the ways with trees hewn down and cast across them, or taking shelter in the islands formed by the Rhine in the environs of Basle. These last it was the wish of Julian to attack, but Barbatio preferred to burn all his boats, rather than to send seven, which were required for the execution of this design—an act of insubordination, which could only find a parallel in his conduct on another occasion, when he burned the provisions which had been sent for both armies, after he had abundantly provided for his own. The Cæsar, thus unexpectedly denied assistance in a moment of need, and forced to rely on his own resources, caused some of the most resolute among his troops to wade over to the nearest island, where they massacred all whom they met, without distinction of age or sex. Their boats being seized, the slaughter extended to other islands; till the barbarians, deeming it impossible to struggle against the power of Julian, abandoned the rest, and retired to their respective homes.

A. D. 357.

Campaign against the Leti,

and Alemanni.

Having thus dislodged the Germans from their cantonments, Julian employed himself in rebuilding and increasing by new works the demolished fortifications of the Tres Tabernæ, now called Saverne, a fort near Strasburg in Alsace, which was fitted by its situation to check the nations beyond the Rhine, and to prevent their irruptions into Gaul. Having supplied this important post with provisions for a whole year, he left in it a numerous garrison. At the same time Barbatio, anxious to engross all the credit of the war, was endeavouring to lay a bridge of boats over the Rhine; but the barbarians, informed of his purpose, threw huge trees into the river, which, borne by the stream, sank many of his boats and parted the rest; then, falling suddenly upon him as he retreated, they cut to pieces a great number of his troops, captured most of his baggage, ravaged the neighbouring country, and left him, baffled and defeated, to return to court to make war against Julian by his calumnies.[2]

[1] Ammian. lib. xvi. &c.

[2] Ibid.

A. D. 357. Battle of Argentoratum, or Strasburg, August.

Elated with this victory, the Alemanni assembled in great numbers to overwhelm the Romans. Their chief commander was Chnodomarius, a fierce and experienced king, who had formerly overthrown in battle Decentius, the brother of Magnentius, and thirsted with impatience to make the young Cæsar feel the terror of his victorious arms. Formidable by his boldness in conceiving, and his celerity in executing his plans, he felt that confidence which a long career of successful achievements naturally inspires. His vast frame and external appearance contributed to confirm the impression which his valour had produced. He was accompanied by six other kings, with ten princes, and a train of nobles, at the head of thirty-five thousand men, who encamped in the neighbourhood of Strasburg. Being informed by a deserter that Julian had but an army of thirteen thousand men, Chnodomarius sent a message, requiring him to depart immediately from the country, which the Alemanni claimed as their own by the double right of conquest and of compact. The messenger employed on this occasion produced a letter of Constantius, written to the barbarians in the time of Magnentius, in which the emperor had promised to relinquish whatever territory they should be able to gain. Julian, without paying any regard to the summons, affected to consider the messenger as a spy, and detained him, under this pretext, though, doubtless, his real motive was the fear that he should reveal to the enemy his inferiority in numerical force. On learning that the barbarians were within twenty miles of his camp, he left Saverne, and marched directly with a view to confront their hosts, and to decide the fate of the expedition by a general engagement. The Romans advanced in two columns, the cavalry on the right, and the infantry on the left. When part of the road was traversed, Julian, apprehensive lest his troops, exhausted by a long and toilsome march at a season of great heat, should attack an enemy so much more numerous at great disadvantage, was desirous of giving them rest, and of deferring the battle till the next day. But the cries of the soldiers, who, gnashing their teeth with impatient fury, struck their shields with their spears, and demanded to be led on without delay, seconded by the advice of the principal officers, determined him, though not without reluctance, to hazard a combat. Both armies fought with obstinate courage, and it was long before victory decidedly inclined the balance in favour of the Romans. The Roman cavalry gave way, but they were rallied by the exhortations and example of Julian, who threw himself before them as a barrier against retreat. Thus sustained, the infantry, which the enemy, after reiterated desperate attacks, had been unable to break, made a vigorous effort, routed the barbarians, and pursued them with destructive havoc. The Romans lost four tribunes, and two hundred and forty-three soldiers; while six,[1] or according to another account,[2]

[1] Ammian. lib. xvi. [2] Liban. Orat. x.

eight thousand of the Alemanni were left on the field, and great numbers having thrown themselves into the Rhine, which was in their rear, were either drowned in their attempts to swim across the river, or pierced through by the arrows of the victors. Among the prisoners was Chnodomarius himself, whom Julian, after having treated with respect, and expressed the pity which his downfall inspired—an instance of the nothingness of human grandeur—sent to the emperor. Julian had the policy to ascribe to Constantius, and Constantius the ridiculous vanity to appropriate to himself, the whole glory of this celebrated battle, which, by one decisive blow, had restored Gaul to its ancient liberty. Chnodomarius, who, fallen from the pride of his over-confidence, had evinced all the abjectness of a prostrated chief, was removed to Rome, where he did not long outlive his humiliation and captivity.[1] A. D. 357.

Julian attacks the Franks.

When Julian had repaired an ancient fort erected by Trajan, and granted the alarmed barbarians a truce of ten months, after having prevailed on his army to penetrate into Germany, he received information that a body of six hundred Franks, seizing the opportunity of his absence, had laid waste the country about Rheims, and fortified themselves in two castles on the river Meuse. Accustomed to brave the severest inclemencies of the weather, and devoted (as if they formed the great end of life) to the conflicts of war, in which they were reckoned the most terrible of the barbarians, they maintained their reputation by the determined bravery with which, during a siege of fifty-four days, in the rigour of winter, they sustained the attacks of the Cæsar. Being at length reduced to desist from a defence, which they perceived must terminate in their total destruction, they were sent as captives to the emperor, who gladly incorporated them among the Roman troops.

State of Paris.

Julian, having closed this successful campaign, fixed his winter quarters in Paris. The whole city[2] now of such great extent, was at that time situated on a small island in the midst of the Seine, surrounded with walls, of which that river bathed the foot, and accessible only by two wooden bridges. The northern side of the Seine was covered by a forest, but the southern adorned with a palace, an amphitheatre, public baths, an aqueduct, and a field of Mars. Leucetia, or Leutetia,[3] for so the city was anciently called by the Gauls, was long cherished by Julian with feelings of sincere attachment. The character of the Gauls, simple and severe, so unlike the tone of feeling found in the levity of "some high-viced city," and so perfectly in unison with his own temper, which was a stranger to effeminacy and parade, was also peculiarly calculated to conciliate his esteem.

[1] Ammian. lib. xvi. xvii. &c.

[2] See an interesting description of Paris in the time of Julian, in his Misopogon.

[3] Παρὰ τὴν φίλην Λευκετίαν, ὀνομάζουσι δὲ οὕτως οἱ Κελτοὶ τῶν Παρισιῶν τὴν πολίχνην.—Julian. in Misop. See La Bleterie, Vie de Julien.

A. D. 357. Conduct of Julian.

His disposition continued unchanged, though the robe of the philosopher was laid aside. The exercises of war were to him rather a duty than a pleasure: when he was taught the Pyrrhic dance—which formed a part of the military education of the Greeks and Romans—he thought with regret on his earlier studies, and repeated the name of Plato. Yet he evinced by his example how little the speculative lessons of the schools, which had infused into his mind the spirit of honour and the glow of heroism, had unfitted him for the occupations of active life. Trained to the most rigid frugality, taught "to spurn delights and live laborious days," he banished delicacies from his table, and contented himself with the simple fare of the common soldier, which he took in small quantities, and often standing. His sleep was short and broken at pleasure; his bed-chamber was without fire;[1] his bed was but a carpet spread on the floor; and his covering a simple skin. He frequently rose at midnight to despatch business, to visit his sentinels, and afterwards, if leisure remained, to indulge in studious pursuits. It is much to be regretted that one of the fruits of his application is lost—the history of his Gallic campaigns.[2]

Third Gallic campaign.

The season was no sooner fit for action, than Julian took the field designing effectually to reduce the Franks before the truce concluded with the Alemanni had expired. His convoys not having arrived from Aquitain, he ordered his soldiers to take a provision of biscuit for twenty days, and had already arrived at Tongres, before the enemy was aware that he had set forth from Paris. His first attack was on the Salii, the most powerful tribe of the Franks, who, being driven by the Saxons from their German possessions, had fixed their habitations in Batavia[3] and Toxandria.[4] Pouring upon the astonished tribe with extraordinary rapidity, he compelled them to submit, but treated them, it would appear, with comparative favour.

With equal speed, turning his arms against the Chamavi, another nation of the Franks, who had also fixed themselves in Gaul, he overcame them in battle, and compelled them to retire to their former settlement beyond the Rhine. The Chamavi, defeated and expelled, sued for peace, on which occasion a theatrical but interesting circumstance is said to have taken place. Julian demanded that the son of their king should be delivered to him as a hostage. He had no sooner expressed his wish than the king and his followers, prostrate on the ground, raised a pitiable cry, exclaiming that he required impossibilities—that they could not revive the dead. Deep silence then testified their anguish, till the aged monarch expressed the bitterness

[1] Misopogon.

[2] Liban. Orat. iv.

[3] Batavia then comprehended the islands formed by the several branches of the Rhine, from the fort of Skenk to the sea. Modern Holland, therefore, does not exactly correspond with ancient Batavia.

[4] The country called Toxandria began about a league from Maestricht, and extended about twenty leagues along the Meuse, where are situated at present Bois-le-duc, Breda, and Antwerp.

of his regret that his own domestic misfortunes should entail ruin upon his people also. In the height of this affliction and despair, the young prince, who, it was thought, had been slain in battle, suddenly appeared. While the barbarians, mute with surprise, doubted the reality of the figure which stood before their eyes, the Cæsar addressed them in terms like the following:— A. D. 358.

"Behold without doubt the prince whom you have wept. You had lost him by your fault: God and the Romans have restored him to you. Though my captive, I receive him as a hostage, and take charge of his happiness. Should you violate the faith which you have pledged, it will not be on his innocent head that I shall avenge the treachery—wild beasts alone fly upon the first person they meet, though they have received from him no injury. But remember that, sooner or later, the unjust aggressor is crushed with merited punishment, and that you will then have as enemies the Romans and myself, by whom you have been vanquished, and from whom in their compassion you now receive peace."[1] Thus did Julian inspire the barbarians with feelings of gratitude and respect, after having secured by the sword that peace which a Roman præfect had wished to obtain by a purchase derogatory to the dignity, though sanctioned by the permission of, the emperor; and which enabled the Gauls, no longer obstructed by the Chamavi, to procure from Britain those supplies of corn which their ravaged and uncultivated lands could not afford.

Expedition of Julian beyond the Rhine.

On the expiration of the truce which had been granted to the Alemanni, Julian again passed the Rhine, and spread the ravages of war over their country. Under the pressure of this distress, Suomar and Hortaire, two of their kings, came to him in person, and obtained a peace, offering to restore all their Roman prisoners. Having selected from the inhabitants of the various ruined villages and cities a list of such persons as to their knowledge had been carried into captivity, he discovered every attempt to conceal any part of the numbers wanting, with an exactness, which appeared to the barbarians the result of supernatural knowledge, and with a tone of command and menace, which alarmed them into the faithful performance of their promises. The number of prisoners whom he rescued out of the power of the barbarians amounted to twenty thousand.

Julian's third expedition beyond the Rhine was attended by circumstances which raised to a still greater height the fame which a series of victories had conferred. In consequence of the hostile movements of the enemy, having penetrated as far as Salles, where the territories of the Alemanni and Burgundians ended, wasting the country far and wide, he was enabled to prescribe his own terms of peace to six of the kings of the Alemanni. A war so meritorious in

[1] This incident is related briefly by Zosimus, largely by Eunapius (Excerp. Leg. p. 15). See La Bleterie, Vie de Julien, lib. ii.

A. D. 359. its nature, and so glorious in its result, being thus concluded, Julian put his forces into winter-quarters, and retired to Paris.

Julian repairs the cities of Gaul.

The wisdom of Julian during the intervals of public tranquillity, was no less conspicuous than his courage during the eventful seasons of war. He was sedulously employed in repairing the shattered cities of Gaul, and rebuilt in particular seven posts of consequence between Mentz and the mouth of the Rhine.[1] It formed a part of his excellent policy to require the barbarians, by the conditions of the treaties which he granted, to provide and convey the materials necessary towards the completion of works, by which themselves were curbed and overawed. Cities rose from their ruins at the expense of the very persons who had laboured to demolish them, and had exulted in the hope that the effects of their vengeance would have been permanently felt. While the barbarians contributed to the work through fear of the Cæsar, the Romans were moved by attachment to him to prosecute it with the most strenuous activity. Even the auxiliary troops, though they had always claimed exemption from tasks of this nature, vied with the Romans in undergoing the fatigue of the most laborious and servile duties. Yet the soldiers were not without subjects of complaint. Since the arrival of Julian in Gaul, they had received neither the extraordinary donative nor their regular pay, and it required all the conciliatory arts and eloquence of the Cæsar, denied as he was even the power of recompensing merit, to silence the clamours and mutiny which the parsimoniousness of the emperor had caused.[2] To prevent the disastrous consequences of scarcity, arising from the suspension of tillage, which the ravages of war had induced, it was the particular care of Julian to restore the secure navigation of the Rhine. In consequence of his measures six hundred ships,[3] having made several voyages to the neighbouring coasts, returned with large supplies of corn,—a circumstance calculated to give a favourable idea of the state of agriculture in Britain. By these wise measures the province of Gaul felt again the impulse and the blessings of industry, and presented a picture of established security and rising wealth.[4] The administration of Julian was marked by a strict adherence to justice, tempered with mildness and clemency. Before he departed on his campaigns, he referred to the governors of provinces the parties who had been brought before his tribunal, to be judged according to the rigour of the law; but he enjoined these officers to defer till his return the execution of sentences, which he then revised and softened

Civil administration of Julian.

[1] Ammian. lib. xviii. c. ii.; Liban. Orat. x. p. 279.

[2] Ammian. lib. xvii. c. ix.

[3] Julian, Orat. ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 280. If we compute the 600 corn ships of Julian at only seventy tons each, they were capable of exporting 120,000 quarters (see Arbuthnot's Weights and Measures, p. 237); and the country which could bear so large an exportation must already have attained an improved state of agriculture.—Gibbon, Decline and Fall, &c. c. xix.

[4] Liban. Orat. Parent. in Imp. Julian. c. xxxviii.

on the principles of natural equity, and by the dictates of a humane disposition. Careful to require in all cases unquestionable evidence in order to convict, and to avoid attaching the weight of proof to mere warmth of assertion, he checked the vehemence of Delphidius, who prosecuted on a charge of extortion Numerius, a former governor of Narbonese Gaul.—"Who will ever be guilty," exclaimed the fiery advocate, "if it be sufficient to deny?" "And who," replied the Cæsar, "will ever be innocent, if it be sufficient to affirm?"[1] A. D. 359.

But, although inclined to lenient measures, he had the firmness, when occasion required it, to discharge the duties of justice against those who, when appointed to administer it, had violated its laws. Such persons, in consequence, assailed him with the falsest calumnies, or exercised against him the more subtle and secret arts of a malice, which put on the disguise of admiration itself, in order to excite with keener edge the jealousy of the emperor. Nor was it in his judicial capacity alone that Julian evinced the sincerity of his regard for the welfare of the province which had been consigned to his care. The receipts of the public treasury were examined, and the means of alleviating the landed proprietor attentively considered. Florentius, Prætorian præfect of Gaul, an oppressor insensible to pity or to shame, had insisted on the levy of an extraordinary tax, which Julian, having demonstrated it to be unnecessary and vexatious, resolutely rejected. The præfect, though checked at first by this vigorous conduct, sent a new superdiction for his signature, which he indignantly cast to the ground. "How," he himself writes, "could a disciple of Plato and Aristotle act otherwise than I have acted? Could I abandon the wretched subjects to robbers, who by unworthy acts have already reduced them to the last extremity? A tribune, who deserts his post, which he could not retain without the immediate loss of his life, is punished with death, and even deprived of the rites of sepulture: how then can I have the meanness to abandon the post of defending these unhappy men against such oppressors? As God has placed me in this post, so will he assist me. Should I be doomed to suffer, the testimony of a good conscience is no small consolation. Would that the gods gave to me a counsellor like the excellent Sallust! If I should be superseded, I shall submit to it without repining. It is better to act well for a short time, than ill for a long time."[2] Sallust here mentioned, was a meritorious officer, who had gained the intimate friendship and almost filial reverence of Julian by the integrity which dictated, and the delicacy which recommended his counsels, and who had been recalled by the intrigues of the ministers who surrounded the jealous emperor. The complaints of Florentius were not effectual, so that Julian diminished even the ancient impositions which were too heavy for a distressed province, the prey as well of the barbarian as of the Roman, of the foreign and the domestic plunderer.

His interview with Florentius.

[1] Ammian. lib. xviii. c. i.

[2] Julian, Ep. ad Oribas.

A. D. 359. Jealousy of Constantius and his ministers against Julian.

While the military and civil measures of Julian excited the dread of the barbarians, whom he was sent to repress, and the admiration of the provincials, whom he laboured to organize and protect, they were obscured and ridiculed by the courtly buffoons, who studied the humours and inflamed the passions of the deluded Constantius. The eunuchs had at first opposed his promotion: they now decried the qualities which it had served so conspicuously to display. The coarsest raillery was directed against the uncouthness of his person, and awkwardness of his manner.[1] The unassuming narratives of his great exploits were represented as the rhetorical inventions of a loquacious Greek pedant. But so far was the force of truth from being suppressed by the artifices of affected contempt, that the emperor himself, with most extravagant vanity, was desirous of placing on his own brows the laurels which the Cæsar had reaped: his arrangements, his courage, his ability during a conflict, in which he was not even present, were celebrated in an edict, from which the name of Julian was wholly omitted. But a piece of absurdity so palpable was but ill calculated to calm the secret apprehensions which, excited by his own jealousy, were carefully nurtured by the intriguers who infested his palace. The workings of hatred became at length more apparent by a step most insidiously contrived to effect the ultimate ruin of Julian. While the Cæsar was still in winter quarters at Paris, he was surprised by the arrival of Decentius, charged with peremptory orders from the emperor to bring away from the army the Batavians and other auxiliaries, and three hundred men selected out of each of the remaining bands, that this large body might march without delay against the Persians. By a message which commanded him to give up the flower of his troops—the veterans whom he had trained and led to victory—Julian was reduced to the alternative, either of drawing upon himself the resentment of Constantius if he refused to attend to it; or, of being left to the mercy of the barbarians if he complied with it. In this dilemma, he resolved to obey, but at the same time to resign the title of Cæsar, and to return to private life. He pointed out, however, the breach of public faith which the execution of the mandate would cause. The greater part of the auxiliaries, raised in Gaul and Germany, had engaged in the Roman service upon condition that they should not be obliged to pass the Alps; and the violation of an article, which had always been positively stipulated by the people beyond the Rhine, would naturally tend to annihilate all confidence for the future. No attention was paid to the remonstrances of Julian. Discontent arose among the forces, terror among the inhabitants: the former were incensed at being torn from the general to whom they were devoted through the remembrance of kindness

Part of the forces of Julian recalled from Gaul. A. D. 360.

[1] In odium venit cum victoriis suis capella, non homo; ut hirsutum Julianum carpentes, appellantesque loquacem talpam, et purpuratam simiam, litterionem Græcum, &c.—Ammian.

and of glory, and the lands to which they were attached by ties of habit and affection, in order to march, "with many a weary step, and many a groan," into distant regions of the east; the latter were filled with consternation, lest their territories, unprotected by the veterans, to which they owed their renovated prosperity, should be again exposed to the irruptions of the Germans, and replunged in all the horrors of war and desolation. The wives of the soldiers, showing their infants at the breast, conjured them again not to desert the objects of their love. A. D. 360.

Discontents of the soldiery.

Julian, destitute of trusty counsellors, was anxious to confer with Lupicinus, the general of the cavalry, and with the præfect Florentius. But the former was absent in Britain to check the incursions of the Scots and Picts; the latter, who, it was commonly reported, had induced the emperor to adopt the measure, was at Vienna, where he persisted to remain, notwithstanding the pressing solicitation of the Cæsar. Decentius, fearful lest the outcries which were heard in all quarters, and the libels against Constantius, which were privately dispersed among the soldiery, should lead to some seditious movement, prevailed on Julian to give orders for the immediate departure of the troops. Moved by the distress of the soldiers, who bitterly complained that they were banished like criminals into the most remote parts of the earth, while their wives, children, and relations would be carried into captivity by the barbarians, he supplied them with a sufficient number of public carriages to transport their families. When the forces were ready to depart, Julian warned Decentius of the danger of suffering them to march through Paris, where he was still in winter quarters; but Decentius, on the other hand, apprehensive lest the refusal of a last interview should lead to mutiny, neglected his judicious advice. On the approach of the troops the Cæsar having received them with peculiar kindness, ascended a tribunal in a plain before the gates of the city, and made a long and studied harangue, in which, after having recalled and extolled their achievements, he encouraged them to submit cheerfully to the commands of the emperor, who had the will and the means to reward their merit. After this address, the soldiers preserved a mournful silence, while the crowds conjured them not to abandon a country which they had delivered by their courage. Julian then entertained, with every mark of the tenderest friendship, the chief officers, who returned to their quarters full of anxiety and affliction at the prospect of being reft as well from their native homes, as from a general so affectionately interested in their welfare.[1] Their feelings found a corresponding tone in the breasts of the soldiers. Amid the festivity allowed on the eve of departure, the only resource by which their misfortunes could be averted, was discussed; their passionate murmurs and mutual exhortations were gradually increased by the effect of wine, and by the cir-

Julian proclaimed emperor.

[1] Ammian. lib. xx.; Liban. Orat. xii.; Julian, ad Athen. &c.

A. D. 360. culation of secret libels. Their feelings being thus wound up, at the hour of midnight they flew to arms, hastened to the palace, and with tumultuous cries proclaimed Julian Augustus. Julian ordered the gates of his palace to be closed, and refused to show himself to the impatient multitude till the ensuing morning. At the dawn of day, the soldiers forcibly entered the palace, and again saluted Julian with the title of emperor. Julian endeavoured to dissuade them from their purpose, reminded them of their allegiance, and promised that he would prevail upon Constantius to countermand the order which had occasioned their sedition. But the soldiers, conscious of their danger if left to the mercy of the emperor, against whom they had rebelled, were at length so transported with rage as to threaten the Cæsar with immediate death if he continued to decline the dignity which they were eager to bestow.

Having yielded to this menace, he was lifted upon a shield, amidst the loud acclamations of the troops, and a golden collar, enriched with precious stones, supplied the place of a diadem. A donative was then promised to the soldiers, and Julian shut himself up in his palace, with the appearance of the utmost grief. How far such grief was sincere,[1] can hardly be determined. A high sense of honour and justice characterised his conduct; yet ambition held strong sway over his mind, and resentment may, perhaps, have had its influence. Julian himself calls the deities to witness, that he was unacquainted, till the close of the evening, with the intentions of the army. Yet it may be doubted whether his credulous reliance on certain dreams and predictions, which assured him that he would one day become emperor, had not some effect in leading him to expect and desire a result, under existing circumstances so natural; and in inducing him, perhaps almost in such a manner as to escape his own consciousness, to court popularity with greater art and assiduity. On first receiving intelligence of the conspiracy, he retired to rest, and afterwards related to his friends, that he had seen in a vision the genius of the empire, holding, as represented by paintings, the horn of abundance, and complaining that he had long waited at his door, and had often been forced to retire. On hearing the clamours of the soldiers, he besought Jupiter to signify his will, and he was directed by an omen to yield to the entreaties of the army. In these instances may be discerned that bias towards superstition, which is so rarely untinctured by duplicity.

Considerations on Julian's conduct.

His vision.

The resolution with which Julian rejected the advice of his soldiers

[1] The Christian writers, Gregory Nazianzenus (pp. 58, 67), Philostorgius (lib. vi.), Theodoret (lib. ii. c. xxviii.), and Sozomen (p. 18), seem to have thought that he was privy to the designs of the soldiery. Zonaras says that he privately gained the officers, who, by his direction, excited the soldiers to threaten him as they did, that he might appear to have accepted the purple in order to save his life (p. 18). See Univ. Hist. vol. xvi. p. 219, note x.

to put to death the partisans of Constantius who had opposed his elevation, and the generosity with which he forgave a eunuch, who, it is said, was bribed to murder him, are traits calculated to confirm the high opinion entertained of his character. No blood was shed: Florentius fled from Gaul; Lupicinus, on returning from Britain, was arrested, but experienced humane treatment. A. D. 360.

His letter to Constantius.

After having assembled his troops, and exhorted them to protect him whom they themselves had exalted to the imperial dignity, he wrote, in his name and that of the army, a conciliatory epistle to the emperor, which he sent by two of his chief officers, Pentadius and Eutherius. Assuming only the name of Cæsar, he detailed the circumstances of his promotion, and solicited that he might be permitted to enjoy the title which he had been forced to accept; he allowed the supremacy of Constantius, to whom he promised to send yearly Spanish horses and some foreign troops, and to leave the nomination of the Prætorian præfect. But he reserved to himself the appointment of the other officers; and, at the same time, represented that the state of Gaul was such, that so far from being able to spare any of the inhabitants of her wasted regions, she needed the assistance of the other provinces.[1]

Negotiation between Julian and Constantius.

The ambassadors of Julian met the emperor at Cæsarea, in Cappadocia. The letters, with which they were charged, transported him with inordinate rage, and he dismissed them, trembling, from his presence, without interrogating or listening to them. In the height of his fury he hesitated whether he should prosecute his expedition against the Persians, or march without delay against his rival. On calmer thoughts, he despatched Leonas, his quæstor, into Gaul, with a threatening letter, in which, after annulling Julian's civil and military appointments, and nominating new officers, he required him to lay down the title which had been conferred by rebels, and, as he valued his own safety and that of his friends, to rest satisfied with the rank of Cæsar, which he was permitted to retain. Julian gave audience to Leonas, sitting on his tribunal, surrounded by the soldiers and people, purposely assembled, and the quæstor read with a loud voice the letter of Constantius. Julian then declared that he was willing to resign his new dignity, if he obtained the consent of the soldiery, by whom it had been bestowed. The words were scarcely uttered, when reiterated acclamations confirmed to him the title of Augustus. When that part of the letter was read, in which Julian was accused of ingratitude towards the emperor, who observed, that he found him an orphan, and with all the tenderness of a father had taken care of his infancy and education. "An orphan!" cried the indignant Julian, "does it become the assassin of my father and of

[1] Ammianus adds that, besides this public letter, Julian added a private one, filled with cutting reproaches, which he had not seen, and would have thought it unbecoming to insert in his history.—Lib. xx. 167.

A. D. 360. all my family, to reproach me that I was left an orphan? Does he wish to reopen wounds which are scarcely closed?" The assembly being dismissed, Leonas, who had been treated with the attention due to his rank and merit, was sent back with a letter, in which Julian expressed without disguise the feelings which he had long smothered.

Julian's fourth and fifth expedition beyond the Rhine.

In the mean time, while the emperor was engaged in the Persian war, Julian passed the Rhine at Tricesima,[1] and fell suddenly on the Attuarii, a tribe of Franks, inhabiting the present countries of Cleves and Munster, who had repeatedly invaded the Gallic frontier. He slaughtered great numbers of them, and compelled the rest to submit.

A. D. 360–361. Having spent three months in this expedition, he visited the fortresses along the Rhine as far as Basle, recovered and fortified some places which were still in the power of the enemy, passed through Besançon, and took up his winter quarters at Vienna. Here he celebrated the fifth year which had elapsed since his elevation to the rank of Cæsar, and assumed the diadem, adorned with pearls and precious stones, which was borne by the emperors since Constantine.[2] But the Alemanni, though subdued by arms and bound by treaties, still evinced a disposition to avail themselves of every opportunity to frustrate his design of imparting permanent tranquillity to Gaul. They again broke into that province on the side of Rhætia, and recommenced the work of devastation. Radomarius, one of their kings, (whose country lay near Basle,) an extremely crafty and dangerous man, pretended to feel the deepest respect for Julian, on whom he lavished the most lofty titles, and at the same time holding communications with Constantius, secretly fomented the hostilities of which he affected to complain. Julian, having intercepted a letter which disclosed his dissimulation, resolved to use artifice against artifice, caused him to be arrested at a banquet, which he imprudently accepted, and banished him into Spain. Julian had already despatched against the Alemanni, Lebano, one of his commanders, who was killed, and his troops routed. He advanced, therefore, in person, passed the Rhine for the last time, surprised the barbarians, destroyed great numbers, and obliged the rest, after having restored their booty,

[1] Tricesima is supposed by some to be Cleves, by others Kellen.

[2] About this time died Helena, his wife. Her pregnancy had been rendered fruitless, and her days abridged, by the detestable arts which Eusebia, it is said (though the assertion is irreconcilable with the known character of the empress), caused to be employed, when delivered of a son. Obstetrix corrupta mercede, mox natum præsecto plusquam convenerat umbilico necavit. (Ammian. lib. xvi. c. x.) When she accompanied to Rome the emperor and his wife, the latter quæsitum venenum bibere per fraudem illexit, ut quotiescunque concepisset, immaturum abjiceret partum. (Ibid.) Her body was sent to Rome, and interred near that of her sister Constantina. (Ibid. lib. xxi. c. i.) She is styled on medals Flavia Julia Helena, and on some has the title of Augusta. Julian did not remarry. Pagan writers speak of his chastity in a tone of panegyric, which seems to derive confirmation from the silence of the Christians. See La Bleterie, Vie de Julien, p. 109.

to receive peace on the conditions which he chose to prescribe, and which they durst not violate during his lifetime. A. D. 361.

In the mean time, the active and formidable preparations of Constantius indicated, in a manner not to be mistaken, that he was unalterably determined on war. Julian, after the failure of several messages, hopeless of effecting by negotiation any amicable settlement of their dispute, ventured at length to throw off the mask which he had hitherto worn, and openly committed the care of his life to the gods. At this critical period he bent his mind towards the most effectual means of securing his newly-acquired power. He perceived the high importance of seizing by a sudden movement the province of Illyricum, which was able both to furnish his army with recruits, and to enable him to sustain the expenditure of the war, by the resources which its mines of gold and silver might supply. Accordingly he opened this design to his assembled troops, and, after expatiating on the advantages which would result from the attempt, however daring, conjured them to be mindful of that strictness of discipline, and that regard for moderation towards the people, which had reflected upon them more lustre than the most splendid military achievements. No sooner was his animated address concluded, than the same soldiers, whom the prospect of leaving Gaul had roused to rebellion against Constantius, now, filled with enthusiasm, evinced by their unanimous acclamations, and by the loud clashing of their shields. their readiness to follow the fortunes of Julian to the farthest extremities of the world. They then proceeded to take the oath of allegiance to his person, and, pointing their naked swords to their throats, swore with dreadful imprecations, that, devoted to his service, they would shed for him, if necessity should require it, the last drop of their blood. Nebridius alone, who held at that time the office of Prætorian præfect, courageously refused to enter into this engagement. Raised to his dignity by the sole favour of Constantius, he had the nobleness of mind to declare, that he would not bind himself to act against his benefactor and master. It was with difficulty that he escaped falling a sacrifice to the armed crowd, from whose fury he was screened by Julian, who threw over the præfect his imperial mantle, and afterwards allowed him to retire unmolested into Hetruria. His disinterestedness and loyalty, though unfeelingly disparaged by an ancient orator, cannot but obtain their full meed of praise from the impartiality of the modern historian. The office of Nebridius was afterwards conferred on Sallust, who had thus an opportunity of practically displaying, in his own administration, those principles of moderation and justice which had before distinguished his instructions.

Open rupture with Constantius.

Plan for the seizure of Illyricum.

Julian, now fully assured of the fidelity of his troops, divided them in such a manner, that their numerical strength might appear large beyond reality, and that they might spread the terror of their arms

Julian makes himself master of Illyricum.

A. D. 361. in a greater variety of directions. Twenty thousand men were sent into Pannonia, under the conduct of Nevitta, Jovius, and Jovinus, and ordered to march by different routes: the remaining three thousand, which completed his army, were commanded by Julian himself; all were appointed to meet at Sirmium, as the place of rendezvous. At the head of his select band, Julian boldly penetrated into the Marcian forest, advanced with rapidity over mountain and morass, careless whether he passed the country of the Romans or of the barbarians; and pressing on with the greatest vigour and secrecy by land and water, after a series of the most skilful manœuvres, arrived unexpectedly at Bononia, which is but nineteen miles from Sirmium, before the enemy had any certain knowledge that he had begun his march from the banks of the Rhine. Dagalaïphus, one of his officers, hastening with a body of light infantry, immediately surprised Lucilian, who commanded the military in Illyricum, and intended, in consequence of certain confused reports, to assemble his forces. Suddenly roused from repose, seized, and thrown upon a horse, he was brought, stupified with terror, into the presence of Julian. But no sooner had he recovered his self-possession and bewildered senses, than with singular imprudence he ventured to remark to Julian, that he had rashly thrown himself, with a small number of men, into the midst of his adversaries. "Reserve for Constantius these prudent counsels," replied the conqueror with a bitter smile; "when I gave you my purple to kiss, I wished not to receive your advice, but to dispel your fears." Sensible that his fortune, and perhaps his life, was placed on a desperate cast, Julian continued with undiminished speed, energy, and boldness, to urge on the execution of his project. As he approached the suburbs of Sirmium, he was received with every demonstration of joy by the soldiers and a promiscuous crowd of people, who led him, with due honours, to the imperial palace. Departing on the dawn of the third day, he seized without opposition the important pass of Succi, a very narrow and precipitous defile between Mount Hæmus and Mount Rhodope, which separates the provinces of Thrace and Illyria. Having intrusted the defence of this post to Nevitta, who, with the other commanders, had ably effected, in ten or eleven days' time, the designed junction at Sirmium, he returned to Neissus, where he employed his time in levying fresh troops from all quarters, and in writing to several cities of Greece, among the rest, Athens, Lacedæmon, and Corinth, to explain and justify, with a degree of study and solicitude which evinced the weight he attached to public esteem, the motives which induced him to revolt against Constantius.[1] The power of Julian soon

Appears before Sirmium.

[1] The only one of these epistles which still remains is that written to the Athenians—an eloquent composition. We have also a few lines of a letter addressed to the Corinthians, when he was already in possession of a great part of the empire.

became widely felt. Taurus and Florentius, who were stigmatized in the public acts of the year by the title of the "fugitive consuls,"[1] abandoned the præfectures of Italy and Illyricum, over which they had been respectively placed, and hastened to acquaint the emperor with the imminent dangers which threatened his empire. The deserted provinces submitted to Julian, the master of Italy; he addressed to the senate of Rome an epistle, which contained invectives so severe against the vices of Constantius, that the assembly exclaimed with one accord, as if Julian had been present, "We beseech you to respect the author of your fortune:"—an expression which may, perhaps, be considered as evincing their courage and gratitude, though it might be interpreted to mean the choice of Julian as Cæsar was a blessing conferred on them, and was sufficient to throw the many faults of Constantius into the shade.[2] A. D. 361.

Preparations of Constantius.

Constantius was no sooner apprized of the speed and success of Julian, than, availing himself of the retreat of the Persian monarch, against whom he was engaged, he prepared to attack his rival—a task the difficulties of which he affected to treat with the utmost contempt. The progress of Julian, hitherto so prosperous, was suddenly interrupted by an event, which seemed likely to be attended with considerable embarrassment and danger. Having found at Sirmium two legions and a cohort of archers attached to the cause of Constantius, he had determined to remove them to Gaul: on the march, however, they resolved, with common feelings of discontent, to occupy, in concert with the inhabitants, Aquileia, a town of the greatest strength on the side of Illyricum, and the key of Italy and Gaul. On the first intelligence of their refractory movement, Jovinus was ordered to lead back a part of the army into Italy, and to form the siege of this almost impregnable post. But whilst the legionaries defended themselves with obstinate courage, the forces of Julian were weakened by this diversion, and his situation would have been rendered perilous, had not the further progress of civil war been unexpectedly prevented by the death of Constantius. On his arrival at Tarsus he was seized with a slight fever, occasioned perhaps by intense mental anxiety, which he thought might be reduced by exercise. Accordingly he proceeded to Mopsucrene, a small town on the borders of Cilicia, where, by the increasing heat and violence of his distemper, he was obliged to stop. All remedies proving ineffectual, he expired in the forty-fifth year of his age and the twenty-fourth of his reign. Before he closed his life, he is said to have named Julian his successor—a circumstance which is perhaps explicable on the supposition that his extreme solicitude for the safety of Faustina,

Death of Constantius, November 3, A. D. 361.

[1] Zosim. p. 712.

[2] Quæ cùm, Tertullo administrante adhuc præfecturam, recitarentur in Curiâ, eminuit Nobilitatis cum speciosâ fiduciâ benignitas grata. Exclamatum est enim, in unam cunctorum sententiâ congruente: "Auctori tuo reverentiam rogamus."

A. D. 361. whom he had lately married, on the death of Eusebia, and whom he now left with child, may, in the moment of parting anguish, have softened down into tenderness the angry feelings, which it was become useless to indulge, and urged him to assume the right of bestowing that which it was no longer in his power to refuse.

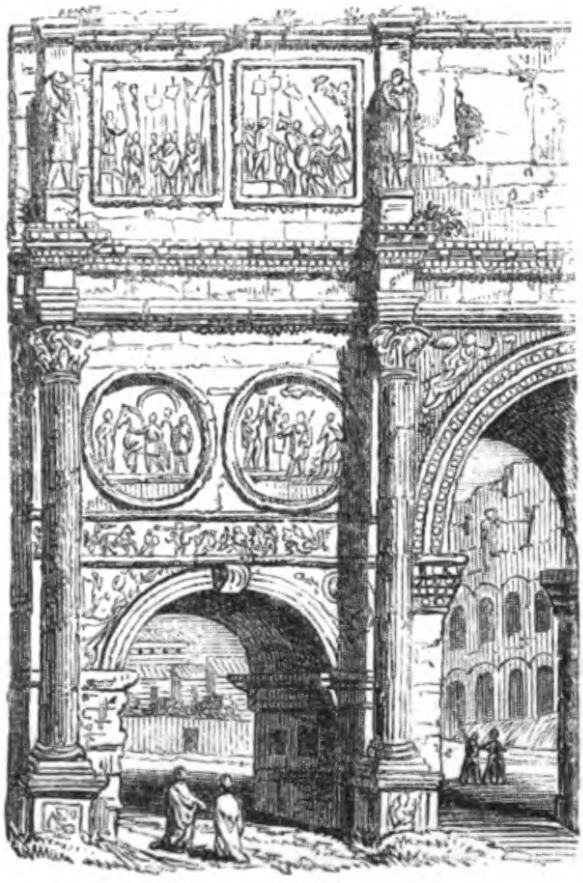
His character.

The character of Constantius was marked by weakness which unfitted him for the station in which he was destined to move. The slave of his eunuchs, who retained their ascendency over him from his earliest years, he suffered desert to be neglected, whilst appointments were bestowed on men, who purchased the favour of his ministers, and who, in order to realize the profits which had tempted them to incur this expense, grievously oppressed the wretched people whom they were sent to govern and protect. Surrounded by heartless flatterers, he had not perhaps the opportunity of being convinced of the inexpediency and injustice of the measures which they suggested or approved. His capacity was limited, his vanity inordinate. Jealous of his power, and suspicious of danger, he lent a ready ear to informers, who prompted him to acts of atrocious cruelty, to which he appears not to have been naturally inclined. His proneness to mercy, except in cases of treason, where fear smothered feeling, though generally believed to be sincere, has been represented as feigned, but it has been so represented by an enemy. He was not, however, without virtues, which might have produced for him an unsullied reputation in private life, where his faults, perhaps, would not have been so glaringly exhibited. Frugal in his diet and temperate in his habits, he was remarkable for a chastity which suspicion has not aspersed. His filial deference is also an amiable trait, which redeems some of his failings. On the whole he swells the catalogue of princes, whose good qualities have been repressed and whose defects elicited by the arts of evil counsellors.

Julian's entry into Constantinople, December 11.

Upon intelligence of the death of his rival, Julian hastened to Constantinople, the place of his birth, into which he entered in triumph amid general rejoicings. The crowds which gathered round him with all the eagerness of curiosity were surprised at the small stature and youthful appearance of the conqueror of barbarian kings and nations, whose fame was diffused through the vast extent of territory which had witnessed his extraordinary success. The attempt of the intriguer Eusebius and his adherents to oppose his career and maintain their own influence by electing another emperor, were rejected by the army, who immediately acquainted Julian with their readiness to acknowledge his authority, which was thus established without bloodshed. The remains of the deceased emperor were brought to Constantinople, and solemnly interred in the church of the Holy Apostles. Julian accompanied the funeral procession on foot, without a diadem, in a mourning habit. The tears which he shed seemed to evince that reflections on benefits conferred, predominating over the

remembrance of past wrongs, had drawn forth the effusions of a feeling heart; yet, it cannot be denied, that policy, rather than sincerity, may have dictated this apparent burst of grief. The legionaries who occupied Aquileia, on learning the death of Constantius, submitted to the new emperor and obtained his pardon. Thus was Julian left in his thirty-second year sole master of the Roman empire. A. D. 361. Universally acknowledged emperor.



Arch of Constantine. *Overbeke, Les Restes de l'Ancienne Rome.*



Julian and Helena sacrificing to Isis. *Museum Florentinum.*

CHAPTER XVII.

JULIANUS.

FROM A. D. 361 TO A. D. 363.

A. D. 361. Chamber of justice.

JULIAN no sooner found his power established on a secure basis, than he applied himself to the correction of numerous abuses, against which the public voice had been raised, with a degree of zeal which appeared to have derived an additional stimulus from the remembrance of private wrongs. A chamber of justice[1] was instituted and fixed at Chalcedon to investigate the conduct of such as were thought to have discharged improperly the authority with which they had been intrusted under the preceding emperor. But some of the persons selected as judges were themselves of too obnoxious a character to inspire respect for this tribunal. Their proceedings, too, were marked by an excess of severity, which sometimes proved fatal to innocence itself, or, at least, which confounded the different shades of criminality. The consul Taurinus, for instance, whose only guilt consisted in his fidelity to the deceased prince, was condemned to banishment, and

[1] Ammian. lib. xxii. c. iii.; Liban. Orat. Parent. c. lxxiv.

the acts of his trial were dated from his consulate; an ill-judged and unnecessary measure, which was calculated to excite indignation, as it seemed to reflect new disgrace on an office which had not yet wholly lost its attractions. But "Justice herself wept and taxed the emperor with ingratitude," to use the terms of the impartial Ammianus, when Ursulus,[1] who, during his office of treasurer in Gaul, had opportunely assisted Julian in opposition to the known wishes of Constantius, was put to death. It was in vain that the emperor endeavoured to clear himself from the deep odium and execrations which so unjustifiable a sentence had excited, by denying that he had ever consented to his execution, and by restoring to his daughter a part of his confiscated property. He represented the unfortunate man as the victim of a soldiery, provoked at expressions which he had dropped against their want of courage. A very different impression was produced by the signal punishment of some notorious informers. Paul, called The Chain,[2] whose very name could scarcely be uttered without a shudder of horror, was consigned to the flames. Capital punishment was also inflicted on the eunuch Eusebius, the chamberlain of Constantius, who, after being raised from the most abject condition, had exerted a complete and pernicious ascendency over the mind of his master. A. D. 361.

Reform of the palace.

The plans of reform, which Julian had adopted, were next extended to the imperial household, into which the wasteful dissipation of Constantius had introduced every refinement of luxury. Yet here, as in other instances, an alloy of inconsiderate rigour is said to have mixed itself with measures of unquestionable utility. A thousand cooks, with as many cupbearers, and a still greater number of barbers, besides eunuchs as countless as swarms of summer insects,[3] drained, in haughty indolence, the public revenue. Julian, having occasion for a barber, one so splendidly arrayed presented himself, that he exclaimed with astonishment, "It was a barber I sent for, not a receiver-general of the finances."[4] This man, being asked the value of his appointment, replied, that he received a daily allowance for twenty persons and as many horses, without reckoning a considerable annual pension and many profitable perquisites. The indignation of the imperial philosopher was aroused, and he soon cleared his palace of inmates so useless and so expensive.[5] His love of simplicity, how-

[1] Ursuli verò necem, largitionum Comitis, ipsa mihi videtur flesse Justitia, Imperatorem arguens ut ingratum.—Lib. xxii. c. iii. [2] See above, p. .

[3] Εὐνούχους, ὑπὲρ τὰς μυίας παρὰ τοῖς ποιμέσιν ἐν ἦρι.—Liban. Comp. Socrat. lib. iii.; Zonar. lib. xiii.

[4] "Ego," inquit, "non rationalem jussi, sed tonsorem acciri." (Ammian. lib. xxii. c. iv.) In Zonaras, Κουρέα ζητεῖν, εἶπεν ἀλλ' οὐ συγκλητικόν. (Lib. xiii.)

[5] The officers called *agentes in rebus* were reduced from 10,000 to seventeen (Liban. Orat. xii.); and the *curiosi*, whose employment was to give information to the emperor of what happened in the provinces, were dismissed, and their office suppressed. (Ammian lib. xxii.)

A. D. 361. ever, so strongly, and, doubtless, so intentionally contrasted with the ostentatious taste of his predecessor, was blamed by those, who considered it as a violent extreme, liable, by stripping power of its glittering externals, to deprive it of much of its influence on the feelings of the multitude. It was a juster subject of censure, that his indiscriminate severity struck with poverty and disgrace, not merely the profligate menial, by whom that treatment was amply deserved, but the faithful domestic, whose long services had a claim to indulgence, if not to gratitude.

Conduct of Julian towards the senate.

The conduct of Julian towards the senate was equally different from that observed in the preceding reign. Constantius had never condescended to visit their assemblies, to consult their opinions, nor even to offer them a seat when summoned to receive his commands. Julian, on the contrary, who wished to appear observant of the forms of the old republic, was assiduous in his attendance at their deliberations, allowed them to enjoy the full liberty of discussion, and took pleasure in giving scope to the studied variety of his own oratorical talents. It has been incorrectly asserted, however, that he was the first and last of the Roman emperors, since the death of Julius Cæsar, who made harangues in the senate.[1] Averse to the haughtiness of despotism, he refused the title of Dominus, or Lord,[2] to which habit had at length familiarized the degenerate sons of the republic. So great was the reverence which he felt or affected to feel for the office of consul, that he fined himself ten pounds of gold on being reminded that he had trespassed on its jurisdiction by the manumission of some slaves during the Circensian games, in presence of that magistrate.[3]

Amelioration of the laws.

His attention was also bestowed in the most useful manner on the simplification and improvement of the ancient laws. Subtilties, the web of chicanery, were removed, and that degree of precision introduced which might enable every citizen to ascertain the nature and extent of his public duties. His moderation and disinterestedness towards the provinces in refusing to receive crowns of a value likely to prove oppressive, evinced his sincerity in the contempt for riches which he was fond of expressing. He relieved, moreover, many celebrated cities of Greece, and diminished the burthen of some grievous imposts.

Military improvements.

The cares of Julian in civil matters, though eminently great and unremitted, proved no bar to his military exertions. Experienced officers were appointed to important posts, and strict discipline was established in the various ranks of the army. The towns of Thrace were fortified; the garrisons on the banks of the Danube were effectively supported; nations the most rude and distant were awed into

[1] Socrat. lib. iii. c. i. See, however, Tacit. Annal. lib. xiii. c. iii.; Gibbon, Decline and Fall, &c. c. xxii.

[2] Julian. Misop. p. 313.

[3] Multa quædam correxit in melius, ambagibus circumcisis, indicantia liquidè quid juberent fieri vel vetarent.—Ammian.

respect. The Indians and the inhabitants of the island of Ceylon[1] had sent ambassadors loaded with presents, and had courted the friendship of the Romans. The Persians were the only nation who still made a show of resistance. It would have been easy, however, to have induced them, spent with a protracted war, of which the advantages had been neglected, to entertain more pacific sentiments. But the stirring spirit of Julian, still full of youth, and impatient of an inactive life, longed to break into new fields of warlike enterprise. It was proposed to him to undertake to chastise the Goths, a deceitful and treacherous nation. But to tame the power of Persia, which had so frequently scattered terror through the armies and the territories of the empire, was an object better suited to the loftiness of his views. Preparations were accordingly made in a manner commensurate with the extent of the undertaking; and neither the outcries of the envious nor the warnings of the cautious could deter him from the prosecution of a scheme, which he hoped would form a brilliant consummation to a long series of triumphs.

A. D. 362.

Persian invasion.

Suddenly raised to the possession of supreme power and universally feared, if not admired, Julian was not insensible to the feelings of pride which so remarkable a change of fortune was calculated to inspire. His views were stretched beyond the petty sphere of ordinary minds, and his plans were laid out on a scale of gigantic magnitude.[2] It is an instance, however, of the inequalities which exist in the greatest characters, that the same large and vigorous intellect which could compass projects of the widest range, should, even in the execution of them, betray the influence of the narrowest prejudices. Numerous and profuse sacrifices, far-fetched victims, and ruinous ceremonies, insipid tales, and absurd practices—all, in short, that could open an avenue to folly or to fraud,—were the preludes of an undertaking in the conduct of which strength and clearness of judgment were so conspicuously manifested.

Superstition of Julian.

After having conciliated, by his liberality, the inhabitants of Constantinople, for which city, as being his native place, he felt peculiar attachment, which he demonstrated by conferring on its senate the privileges and authority enjoyed by that of ancient Rome,[3] he proceeded to visit Antioch, the pride of the east. On his way he arrived at Nicomedia, once famed for the number and magnificence of its public and private edifices, but then reduced, by the successive ravages of an earthquake and a conflagration, to a mournful heap of ashes. As he passed in silence through the ruins of seats, in which he had spent a part of his early days, and caught the well-known

He sets out for Antioch, May 15, A. D. 362.

[1] Ab usque Divis et Serendivis (Ammian. lib. xx. c. vii.); on which see the note of Valesius. See also J. Vossius in Observ. ad Pompon. Melam. lib. iii. c. vii.

[2] Prosperis Julianis elatior, ultra homines jam spirabat.—Ammian. lib. xxii. c. ix.

[3] Zosim. lib. iii.

A. D. 362. features of some former friend, he was so much affected as to be unable to refrain from tears. Nor did he fail to manifest the sincerity of his affliction, by taking measures for the reparation of the wreck which he had witnessed.

Arriving at the borders of Galatia, Julian, changing his route, proceeded to Pessinus in Phrygia, to visit the ancient temple of Cybele, whose statue had been transported to Rome by Scipio Nasica in the second Punic war. It was in this place that he composed a discourse, still extant, on the mother of the Gods, in which, after the manner of the pagan philosophers of that age, he labours to give an allegorical explanation of the fable of Atys and the worship of Cybele. He also wrote against a cynic who found fault with the conduct of Diogenes—a philosopher on whom he lavished such extravagant applause as makes it easily perceptible that he found in his own breast a flow of congenial feeling, which accident alone had drawn into a different channel.

Discourse on Cybele.

He writes against a Cynic.

On entering Cilicia he was greeted by his former fellow-student Celsus, then governor of that province, who pronounced his panegyric; for Julian, whose actions were rarely untainted with vanity, appears to have courted the suffrages of literary characters, whose eloquence could impart a durable circulation to their praises, by investing them with honourable and important posts. It was shortly after, that, impatient to enjoy the advantages which he expected to find in Antioch, he made his entry into that city for the first time, on the anniversary of the death of Adonis—an ominous moment, in the opinion of the superstitious, when the seat of princes resounded with cries of lamentation and woe. His first act was calculated to inspire a favourable sense of his magnanimity. When the magistrates came to offer their customary salutations, he had forbidden the presence of one of them named Thalassius, in consequence of his conduct towards Gallus. Many mean individuals, quick at availing themselves of a state of mind which would give sanction to their vindictive feelings, collected the next day round the emperor, enumerating various alleged wrongs which they had received from Thalassius, the enemy of the prince. Julian was too penetrating not to perceive that these were attempts to complete and profit by the ruin of a man, who, however he had merited his displeasure, might be innocent towards others: "I own," he said, "that the person you speak of has given me just cause of offence; but, on this very account, it befits you to be silent till I have received satisfaction, who am his principal enemy."[1] He then enjoined the præfect to take no notice of their complaints, till he should be reconciled with Thalassius, and shortly after a reconciliation took place. On another occasion, as he was sacrificing to Jupiter on Mount Casius, he suddenly perceived a suppliant at his feet, who implored his mercy. On being asked his name, he answered

His clemency.

[1] Ammian. lib. xxii. c. ix.

that he was Theodotus, an ancient magistrate of Hierapolis, and confessed that he had accompanied Constantius on his departure from that city, requesting with tears and low adulation, the head of the very man, before whom he now abjectly crouched, to be offered like that of Magnentius a spectacle of chastised rebellion to the public gaze. "The circumstance had been reported to me," replied Julian; "but return home in peace, freed from all fear by the clemency of one, who, agreeably to the advice of the sage, is anxious to increase the number of his friends and to diminish that of his enemies."[1] A. D. 392.

The same clement temper was evinced towards ten of his domestic guards, (the ringleaders of whom alone were banished,) who had conspired against his person. With equal leniency he condemned to simple exile from Rome, two officers convicted of having aspired to the imperial dignity. And, although he visited with capital punishment a similar attempt made by the son of that Marcellus, (the general of whose conduct in Gaul he had so much reason to complain,) yet he was so far from extending his severity to the father, that he endeavoured to soothe his grief with honorary distinctions.[2] But this merciful mood was by no means of a stable duration; for, on other occasions, Julian exercised a degree of unwarrantable and even impolitic rigour. Gaudentius, secretary to the late emperor, and another officer, were brought to Antioch laden with chains, and, shortly after, perished under the executioner, because they had manifested too much zeal and devotion in the service of their master Constantius. Thus there was nothing of a defined and equable nature in his conduct; it was alternately swayed by passion and by reflection; at one time hurried into one excess, and at another driven into the contrary extreme. A proper perception of the true medium appears almost always to have been wanting.[3]

His inconsistency.

Julian had promised to himself much gratification from his sojourn in Antioch. He imagined that a city, in which the Christians were broken into different communions, and notorious for their relaxed morals, would yield an easy acquiescence in his efforts to re-establish the ancient superstitions of idolatry. He supposed that they would not be proof against the attractive pomp of Pagan ceremonies, associated as they invariably were with spectacles of licentious extrava-

His reception at Antioch.

[1] Ammian. lib. xxii. c. xiv. A citizen of Ancyra was accused of having made for his own use a purple garment. Julian, having satisfied himself respecting the character of the supposed aspirant to the empire, bade the informer present him with a pair of purple slippers, to complete the splendour of his habit. (Ibid.)

[2] Ammian. lib. xxii. c. ix. x.; Liban. Orat. Parent. c. xcix.

[3] C'est ainsi que Julien donnoit tour à tour dans les excès contraires; plus souvent dans celui qui flattoit la vanité; plus volontiers peut-être dans celui qui satisfaisoit la vengeance; n'etant point capable de saisir le juste milieu, sinon à force de réflexions: encore les réflexions ne servoient-elles quelquefois qu'à le jetter dans l'extrémité opposée à celle qu'il vouloit éviter.—La Bleterie, Vie de Julien, liv. v.

A. D. 362. gance. He relied, moreover, on the influence of that courteous demeanour, which had been so often attended with success. His calculations were in every respect erroneous. His views and his manners were equally ill suited to the feelings and circumstances, the theory and the practice of their capital. The city of Antioch, plunged in dissipation and gaiety, yet attached to the name of Christian, which had originated within its walls, was but little inclined to reverence one who despised alike the religion which they admired, and the pleasures which they pursued. The only amusements, for which they entertained any horror, were such as had been appropriated to the worship of the heathen gods; and these were the only amusements which the severe, but superstitious, Julian, regardless of public games, was willing to countenance. Divided on points of doctrine, they were united in their opposition to a prince stigmatized as an austere and fanatical apostate from the Christian cause, which was remarkably evident in his conflict with Sapor. It has been well remarked, that the only point of resemblance between the character of the emperor and that of the inhabitants, was a spirit of caustic raillery;[1] and, this being liberally exercised, served but to increase their mutual aversion. Add to this, that his affability produced but little effect, because it was destitute of that graceful dignity of deportment which is essential to maintain respect.

Manners of the inhabitants.

Temple of Daphne.

At a small distance from Antioch, on a spot which bore the classic name of Daphne, stood an oracular temple of Apollo, famed alike for its antiquity and magnificence.[2] Supported by a range of columns of exquisite beauty and elegance, and decorated with a rich, but tasteful, profusion of precious gems, it was embosomed in immense groves of cypress and laurel, by which the rays of the sun were excluded. In the recess of the shrine, between the images of Diana and of the Muses, rose an enormous marble statue of the presiding deity, of a workmanship so admirable that it was thought worthy to be compared with the master-piece of Phidias. The "youth of light" was represented as holding in one hand his lyre, and in another a cup of gold, from which he appeared, by his bending attitude, to pour forth a libation to the Earth, and as it were to supplicate the goddess to resign the too timid Daphne, whom she had stolen from his enamoured pursuit, received into her bosom, and transformed into the fabled laurel. The captivating beauty of scenery which vied with the charms of the vale of Tempe—the luxurious serenity of the climate and the coolness of numberless streams, whose crystal, untouched by the sunbeams, glided silently through depths of shade, variegated with flowers and shrubs which filled the air with perfumed

[1] La Bleterie, Vie de Julien.

[2] On the grove and Temple of Daphne, see Strabo, lib. xvi.; Liban. Næn. pp. 185, 188; Antioch. Orat. xi.; Sozomen, lib. v. &c.; Gibbon, Decline and Fall, &c. c. xxiii.

sweetness—all combined to lend enchantment to the spot, and to render it the favourite haunt of voluptuousness. The profligacy to which it had given rise, (for the coyness of the shrinking Daphne had no imitators,) had been notorious, and indeed proverbial, till the time of the Cæsar Gallus, who, in order to counteract the evil, removed thither the body of the martyr Babylas, formerly bishop of Antioch, and consecrated there a Christian church. Since that period the debauchery diminished, and with it the fame of the oracle died away; for the priests were, doubtless, deterred from practising their frauds through fear of detection, or unable to gratify their cupidity through want of support. A. D. 362.

Pagan rites.

Such had been the state of the place for about twelve years, when Julian came to Antioch. The day on which the festival of Apollo was to be celebrated shortly afterwards arrived. The emperor, who took the most intense interest in the rite, hastened to be present. His mind, which glowed with anticipation, pictured forth, as he himself confesses, magnificent trains of victims with libations, and dances, and incense, and bands of youth arrayed in white and resplendent robes.[1] His own account of his ludicrous disappointment is too characteristic to be omitted. "I entered the temple," he writes, "but I found not a victim—not a cake—not a grain of incense. I was lost in astonishment. Still I thought the preparations might be without, waiting, out of respect, my orders, as chief pontiff, to be admitted. I asked the priest what the city meant to offer on so great a solemnity. Nothing, he replied. But here is a solitary goose, which I have brought with me: it is the only sacrifice the god will receive to-day."[2] No stronger evidence (if we may be allowed a cursory remark more appropriate to the ecclesiastical department of this history) can be required of the root which Christianity had already taken, than this undisguised neglect of the pagan ceremonies in a city of great extent, population, and wealth, on an occasion in favour of which long habit might have been supposed likely to have awakened some popular prejudice, and under an emperor, who had most at heart the restitution of the ancient worship. The angry remonstrances of Julian, whose pride was piqued to the quick, though emphatically pronounced at the very foot of the statue, were unable to produce the desired effect on men, who preferred to court his vanity by tumultuous applause than to gratify his superstitious taste by a recurrence to despised ceremonies. But the zeal of the enthusiastic Julian was not of a nature to be damped by surrounding apathy. Sea and land were ransacked for the rarest birds to be mangled in religious rites, and whole hecatombs were immolated with such destructive profusion, that it was feared the breed of oxen would fail if the emperor returned victorious from the Persian war.[3] The intemperance consequent upon such excesses excited the wantonness of the

[1] Julian, Misopog. [2] Ibid. [3] Ammian. lib. xxv.

A. D. 362. troops.[1] On festivals, like those of Venus, it was a spectacle, which tended to excite ridicule and contempt, to see the stern restorer of paganism, remarkable for his long neglected beard, his inflexible gravity of aspect, and his extravagant attempts to diminish, by pompous strides, the insignificance of his stature, marching in procession attended by an unseemly crowd of prostitutes and profligates, who gave way, amid peals of laughter, to the coarsest buffoonery and licentiousness.[2]

Appearance of Julian on festivals.

This account appears not undeserving of credit, with some allowance, perhaps, for exaggeration; but to describe Julian, as he has been painted by Christian authors, hurried by the frenzy of fanaticism into the nocturnal mysteries of magic, and stained with the youthful blood of many a human victim, whose bones were afterwards discovered in the recesses of the imperial palace,[3] were, we think, but to overlay the pages of history with the gloomy and unnatural colouring of credulous hostility.

It is more credible proof of the superstition of Julian, that he consulted with fretful anxiety every oracle of the empire—(though the promises of victory which they uttered corresponded so ill with the event as to give the satirists an opportunity of observing that Apollo had forgotten the art of poetry)—and that, in his eagerness to pry into futurity, he gave orders to raise up an enormous mass of stone, with which Hadrian had covered the prophetic fount, from which, by means of a leaf dipt in its waters, he had read his coming destinies.

Disinterment of Babylas.

His endeavours to obtain an answer from the oracle at Daphne were repulsed by the silence of the god, who, at last, intimated that his lips would continue sealed till the carcases by which he was sursurrounded were removed.[4] The hint was understood, and the bones of Babylas were disinterred. The Christians flocked to Daphne to fetch the body of the venerated martyr, and triumphantly conducted it in long processsion, chanting psalms, the burthen of which was a prayer for the confusion of idolatry, to the church of Antioch from which it had been removed; an act which excited the anger, and, in some degree, the severity of the emperor.

Destruction of the temple of Daphne.

After the exhumation of Babylas, oracles were again delivered in the temple, round which Julian was raising a magnificent peristyle. But on the night of the 20th of October, the building, and the splen-

[1] Ammian. lib. xxv.

[2] Ridebatur enim ut Cercorps, homo brevis, humeros extentans angustos, et barbam præ se ferens hircinam, grandiaque incedens, tanquam Oti frater et Ephialtis, quorum proceritatem Homerus in immensum tollit: itidemque victimarius pro sacricolâ dicebatur, ad crebritatem hostiarum alludentibus multis: et culpabatur hinc opportunè, cum ostentationis gratiâ vehens licenter pro sacerdotibus sacra, stipatusque mulierculis lætabatur. (Ammian. lib. xxii. c. xiv.) Compare Chrysost. Cont. Gent. p. 761, and Greg. Naz. Orat. iv.

[3] Theod. lib. iii. Compare Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. and Chrysost. Cont. Gent.

[4] Julian. Misopog. and Liban. Næn. But compare Ammian. lib. xxii. c. xii.

did statue, by which it was adorned, were destroyed by fire. This A. D. 362.
catastrophe was ascribed by Julian to the jealousy of the Christians,[1] assisted, as he suspected, by the contrivance of the guardians of the shrine. Torture was resorted to, but the persons on whom it was exercised persisted in ascribing the accident to fire from heaven; and their testimony was corroborated by the assertions of some countrymen, though it appeared inconsistent with the serenity of the weather. The misfortune was also ascribed to Asclepiades, the philosopher, who is said to have placed at the feet of the statue a small figure of Urania, and to have left it with wax candles, which, being accidentally neglected during the night, caught some dry and combustible materials and destroyed the edifice.[2] Julian, irritated at the event, ordered the great church of the Christians at Antioch to be closed, and its riches to be removed to the imperial treasury. Julian, his uncle, count of the east, and Sallust, the præfect, were charged with the execution of this order. The latter, though attached to Paganism, was remarkable for a degree of mildness and integrity which conciliated the applause of all parties. The only failing with which he has been reproached is, a certain weakness or want of sufficient spirit;[3] an expression, which, it requires but little experience to know, is not unfrequently attached to the conduct of such as prefer peace, moderation, and equity to the violent suggestions of heated intolerance. Count Julian, on the other hand, was a man of a very different temper. He hated the Christians, from whose religion he had apostatized, with the impatient rancour of one who read in their consistency the reproach of his desertion. Far from imitating the conduct of his colleague, whose efforts were directed to soften the irritation of his master, he suffered his unforgiving acrimony to lead him into severities beyond what his commission directed. He ordered not merely the large church of Antioch, then possessed by the Arians, but all Christian churches in that city, to be closed. And, as if goaded by an unquiet conscience, he committed acts of the most revolting profanation. The emperor, who was anxious to avoid the imputation of being a religious persecutor, expressed his extreme displeasure at his unauthorized execution of Theodoret, a priest who had resisted his attempts at conversion. This reproof, which appears to have been an unexpected blow, was almost immediately succeeded by a noisome and excruciating disease, during the torments of which Count Julian fluctuated between the profession of his old and of his new creed, and between the conflicting dictates of mercy and of rigour, till death put an end at once to his doubts, his cruelties, and his misery.

[1] Misopog.

[2] Ammian. lib. xxii.

[3] Βλακεία. (Eunap.) Ce reproche s'entend et fait honneur à sa modération. (La Bleterie.) For the meaning of the word Βλὰξ, see Ruhnken, not. in Tim. Lexic. voc. Platonic, p. 60.

A. D. 362. Injudicious measures of Julian.

It is unnecessary to detail the many presages of evil, which seemed to have filled with apprehensions a mind but little accessible to fear on occasions of real danger; it is far more instructive to consider as a striking instance of the errors of some of the most enlightened among the ancients on subjects connected with political economy, the measures which Julian adopted with a view to assuage the distress which prevailed at Antioch. His plan consisted in fixing the price of wheat below the current value, and distributing at a loss four hundred and twenty-two thousand measures, which had been brought from Hierapolis, Chalcis, and Egypt. The consequence was that the rich monopolists, instead of opening their granaries, bought the emperor's corn at the maximum he had chosen, and secretly sold their own at a higher rate. Importations ceased. The city, abandoned by the merchants, became not merely in want of bread, but of the other commodities of life. The emperor, who had undertaken to nourish the inhabitants at his own expense, was shocked at the apparent ingratitude of the people, whose affections this ill-advised experiment was designed to conciliate. He ought to have remembered, that a similar attempt had been made by Diocletian, and a similar result had ensued. But, in this state of perplexity, he cast the whole blame, which should have been mainly thrown on himself, on the senate of Antioch, who had warned him of the impracticability of this scheme of relief. He went so far as to order the whole body to be imprisoned; but Libanius had the courage to remonstrate against the decree, which he succeeded in persuading the emperor to recall. It was not, however, so easy to convince him of the impolicy of arbitrarily fixing the price of provisions; for Julian was in the greatest degree tenacious of his purposes, and had the obstinacy, though not the cruelty, of Gallus.[1] But present circumstances forced him to dissemble the anger he was unable to stifle.

The Misopogon.

Though his pride was severely wounded, Julian contented himself with literary vengeance; and wrote, in answer to his revilers, the celebrated satire called Misopogon, or the Beard-Hater, in which he drew the double picture of his own person and habits, and of the manners and feelings of the inhabitants of Antioch. Though the ironical tone of self-disparagement which is assumed in the beginning of this singular piece (which is in some parts interesting, in some not destitute of humour, and in some insipid), was intended to convey an exalted idea of the writer's superiority, it often shows that Julian gloried in deficiencies, of which a nicer sense of propriety ought to have made him ashamed. When he boasts that his nails, his hands, and his beard betray his neglect of common cleanliness, and that, too, in terms calculated to heighten the disgust which the confession

[1] Nusquam à proposito declinabat, Galli similis fratris, licet incruentus. (Ammian. lib. xxii. c. xiv.) Compare Julian. Misopog. and Liban. Orat. Parent. c. xcvii.

excites, he manifests the entire absence of that delicacy of mind, A. D. 362.
without which even qualities of the highest order are unable to protect their possessor from disrespect. His description of the corruption which reigned in Antioch is considered by Ammianus Marcellinus,[1] himself a native of the city, as overcharged, but the accounts of Christian writers[2] tend but to illustrate and confirm its general truth.

The Cæsares.

It may be here the most convenient place to notice the other more celebrated work, on which the reputation of Julian as a writer chiefly rests—the satire or philosophical fable entitled the Cæsars.[3] A portraiture of the principal Roman emperors, drawn by one of the most remarkable in that body for eminent civil and military qualifications, could not fail to attract curiosity, even if void of that facility of touch and mellowness of colouring which distinguish the productions of more experienced artists. But, independently of the interest which the nature of the subject is sufficient to excite, the piece possesses many of the excellencies and graces[4] which would render it valuable, considered only as a literary composition.[5] Romulus is represented

[1] Ammian. lib. xxii. c. xiv. Compare Liban. Orat. Parent. c. xcix.; Greg. Naz. Orat. iv.; and the Chronicle of Antioch, by John Malala.

[2] See the Homilies of Chrysostom.

[3] This work has been translated into French, with very elaborate notes, containing proofs drawn from ancient medals, &c., by the learned Ezekiel Spanheim. The edition most esteemed is that of Amsterdam, 1728, in 4to. It has also been translated in a more pleasing manner, with brief remarks, by the Abbé de la Bleterie (Vie de Julien. liv. i. pp. 241–395). An analysis of it may be found in Gibbon, Decline and Fall, &c. c. xxiv., and Jondot, Histoire de l'Empereur Julien, liv. i. p. 338, &c. The Cæsars were edited by J. M. Heusinger, 1736, and also by T. C. Harless, 8vo, 1785.

[4] Of the style of Julian, Wyttenbach says, Dictio ejus felicis est imitatoris veterum, Platonis præsertim ac Demosthenis; elegans, tersa, pura et benè Attica: neque tamen priscis delectatur vocibus, aut ineptum affectat Atticismum. (Epist. Critic. super nonnullis locis Juliani Imp.)

[5] The works of Julian were published at Leipsic, in folio, with the notes of Dionysius, Petavius, and others, by Ezekiel Spanheim (1696). The Misopogon and some letters were published by Martinius, in 8vo, Paris, 1566. The most noted pieces of Julian were translated very elegantly into French by La Bleterie, at the end of his Vie de Jovien, Paris, 1748. There is also a French translation of his entire works by R. Tourlet, Paris, 1821. Among the numerous Letters of Julian may be remarked a long epistle to Themistius, which may be considered as a treatise on the duties of princes. Among his Discourses, that addressed to the Cynic Heraclius contains an interesting allegorical fable, in which he alludes to his early misfortunes and dangers. For further information respecting the subject of his works see La Bleterie's Preface (Vie de Julien); Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. tom. vi. p. 719, ed. Harles; and Lux Salut. Evangel.; D. Wyttenbach, Epist. Critic. super nonnullus locis Juliani Imp. &c., Ad Davidem Ruhnkenium, Goetting. 1769 (which epistle was republished, with remarks, by G. H. Shæfer, Leipsic, 1802); Schoell. Hist. de la Litterat. Grecque, tom vi. p. 186; and a work published in 1828, by L. H. Heyler, Julian. Imp. quæ feruntur Epistolæ, accedunt ejusdem Fragmenta breviora cum Poematiis necnon Galli Cæsaris ad Julianum fratrem Epistola. Julian composed a lost work against Christianity. St. Cyril of Alexandria has left us his refutation of it, by the assistance of which the Marquis d'Argens published his Defense du Paganisme par

A. D. 362. as offering, during the customary license of the saturnalia, a feast to the deities, among whom he had been enrolled, and to the princes who, in later times, had governed his people. The gods are seated in the highest heavens: the table of the emperors is spread below the moon in the upper regions of the air. The most detestable of the imperial monsters, such as Caligula, Nero, Commodus, Caracalla, are hurled by Nemesis into the depths of Tartarus, while the other Cæsars take their seats in order, and hear, as they advance, their faults and errors, and sometimes their personal defects, satirically stigmatized by Silenus, who, half censor, half jester, conveys the opinions and the prejudices of Julian. The sketches are often lively and just.

Reflections upon.

The political versatility of Augustus, for instance, is intimated by the chameleon colours of his visage, now pale, now red, at one time dark and gloomy, and almost in an instant lit up again with love and grace. The artful character of Tiberius immediately suggests itself, as he enters, bearing in his severe countenance the stamp of skill and courage, while his back is scarred and withered with searing marks of loathsome intemperance. When Hadrian presents himself with his long beard and pompous gait, turning ever and anon his anxious eyes towards the stars, and evincing his fretful curiosity to pry into all mysteries, Julian seems unconsciously to have drawn his own likeness. Among many of the judgments of this historical piece, against which impartial posterity protests, may be reckoned the invidiousness of dwelling on the known avarice of Vespasian, and the early dissipation of Titus, without touching on the virtues which shed lustre on their names. The amiable Antoninus Pius deserved a better character than that of one moderate in all but love—"a minute cumminsawyer." When the exploits of Constantine are compared to the perishable flowers in the little portable gardens of Adonis, and that emperor is made to choose, as the deity to whom he can appropriately attach himself, the Goddess of Indolence, who, having attired him in a particoloured female garment, consigns him to Luxury, there is scarcely a reader so blinded as not to acknowledge the flagrant injustice of the description. The chief heroes are Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Trajan, and Marcus Aurelius, who are selected as competitors in a trial of merit, together with Alexander the Great, who is admitted to enter the lists with these illustrious Romans. Each successively

Motives of the different characters.

dilates on his achievements, but it is evident that Marcus Aurelius, who maintains the most modest silence, though his failings are not spared, is the model of the imperial author. The love of glory, of pleasure, or of power, had been confessedly the motive of the other heroes; but the moral qualities of clemency and benevolence—the practice of philosophy in the highest station of society—alone

---

l'Empereur Julien, which was attacked by two German writers, Meier in 1764, and Crichton in 1765. See also C. H. Van Herwerden, De Juliano Imperatore, Religionis Christianæ hoste, eodemque vindice, Ludg. Bat. 1827.

insured the esteem of the immortals. The speeches of Julius Cæsar and Alexander the Great possess peculiar interest. When the Greek conqueror retorts on the Roman, who had undervalued his Persian conquest, that the portion of land held by the Parthians beyond the Tigris had defied the vaunted might of Rome during a war of more than 300 years, the reflection naturally arises, that the extraordinary man himself, who penned the remark, was soon to confirm and extend its truth by disastrous experience. A. D. 362.

Before we proceed, however, with the particulars of the fatal campaign to which we allude, it is necessary to notice an instance of the instability of human schemes, which may form a kind of presage to the fall of disappointed ambition. It was during his residence at Antioch that Julian determined on the memorable attempt of rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem. His object was, doubtless, to ingratiate himself with the Jewish nation, whose enmity to Christianity was so congenial to his own, and whose aversion to an union with paganism he might hope by signal favours to subdue, as well as by re-establishing their ancient ceremonies and worship, to shake the incontestable evidence which the truth of revelation derives from the accomplishment of prophecy in the dispersion of their nation and the abolition of their law. A contemporary historian, by religion a Pagan, a warm admirer too and companion in arms of Julian, but of noted candour and impartiality, has transmitted to us his account of this event written twenty years after its occurrence. He relates that Julian, on entering on his fourth consulship, though his mind was filled with anxious anticipations of the future, and his attention ardently devoted to the complicated preparations of his Persian expedition, yet, longing to immortalize his reign by the greatness of his achievements, meditated the restoration, at an immoderate expense, of the once magnificent temple of Jerusalem; which, after many bloody combats during its siege by Vespasian, was with difficulty taken and destroyed by Titus. He intrusted the execution of this plan to Alypius (one of his favourite friends), who had formerly governed Britain as vice-præfect.[1] "When, therefore, this Alypius applied vigorously to the work, in which he was assisted by the governor of the province, hor-

Attempt to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem,

by Alypius and the governor of the province.

[1] The text of Ammianus is too remarkable to be omitted: Et licet accidentium varietatem sollicitâ mente præcipiens, multiplicatos expeditionis apparatus flagranti studio perurgeret: diligentiam tamen ubique dividens, imperiique sui memoriam magnitudine operum gestiens propagare, ambitiosum quondam apud Hierosolymam Templum, quod post multa et interneciva certamina obsidente Vespasiano posteaque Tito, ægrè est expugnatum, instaurare sumptibus cogitabat immodicis: negotiumque maturandum Alypio dederat Antiochensi, qui olim Britannias curaverat pro præfectis. Cùm itaque rei idem fortiter instaret Alypius, juvaretque provinciæ rector, metuendi globi flammarum prope fundamenta crebris adsultibus erumpentes, fecere locum exustis aliquoties operantibus inaccessum: hocque modo elemento destinatius repellente, cessavit inceptum. (Lib. xxiii. c. 1.) On this event, see Warburton's Julian, a work full of ingenuity and research. See also Lardner's Jewish and Heathen Testim. vol. iv.

A. D. 362. rible globes of fire breaking out near the foundations, with reiterated attacks, rendered the place inaccessible to the workmen, from time to time scorched and blasted, and, in this manner, the element obstinately repelling them, the undertaking was abandoned." It ought to be remarked, that this narrative is in no respect couched in the language of hesitation and doubt; that it falls in as an incidental fact with the general flow of the history, and that it is not accompanied by any comment or brought forward as bearing on any system; on the other hand, it ought also to be borne in mind, that Ammianus is sometimes apt to place a credulous reliance on tales of no authority. This account is corroborated by three contemporary Christian writers: by Ambrose,[1] in a letter to the emperor Theodosius; by Chrysostom,[2] who was in the neighbourhood of the place; and by Gregory Nazianzen,[3] in a writing composed the very year in which this celebrated occurrence took place. The two former writers mention it in a brief manner as a well-known fact: the latter describes it with more detail, and with the addition of an earthquake, a hurricane, a cross within a circle in the heavens,[4] a supposed miraculous closing of the doors of a church in which the alarmed workmen took refuge, and the very singular, though not unexampled, circumstance of the figure of a cross[5] being impressed on the bodies and garments of the persons present. In the next age it is related by Rufinus,[6] Socrates,[7] Sozomen,[8] and Theodoret.[9] In later times it is again repeated[10] with the variations and embellishments of exaggeration.

Remarks. It appears to us that the fact of a fiery eruption having tended to interrupt the undertaking of Julian cannot be denied on any principle which would not extend to the subversion of all historical evidence.

[1] Epist. 40, t. 2. [2] Advers. Judæos et Gentil. [3] Orat. iv. adv. Jul.

[4] Warburton considers this as "neither more nor less than one of those meteoric lights in a still and clouded sky, which are not unfrequently seen in solar or lunar halos." (Jul. p. 110.) On this subject see a curious and learned dissertation of J. A. Fabricius, in his Bibl. Græc. vol. vi.

[5] Socrates asserts that it was accompanied with lightning. Warburton explains the crosses on the bodies and garments by two very interesting quotations; one from the Adversaria of Isaac Casaubon (ap. Mer. Casaub. in Tract. intit. Of Credulity and Incredulity, p. 110), and the other from Boyle's Discourse on some unheeded Causes of the Insalubrity and Salubrity of the Air (Works, in fol. vol. iv. p. 293).

[6] Lib. i. c. xxxvii.

[7] Lib. iii. [8] Lib. v. [9] Lib. iii.

[10] It is mentioned by Philostorgius, Theophanes, Orosius, Nicephorus, Zonaras, Cedrenus, &c., of whom Warburton says, "These men have only the language of others, without any sense of their own; save that, like impertinent players, they sometimes presume to add their own inventions to their author's conceits." (Julian, p. 150.) There is a curious passage in a fragment of an oration or epistle of Julian himself, in which, speaking of the temple as having been three times destroyed, he says, Τοσούτοις ὕστερον χρόνοις ἀναστήσασθαι διενοήθην αὐτὸν εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ κληθέντος ἐπ' αὐτῷ, which has some appearance of a covert allusion to his defeat. Warburton quotes, as an additional authority, the Rabbi Gedaliah ben Joseph Jechaia, who lived in the fifteenth century.

The supposition of these extraordinary effects being produced by artificial means and human contrivance, is too fraught with difficulties to have a claim to probability. There is certainly something more plausible in the hypothesis of natural causes.[1] Under Jerusalem were vast subterranean cavities[2] and cisterns,[3] used as places of refuge from the enemy, and as repositories for provisions and treasures. Between the destruction of the city in the year A.D. 70, and the attempt of Julian, in A.D. 363, nearly three hundred years had expired, during which these vaults, obstructed by rubbish, might have become filled with inflammable air. The workmen, in the progress of digging, would naturally take torches to examine the old foundations; detonations, so common in our coal mines, might then occur, and sudden flames would appear bent on driving them from the spot. A similar fact is mentioned in Josephus. Herod, in descending into a subterranean place in search of treasures, which he had heard were concealed in the tomb of David, was repelled, the moment he opened it, by flames which killed two of his attendants.[4] It is evident, however, that this solution, even if satisfactory when applied to the narrative of the pagan historian, will not explain the other phenomena A.D. 362.

[1] Warburton himself, in speaking of the destruction of a great part of the army of Brennus by thunder and lightning, and an earthquake, when on their march to plunder the temple of Delphi, observes that the temple was situated on a hollow rock, which would afford vent-holes for such fumes as were generated within to transpire, one of which was famous for the intoxicating quality discovered in the steam which issued from it; and adds, "Now, if we only suppose this, or any other of the vapours, issuing from the fissures in so large and cavernous a rock, to be endowed with that unctuous or otherwise inflammatory quality, which modern experience shows us to be common in mines and subterraneous hollows, we can easily conceive how the priests of the temple might, without a miracle, be able to work the wonders which history speaks of as effected in this transaction. For the throwing down of a lighted torch or two into a chasm from whence such a vapour issued, would set the whole into a flame; which, by rarefying and dilating the enclosed air, would, like fired gunpowder, blow up all before it." (Julian, p. 268.) But he maintains that the mountain of Jerusalem, by its compactness and continuity, was altogether improper for such a contrivance. (Ibid. p. 273.)

[2] Tacit. Hist. lib. v.

[3] These subterranean passages must have been very considerable. The cisterns furnished water during the whole siege of Jerusalem to the 1,100,000 inhabitants for whom the fountain of Siloa was insufficient. When the city was on the point of being taken by Titus, the chiefs of the rebels, putting their last hope in the vast cavities below, formed the project of hiding themselves there during the conflagration of the temple, and until the Romans should have retired: most of them had not time to execute their plan. But one of them, Simon, son of Giora, descended into this retreat with some of his companions, and remained there till Titus departed for Rome; then, driven by hunger, he presented himself to the Roman guards. Researches were in consequence made, and many others were found. (Joseph. De Bell. Jud. lib. vii. c. ii.) Probably most of these subterranean hollows were made in the time of Solomon, though Herod dug some. (Antiq. Jud. xv. c. xi. s. 7.) This view of the subject is given by Michaelis, quoted by Guizot in his translation of Gibbon's Decline and Fall, &c.

[4] Φλογὸς ἔνδοθεν εἰσιούσης ἀπαντώσης ὡς ἐλίγετο.—Antiq. Jud. lib. xvi. c. vii.

A. D. 362. mentioned by Christian writers. One point is clear, that, whatever means, natural or supernatural, were employed, a great design, undertaken in the plenitude of power by the most formidable adversary of Christianity, probably with a view to weaken its strength, was in some signal manner defeated.

The Romans pass the Euphrates.

The preparations of Julian were so great, that confiding in his own might, he refused the proposed aid of several nations, replying, that the Romans were to assist their allies, not to stand in need of their assistance.[1] The Saracens, whom he particularly disobliged, joined and faithfully adhered to the Persians. The Roman troops, passing the Euphrates, now broke into different routes, whence they were to unite on the arrival of the emperor. Julian, with the utmost secrecy, suffered nothing to be known respecting the line of operations which he intended to pursue, or even the day which he had fixed for his departure. On leaving Antioch, he assigned the government of Syria to one Alexander of Heliopolis, a cruel and turbulent character, adding, "I know that he is not worthy of his office, but the inhabitants of Antioch, avaricious and insolent, deserve such a judge:"[2]—a sentence disgraceful to his character of philosopher and of a sovereign. A large crowd, thronging about him as he departed, on the 5th of March, conjured him to entertain milder sentiments; but Julian, still irritated by the outrages and sarcasms which he had suffered, spoke to them in a tone of harshness, declaring that they would see him no more, as he had determined to spend the winter, at the end of the campaign, in Tarsus[3] of Cilicia. He then advanced by the route of Litarbe, in the territory of Chalcis, from which, on the morrow, he proceeded to Beræa, and hence to Batnæ, afterwards to Hierapolis. Crossing the Euphrates near the latter city, he appeared in Mesopotamia, before the enemy were aware of his departure from Antioch. Leaving to the left Edessa, he proceeded to Carrhæ, a city memorable for the death of Crassus.

March, A. D. 363.

Julian sets out from Antioch.

His route.

There were two roads which led from Mesopotamia into Persia; the one was on the left, crossing the Tigris, through Adiabene; the other on the right through Assyria, along the banks of the Euphrates. Julian ordered magazines to be prepared on both these roads, though he had fixed upon proceeding across Assyria. Sebastian and Procopius were left with 30,000 chosen troops to secure Mesopotamia against foreign invasion, till they could join Arsaces, king of Armenia, whose co-operation he had required, and, having overrun the boundaries of Media, could effect a meeting with the emperor. From an eminence Julian surveyed his men, in number 65,000, the largest body ever conducted by any Roman general against the Persians. Having marched by way of feint towards the Tigris, he turned to the Euphrates, which river was covered with an immense fleet,

[1] Ammian. lib. xxiii. [2] Ibid. Compare Liban. Ep. 722.
[3] Ammian. lib. xxiii.

destined to accompany the army into the interior of Assyria. Upwards of a thousand vessels laden with provisions and military machines, fifty ships of war, and as many flat-bottomed boats, which might be linked together into temporary bridges, convey an idea of the extensive scale on which preparations had been made to meet the difficulties of so important an enterprise. Yet no article of luxury was allowed to enter as an addition. "Away," cried the emperor to some camel-drivers who had brought some exquisite wines, "away with these sources of debauch. A soldier should drink no wine, but such as his spear has won, and I wish to live as a soldier." A. D. 363.

In the beginning of April, Julian entered into Circesium, a strong and skilfully-built place, seated on a kind of peninsula, on the conflux of the Abora[1] and the Euphrates. Here he received letters from his friend Sallust, the præfect of Gaul,[2] who conjured him to suspend his expedition till he obtained more favourable prognostics from the gods. But Julian, inflexible in his resolutions, passed the Abora with his whole army on a bridge of boats, which he caused to be immediately broken, to cut off from the timid all hope of retreat. At Zaitha he saw the tomb, and offered sacrifices to the manes, of the emperor Gordian, who had fallen a victim to the treachery of his successor Philip, on his return from a victorious expedition. Among other presages, which are deserving of notice, inasmuch as they throw light on the state of mind both of Julian and of his followers, a lion was presented to him which had been shot by the arrows of the soldiers as it advanced to meet the army. Julian gathered from the circumstance the most flattering auguries; he imagined it betokened the death of the Persian monarch, and he looked forward with sanguine anticipations to the result of the campaign.[3] In this auspicious view he was supported by the opinions and arguments of the philosophers. The Tuscan haruspices, on the contrary, came to a very different conclusion. They maintained, that as the war was an offensive one, and as the lion had come forward to meet the army, the omen threatened the life of the Roman emperor. From the beginning of the expedition, the seers and the philosophers, constant attendants of a prince, who strove to combine philosophy and paganism, were at variance in their view of the result. Every subtilty of explanation was employed to draw the most contradictory portents from the same event. And Julian, whose superstition was hardly on a level with his ambition, inclined to the side which fell in with his own wishes.

He enters the Persian territory, April 7.

Presages.

Ever anxious to display his rhetorical as well as his military powers, he ordered his troops to be assembled, and made an address to them, the chief object of which was to remove a groundless notion—

Speech of Julian.

[1] The Orientals aspirate it, Chaboras or Chabour. (Gibbon, Decline and Fall, &c. c. xxiv.)

[2] He is to be distinguished from Sallust the Second, the præfect of the east, of whom we have spoken above.

[3] Ammian. lib. xxiii. c. v.

A. D. 363. circulated in low whispers throughout the ranks, and calculated to check their efforts by the fear attached to all unexampled feats—that no Roman army had ever before penetrated into Persia. After enumerating the illustrious Romans who had already won their laurels in that country, he added: "It was the love of glory only which urged these great men to such signal achievements; but as for us, the recent desolation of our towns—the shades of our many slaughtered armies—the greatness of our losses—the capture of our strongholds,—all summon us to vengeance. Let us answer the expectations of our allies, repair past evils, and, establishing the peace of the republic on an honourable basis, ensure to ourselves a fair fame in succeeding ages. At your head, and fighting like one of you, you will behold me, with the aid of the eternal Deity, your emperor, second you, not, I hope, without favourable auspices. But if capricious fortune blights this hope, I shall die satisfied with having devoted myself to my country, like the Curtii and Mutii and Decii of old. We must exterminate a dangerous race, whose swords, stained with the blood of our kinsmen, are not yet dry. Our ancestors surmounted, by persevering exertions, every obstacle to their welfare. Carthage was only conquered after long and doubtful wars, and continued to inspire alarm till it was wholly annihilated. Numantia, after a protracted siege, was finally overthrown. The rivals of infant Rome are so entirely exterminated, that, notwithstanding the testimony of numerous monuments, we can scarcely credit their ancient might. These are the examples which history presents to our imitation." He then urged them to beware of the artifices of the enemy, and the love of plunder, so often fatal to the Roman arms; and exhorted them to march in order, and never to quit their standards, on pain of terrible punishments. He concluded by declaring, that when the enterprise would be successfully terminated, without availing himself of the prerogative of princes to deem their commands infallible, he would give an account to whomsoever chose to call them in question.[1]

Encouragements drawn from history.

The impassioned words, and still more the example of Julian, infused fresh ardour into the assembled forces, who exclaimed, with uplifted bucklers, that they knew neither toil nor danger under the auspices of a leader who submitted to the same fatigues as the meanest soldier. The Gauls especially, whose minds still teemed with ardent recollections, regarded his name as an earnest of success, and longed to press forward to new conflicts. The distribution of a hundred and thirty pieces of silver to each soldier served to keep up the enthusiasm thus kindled. Julian, now satisfied with the confidence and quickened spirit of his troops, and fired with the prospect of measuring his military skill with the most formidable enemy of the empire, resolved no longer to delay a decisive blow. Accord-

[1] Ammian. lib. xxiii. c. vi.

ingly, as soon as the next day rose, he advanced into Assyria with his army, divided into three columns, the baggage being placed in the centre. Alive to the necessity of vigilance in so intricate a march through a country where Persian stratagem had often proved superior to Roman prowess, he took the precaution to despatch fifteen hundred advanced guards in front and in flank to prevent ambush. The right wing, under the command of Nevitta, moved along the Euphrates, protected by the fleet, which neither outstripped the army, nor, notwithstanding the numerous windings of the river, lagged behind. The left marched in close order along the plain, with the cavalry under Arintheus, to whom was joined in command Hormisdas, a Persian of royal blood, who, having contrived to escape from confinement into which he had been thrown during the minority of Sapor, had sought refuge in the court of Constantine; and gained, by his abilities and fidelity, the protection and esteem of that emperor and his successors. The rear-guard was led by Dagalaïphus, Victor, and Secundinus. Julian himself conducted the centre, or rather the whole body, for he appeared to be present in all directions, careering through every rank, inspecting every thicket, checking the insubordinate, confirming the resolute, and assuming, as occasion required, the demeanour of courteousness and benignity, or the tone of authoritative reproof.[1] A. D. 363. He advances into Assyria.

Influenced by the assurances of Hormisdas, the inhabitants of the castle of Anatha, situated in an island on the Euphrates, opened their gates to the emperor. He treated them with humanity, and transplanted them with their families and effects to a settlement near Chalcis in Syria; but burned the place, in pursuance of his determination not to weaken his forces by the necessity of garrisoning captured fortresses. Two other, but stronger castles, refused to submit till the Roman arms should be master of the interior; and the emperor, thought it more prudent to acquiesce in this condition, than to waste his strength on secondary objects, and stake his reputation for an inadequate prize. In the open country, the natives fled in terror before him into their distant mountains, and left their rich plains and vineyards a prey to the fury of the Roman army, who were allowed to waste everything before them with the most unsparing havoc, as the best means of cutting off their retreat, and with it, all temptation to cowardice. Having passed at Baraxmalcha a river which flows into the Euphrates, and destroyed the deserted cities of Dacira and Ozogardana, the emperor gave two days' respite to his army.[2] Occupation of Anatha.

The Roman armies continued to waste the regions of the enemy, yet there was no appearance, no report of any Persian forces to resist their progress; all was inaction and solitude. This tardiness arose not so much, perhaps, from any deeply-concerted plan to draw the

[1] Ammian. lib. xxiv. [2] Ibid.

A. D. 363. Romans more inextricably into the interior of the country, as from the defective nature of their military system. Instead of maintaining bands of regular troops, the king called, in emergencies, upon his nobility to lead their vassals into the field, a proceeding which, being necessarily slow, gave great advantages to a vigorous enemy. The extraordinary activity of Julian had been so little anticipated by men accustomed to the cautious movements of his less energetic predecessor, that Sapor had nothing to oppose his advance but a body of cavalry, under the command of the Surena, or general-in-chief, which was merely sufficient to harass his march by desultory acts of annoyance. An encounter, in which this band received a check from Hormisdas, whom they designed to intercept by ambush, whilst engaged on a reconnoitring expedition, served to inspire the Romans with the courage which an auspicious prelude naturally excites. They proceeded to Macephracta, where the Euphrates divides itself into two large canals, one of which watered Babylonia, and the other, joining the Tigris, passed near Ctesiphon, the usual winter residence of the Persian kings. Julian having effected, by a dexterous manœuvre, the passage of this latter arm of water, encamped before Perisabor,[1] or Anbar;[2] a city of considerable size and population; situated on an islet, and girded with a double barrier of walls flanked with turrets, high above which rose the citadel, seated on the summit of a steep mountain, whose rugged outline, frowning over ramparts strongly cemented with bitumen, formed a complete circle, except in one quarter, which nature had fortified with rocks. After having unsuccessfully tried threats and promises to induce them to surrender, Julian invested the place with his army drawn in a triple line. To deaden the force of the missiles discharged from below, loose floating curtains tissued with goat's hair had been hung from the parapets. The besieged defended themselves with obstinate valour. They were protected by bucklers of thick osier, covered over with hides, and the plates of their armour were so admirably knit and adjusted to their limbs that they appeared like figures of iron.[3] Thus equipped, they indulged in taunts of defiance and raillery, and, calling for Hormisdas, inveighed against him in terms of abuse, as a traitorous deserter from his country. But on the approach of evening, the Romans advanced several machines, and began to fill the fosse; and, on the dawn of the next day, the besieged, observing the progress of their works, and the success of their battering rams, which had already by

Invasion of Assyria, May, A. D. 363.

Capture of Perisabor.

[1] Zosimus calls it Bersabora.

[2] Le terme Arabe Anbar désigne proprement un dépôt de subsistance. Le premier des Khalifes de la maison d'Abbas nomme Seffaho, qui monta sur le trône en l'an de l'Hégire 126, de l'Ere Chrétienne 754, établit en cette ville sa résidence, que son successeur Al-Mansor qui lui succéda environ cinq ans après, transféra à Bagdad, en jetant les fondemens de cette ville, qui est demeurée la capitale de l'Islamisme jusque vers le milieu du treizième siècle.—D'Anville's L'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 71.

[3] Ammian. lib. xxiv. c. ii.

a lucky blow made a breach in a tower at one of the angles, aban- A. D. 363.
doned their double walls, and threw themselves into the citadel, from the hights of which they plied their bows with destructive



Roman Military Labourers.—*Montfaucon, Antiq. Expliquee.*

effect. Julian, who frequently suffered the natural impetuosity of his spirit to hurry him into hazardous feats, while recklessly urging on a chosen band to burst the massive iron-bound gates of the citadel, was much exposed to the galling shower of stones and weapons directed against his person. Foiled in his attempt, though unhurt, he ordered that the machine called helepolis should be constructed. This enormous engine, from the invention and successful use of which Demetrius had acquired the surname of Poliorcetes, was the most formidable instrument known to the military arts of the ancients. At the sight of the terrific mass, which was to command and overawe their highest towers, the besieged, filled with alarm, sent to supplicate Hormisdas to procure by his mediation the mercy of the emperor. On his assurances they opened their gates, and were allowed to retire in peace. An ample supply of arms and provisions was found in the place, which the emperor, having first taken the quantity which appeared necessary, destroyed by fire.[1]

The next day intelligence was brought that the Surenas had fallen upon three of the Roman squadrons, carried off a standard, slain some of the troops, and among them a tribune. The emperor learned the disaster, whilst availing himself of a moment of leisure to take his repast. Transported with anger he hastened to the spot, routed the enemy, and recovered the standard. A severe disciplinarian, he disgraced on the spot the two other tribunes, and, though scantily

[1] Ammian. lib. xxiv. c. ii.

A. D. 363. attended, fearless of personal danger, decimated the soldiers who had degraded themselves by flight.[1]

Having destroyed Perisabor, the emperor ascended a tribunal, returned thanks to the assembled troops for the courage which they had displayed, and promised each a hundred pieces of silver. Perceiving that the smallness of the donative excited murmurs of discontent, he addressed them in an elevated tone of indignation:

Speech of Julian.

"Yonder are the Persians, who riot in wealth; your valour and unanimity must enable you to enrich yourselves with their spoils. The republic, once possessed of immense treasures, has been reduced to this state of destitution by the advice of ministers, who, consulting only their private interest, have taught princes to purchase a disgraceful peace from the barbarians. Our finances are disordered, our towns exhausted, our provinces depopulated. As for myself, though of noble parentage, my only inheritance is a soul unconscious of fear. An emperor, who places every good in mental qualities, does not blush to acknowledge his honourable poverty. The Fabricii, poor in estate, having glory their only treasure, conducted mighty wars. But here, you will have all these advantages in abundance, if, resigning yourselves, without fear, as far as human nature allows, to the will of heaven and to my cautious guidance, you comport yourselves with more mildness and submission. But if, returning to the scandal of your old seditions, you resist my orders,—proceed. I alone, having completed so signal a career of exploits, will die as becomes an emperor, standing;[2] in full contempt of an existence of which one little fever may deprive me. Or, at least, I will retire, for I have not so lived as to be unable to bear the lot of a private individual. It is a consolation that I shall leave behind me officers who are fully skilled in the art of war."[3]

This address, so likely to work on the different passions of shame, ambition, and cupidity, came home to the feelings of the soldiers, and converted at once their complaints into assurances of implicit submission. They extolled, with heartfelt zeal, the magnanimity of their prince, who, anxious to communicate the ardour with which he was himself inflamed, used every effort to impress them with a sense of the incomparable glory which would redound from the completion of so momentous an enterprise. "So may I reduce the Persians under the yoke! So may I restore the shattered empire of Rome!" was the form of oath which he used in order to elevate their courage to the highest pitch.[4]

After having marched about four miles, they found the country to

[1] Ammian. lib. xxiv. c. iii.

[2] An imitation of the expression of Vespasian: Stantem Imperatorem excedere terris decet.—Aurel. Vict. in Vespasian.

[3] Ammian. lib. xxii.

[4] Trajan was wont to swear, "So may I see Dacia reduced to the form of a province! So may I traverse on bridges the Ister and the Euphrates."—Ammian. lib. xxiv. c. iii.

a great extent overflooded by the Euphrates, of which the Persians, to impede their march, had opened the locks. To remedy this difficulty, Julian, advancing, caused a great number of small temporary bridges to be constructed, over which the army were enabled, though not without difficulty, to pass. A. D. 363

Shortly after the emperor proceeded to reconnoitre the town of Maogamalcha. While examining the state of the fortifications, he was suddenly attacked by two Persians with drawn scimitars. He contrived, however, with the greatest dexterity and presence of mind, to intercept with his shield two blows addressed against him at once, and at the same time to strike one of the assailants dead at his feet —an act of prowess which confirmed the admiration of his troops.

Siege of Maogamalcha.

The strength of Maogamalcha impressed Julian with an imperious sense of the necessity of reducing it before he could proceed to advance further, with any degree of safety, into the interior of the country. A regular siege was accordingly commenced, for its numerous garrison, composed of chosen men, inaccessible to corruption, and resolved to bury themselves under the ruins of their city rather than to submit, left no other alternative. The undertaking was fraught with difficulty. The aspect of huge rocks, which, broken into winding precipices, begirt the place in all directions, and presented, on their lofty summit, the citadel, rising amid a mass of well-fortified towers, while the acclivity of the plain towards the river was covered with military works, was sufficient to have discouraged a less vigorous and determined spirit than that of Julian. The utmost efforts were immediately made; various labours were regulated by proper divisions, and the exertions of each individual confined within the post assigned him. The most obstinate fury was displayed by the Persians, who, cased in impenetrable steel, used every art, discharging missiles, enormous stones, and burning torches, to prevent the destructive attack of the Romans. The engines of the besiegers, however, after a continuance of protracted struggles, had battered down a portion of the fortifications, and given an opportunity for the display of acts of the greatest valour, when the emperor learned that the miners had extended their subterranean passages under the foundations of the city. An assault was at once directed against two quarters of the walls, insomuch that the noise of the works under ground, drowned by the din and confusion above, was unnoticed by the besieged. During this scene of turmoil, some Romans emerged from their retreats, slaughtered such as dwelt in the building through which they penetrated, proceeded with cautious steps, and slew the sentinels on the way, who, heedless of danger, were singing the customary praises of their monarch. The city, thus opened, on the third day fell into the hands of an enraged soldiery, who wreaked their vengeance without distinction of age or sex. Some, spectators of the sanguinary ferocity of their enemies, threw themselves in de-

Its capture.

A. D. 363. spair from the height of the walls and craggy rocks. The governor, Nabdates, however, being taken prisoner with eighty of his guards, was at first treated with mildness and clemency; but was afterwards, however, burned alive, partly because he had not accomplished an alleged promise of delivering up the city, and partly because, full of pride at the impunity which he had experienced, he had reflected on the conduct of Hormisdas. His sentence gives but a very unfavourable impression of the vaunted moderation of Julian.

Cruel action of Julian.

Rewards were bestowed and the plunder distributed according to the merits of each soldier. The emperor was content to claim as his share three pieces of gold and a dumb child, full of vivacity and information, whose pleasing manner of conveying ideas by signs and gesticulations excited his interest.[1] Julian appreciated highly the importance of his conquest: his vanity, hitherto unsatisfied, immediately broke forth. "At length," he exclaimed to Libanius, "I have given the sophist of Syria materials for an oration."[2] To eulogize deeds of blood was the task gaily proposed by the military philosopher, who prided himself on his humanity.

The Roman army, continuing its march, was now but a small distance from the capital, after having taken a castle, before which Julian had almost lost his life by rash exposure of his person. The capital was seated on the Tigris, in front of the canal of the Euphrates, which Julian had followed. Where these waters joined, stood a town near the ruins of Seleucia, called Coche, which would, by its intermediate situation, have separated the fleet and army of Julian. But the emperor remembered that a canal above the city of Seleucia had been hollowed by Trajan. Its ancient bed, which had been filled up, having been discovered and cleared, the Euphrates was turned into it, and the fleet entered into the Tigris.[3]

[1] Ammian. lib. xxiv. c. iv.

[2] Ἐφθίξατο γοῦν ὅπερ οὐ πρόσθεν, ὡς εἶπ τῷ Σύρῳ δίδωκὼς ἀφορμὴν εἰς λόγον, ἐμοὶ δὲ λίγων.—Liban.

[3] The operation is thus described by Gibbon: "The fleet passed from the Euphrates into an artificial derivation of that river, which pours a copious and navigable stream into the Tigris, at a small distance *below* the great city. If they had followed this royal canal, which bore the name of Nahar-Malcha, the intermediate situation of Coche would have separated the fleet and army of Julian; and the rash attempt of steering against the current of the Tigris, and forcing their way through the midst of a hostile capital, must have been attended with the total destruction of the Roman navy. The prudence of the emperor foresaw the danger, and provided the remedy. As he had minutely studied the operations of Trajan in the same country, he soon recollected that his warlike predecessor had dug a new and navigable canal, which, leaving Coche on the right hand, conveyed the waters of the Nahar-Malcha into the river Tigris, at some distance *above* the cities. From the information of the peasants, Julian ascertained the vestiges of this ancient work, which were almost obliterated by design or accident. By the indefatigable labour of the soldiers a broad and deep channel was speedily prepared for the reception of the Euphrates. A strong dike was constructed to interrupt the ordinary current of the Nahar-Malcha; a

A career of continued success emboldened Julian to project schemes which were thought to border on temerity. He determined on the apparently impracticable scheme of effecting the passage of the river, which the hostile multitude was drawn up to prevent. Having unloaded the best transports, he caused eighty men to embark in each; and dividing the fleet into three divisions, of which he retained the principal, he ordered one to sail at the beginning of the night under Count Victor, in order to traverse the stream and occupy the opposite banks. The generals, dismayed at the idea of so daring a project, entreated him with one accord to abandon the attempt. But Julian, fixed in his determination, gave immediate orders that five of the galleys should depart to execute his directions. On approaching the banks of the river, they were assailed by volleys of burning missiles, which set them on fire. The rising flame, glaring through the darkness at a distance, which prevented the state of things from being rightly distinguished, filled the Romans with a degree of consternation, which would have led to the very destruction they foreboded, had not Julian, with the instinctive promptness and felicity which characterised his expedients, exclaimed,—that it was the signal of his own men to announce that they were safely landed. The invention succeeded: the remainder, whose apprehensions were allayed, rowed with redoubled efforts, and the soldiers, in spite of a galling shower of stones and darts which was poured against them, succeeded in mastering the steep borders and maintained their ground. The Persians, baffled in their attempts, fled to some distance, and formed themselves in battle-array. A combat ensued, in which they were defeated with considerable loss. When returning thanks for this victory by a sacrifice to Mars the Avenger, a circumstance took place which filled the minds of the superstitious with most dismal prognostics. Of ten fine oxen to be offered as victims, nine fell of themselves before they reached the altar: the tenth, which broke its bonds and was dragged on with difficulty, presented in the state of its entrails signs of the worst augury. Julian, in the heat of his exasperation, protested before Jupiter that he would never again sacrifice to the god of war—a curious instance of the close connection between impiety and superstition.

A. D. 363.

Passage of the Tigris.

The emperor, now arrived at the gates of Ctesiphon, deliberated on the expediency of investing the place. A council of the principal officers being called, it was the opinion of some that it would be a rash and unseasonable attempt to besiege a place almost impregnable, at a time when Sapor was approaching with a numerous army.

Arrival at Ctesiphon.

---

flood of waters rushed impetuously into their new bed; and the Roman fleet, steering their triumphant course into the Tigris, derided the vain and ineffectual barriers which the Persians of Ctesiphon had erected to oppose their passage." (Decline and Fall, &c. c. xxiv.) But see the notes of Valesius in Amm. lib. xxiv. c. vi.

A. D. 363. Julian considered this view of the subject as the most judicious. He felt himself too weak for the undertaking in the absence not only of the king of Armenia, who, studious of his own interests, and distrustful of his Roman ally, whose imperiousness had kindled his indignation, would not proceed into parts remote from his territories, but also of the two generals, Sebastian and Procopius, who, owing to the want of mutual intelligence, which the independent nature of their authority occasioned, continued to linger in Mesopotamia. He confined his exertions, therefore, to predatory incursions into the rich plains of the vicinity, and made ineffectual trials to provoke by taunts and defiance the inhabitants of Ctesiphon to descend into the open field.

So alarmed was Sapor at the rapid progress of the invader, that he despatched an emissary to Hormisdas, who, clasping his knees, conjured him in the most affecting manner to act as a mediator, and to negotiate a peace for the king on any conditions. Hormisdas hastened to the emperor, imagining that the intelligence would prove of the most gratifying nature. He had mistaken the character of Julian. Nothing short of entire conquest would satisfy his grasping mind. He refused to listen to any proposition. Fearing, however, lest the knowledge of a refusal, which gave an insight into the extent of his ambitious schemes, should transpire, and check the ardour of his troops, he requested of Hormisdas to send away the minister of Sapor in a secret, unostentatious manner, as if his mission had been merely the visit of a private friend.[1]

Julian refuses to negotiate, June.

Sensible of his inability to reduce Ctesiphon,[2] Julian resolved to reascend the Tigris, and to proceed to meet the reinforcements which he expected and required. His enthusiasm could have found no spot whereon it was more likely to be kindled than the memorable plains of Arbela; where Alexander, the idol of many an ardent and heroic Roman,[3] had laid low the ancient monarchy of Persia. But the rapidity of the river rendered the ascent of the ships, which were drawn along, slow and toilsome. The anticipated succours were still delayed, and the prospect of a tedious march, to terminate in an unprofitable return, exasperated the impatient emperor. In this indecision an event occurred which affected the whole fortunes of the war. A Persian of high birth, who had determined to stake his life

He burns his fleet.

[1] See Liban. Orat. Parent. c. cxxx. &c.; Socrat. lib. iii.

[2] La Bleterie has justly observed that there is here an important chasm in the text of Ammianus, and has endeavoured to reconcile the accounts of other writers. He has been our chief guide. See also Vales. not. ad Amm. Marcell. lib. xxiv. c. vii.

[3] On the high admiration expressed for Alexander by Cæsar, Augustus, Trajan, Severus, and other Roman emperors, see the note of Spanheim, in his translation of the Cæsars of Julian (p. 139). It was a common tradition that those who carried a portrait of Alexander, engraven on gold or silver, were assisted by it in all their actions.

in the cause of his country, came and delivered himself into the hands of Julian, feigning that he had incurred disgrace in the Persian court, and sought an asylum in the Roman camp. He was an old man, shrewd and adroit, accompanied by other deserters, fitted, by their cunning, to take subordinate parts in the stratagem which he had devised. His artful tale was woven with pathetic accounts of his misfortunes, with protestations of implacable hatred to his persecutors, and with assurances of his ability, if his counsels were followed, to place Persia in the power of the Romans. He represented the kingdom as on the verge of ruin; dejection, the presage of an approaching downfall, was universally prevalent, and the monarch himself was reduced to the greatest alarm. Still, he insidiously added, he will never have reason to entertain any real fear, as long as, shackled by your fleet, you confine yourself to coasting rivers, and enable him to avoid your armies. These are the refuges of indolence, snares which cripple your efforts, superfluities which hang as a dead weight on your courage. Warriors ought to trust only to their swords. While one-half of the Roman army, he said, is exhausted in dragging the other, and toiling against the rapid current of the Tigris, the crown might have been wrested from the brows of Sapor. But it was necessary, he urged, to take provisions for four days, as a desert was to be passed. He then offered to conduct Julian, by his guidance, to infallible success, and pledged his head of the truth of his representations. The deep-laid stratagem, suggesting a measure so bold in execution and so grand in its issue, which spared him, moreover, the use of twenty thousand soldiers employed in the fleet, succeeded. Julian suffered himself to be deceived. Prospects of mighty conquests thronged on his inflamed mind, and opened a new vein to ambitious speculations, which already extended to the subjection of India. He forgot the lesson which he himself had taught his soldiers when they entered the country of the wily Persian: "Remember Crassus and Antony."

A. D. 363.

Treacherous advice of a Persian noble.

Hormisdas was too well acquainted with the craft and duplicity of his countrymen to be so easily deceived. He warned Julian, therefore, against lending a credulous ear to the story of the refugee. But the emperor, tenacious of his purposes, and flushed with recent victories, was not to be diverted from the adoption of a scheme, the very boldness of which harmonized with his daring spirit. He gave orders that provisions should be taken, not for four, but for twenty days, and that fire should be applied to the fleet. A general murmur followed this extraordinary command. The Romans asked themselves with astonishment whether their own chief were acting in concert with his enemies. The appalling magnitude of the danger suddenly forced itself on his own mind.[1] He ordered the fire to be extinguished,

Warnings of Hormisdas.

[1] On this subject see, besides Ammianus, Liban. Orat. Parent., Zosim. lib. iii., Zonar. lib. xiii., Greg. Naz. in Julian. Orat. ii., Augustin. de Civit. Dei, lib. iv.

A. D. 363. and the Persian deserters to be examined by the rack. The prime actor in the subtle plot had made his escape; the minor agents, under the sufferings of torture, confessed the deception they had practised. Of the fleet nothing could be saved but twelve barks, which were put aside, to be carried on chariots, and employed in case of need.[1]

In this desperate situation, in the heart of a hostile country, where desert wilds and lofty mountains opposed a barrier almost insuperable to retreat, Julian preserved his usual unmoved composure and firmness. Full of confidence in an army, disengaged and concentrated, he looked forward with sanguine anticipations to the issue of some decisive blow. The fertile plains still afforded abundant sustenance to his troops. But the Persians soon perceived their advantage over the enemy. They destroyed their harvests and pastures, and sometimes in combined, sometimes in detached bodies, kept up a series of the most harassing attacks. The Romans were soon reduced to the utmost distress: their provisions were continually diminishing, and the horrors of famine menaced them. The gleam of distant armour gave evidence of the approach of an enemy, against whom they were unable to rush. Discouragement fell upon them, which Julian tried every resource to dispel. He ordered the Persian prisoners to be brought out as a specimen of the adversaries with whom they had to contend. Their tawny or livid bodies, naturally lank and meagre, were now wasted to the bone by long abstinence. "Behold," he cried, pointing with contempt to the skeleton figures which stood before them, "behold the forms which your warriors take for men—mere goats—squalid, deformed, hideous—and, as experience has often proved, cowards, who, before they close hands in battle, cast away their arms and turn to flight."[2] But neither the spectacle nor

Distress of the Romans.

c. xxix. &c. Gibbon says, "There are not wanting some specious and perhaps solid reasons which might justify the resolution of Julian. The navigation of the Euphrates never ascended above Babylon, nor that of the Tigris above Opis. The distance of the last-mentioned city from the Roman camp was not very considerable; and Julian must soon have renounced the vain and impracticable attempt of forcing upwards a great fleet against the stream of a rapid river, which in several places was embarrassed by natural or artificial cataracts. The power of sails and oars was insufficient; it became necessary to tow the ships against the current of the river; the strength of 20,000 soldiers was exhausted in this tedious and servile labour; and if the Romans continued to march along the banks of the Tigris, they could only expect to return home without achieving any enterprise worthy of the genius or fortune of their leader. If, on the contrary, it was advisable to advance into the inland country, the destruction of the fleet and magazines was the only measure which could save that valuable prize from the hands of the numerous and active troops which would suddenly be poured from the gates of Ctesiphon. Had the arms of Julian been victorious, we should now admire the conduct as well as the courage of a hero who, by depriving his soldiers of the hopes of a retreat, left them only the alternative of death or conquest," (Decline and Fall, &c. c. xxiv.)

[1] Ammian. lib. xxiv. c. vii.

[2] Has ob res ut solaretur anxios milites Princeps, captivos graciles suâpte naturâ, ut penè sunt Persæ, et macie jam confectos jussit in medium duci:

the speech could reconcile the Romans to their disastrous situation. A. D. 363.
A council was summoned and long discussions ensued. The army, giving license to its feelings, called loudly to be led back by its former route. But the emperor strongly resisted the measure, and many joined with him to demonstrate its impracticability. Almost everything in the immense plain before them was destroyed; the few huts, which still remained, were wholly deserted; snow and melted ice had inundated all the roads, and the swollen torrents already caused the rivers to overflow. It was that season, moreover, in which the oppressive heat drew forth from marshy lands clouds of insects, which in a manner darkened the sky. Indecision prevailed. Victims were butchered, and their entrails consulted; but no guidance could be elicited from their appearances. The necessity of coming to some conclusion, rather than the conviction of the expediency of the scheme, induced the emperor to fix upon proceeding to Corduene, a small province, subject to the Romans, in the south of Armenia. The army had just begun to march at daybreak, when a dark volume of rising dust, the unknown cause of which gave rise to numerous conjectures, made them halt. They stood in battle array, in a circular figure, having made a sort of rampart of bucklers. Thus they remained, ignorant of the cause of this cloud of dust, which grew denser till the evening. Filled with anxiety, they passed the night, without daring to close their eyes. The first rays of the morning discovered afar the glittering armour of the king's forces, from which they were separated by a small river. They burned to rush to the conflict; but Julian checked their impatience. A sanguinary encounter, however, took place between the Roman and Persian scouts, which terminated in the discomfiture of the latter.[1] Moving forward, the army arrived at a place called Hucumbra, where they found, during two days, more than a sufficiency of provisions, and burned what they were unable to transport. The next day the Persians made an abrupt attack on the rear-guard, which would have been easily destroyed, had not the cavalry immediately perceived and baffled their design.

A council of war is summoned.

A. D. 363. June 16.

Skirmishes.

At length the Persians resolved to try the issue of a regular combat. Their immense army, commanded by two sons of the king and several nobles of Persia, was drawn up in a place called Marenga. The aspect of troops completely locked in iron armour, admirably adjusted to their limbs, their faces hidden by casques, shaped like human visages, which admitted but the smallest aper-

Battle of Marenga.

---

nostrosque respiciens, "En," inquit, "quos Martia ista pectora viros existimant, difformes illuvie capellas et tætras, utque crebri docuerunt eventus, antequam manus conferant, abjectis armis vertentes semet in fugam." (Ammian. lib. xxiv. c. vii.) A similar expedient was tried by Agesilaus. See Plut. in Agesil.

[1] Ammian. lib. xxiv.

A. D. 363. tures for their eyes and nostrils; the spearmen, standing so immoveable that they seemed riveted by chains to the spot;[1] near them the archers, dreaded for their destructive skill in the management of the bow; and next, the elephants, scaring with terrible noise the Roman horses, and mounted by riders ready with drawn knives to destroy the unwieldy animals the moment they became unmanageable; all, says the military narrator,[2] presented a scene which it was impossible to view without alarm. Julian ranged his army with its wings bent in the form of a crescent, and, lest the archers should throw it into confusion, he advanced, when within reach of the arrows, with the utmost rapidity up to the hostile front.[3] The shock was long and bloody; but the Persians, little accustomed to close conflict, at length gave way, discharging in their flight showers of darts, which precluded pursuit. The loss on their side was far more considerable than on that of the Romans, who, fatigued, but revived in spirits, returned to their camp, there to find a very different, but a more dreadful, enemy.

Want of provisions.

Want of food was now felt in a degree scarcely tolerable. Harvests and pastures had been wasted by fire, and men and cattle were alike reduced to the last extremity. It became necessary to distribute among the lowest ranks of the army the provisions which the counts and tribunes had destined for their own use. Alive to the state of suffering which surrounded him, the emperor claimed no exemption from the hardships and privations of his subjects. In a small tent, he not only contented himself with a scanty portion of the coarsest fare, but, forgetful of his own wants, shared his humble repast with the most indigent.

Julian's vision.

One night, after a brief interval of light and uneasy sleep, having awakened, according to custom, to indulge in literary composition, for even at this critical season the soldier never lost the character of sage, while his attention was profoundly absorbed by some philosophical subject—a moment, it may be remarked, when the mind is most open to superstitious influences,—he imagined he saw (as he related to his friends) the same genius of the empire, whom

[1] Pars contis dimicatura stabat immobilis, ut retinaculis æreis fixum existimares.—Id. lib. xxv. c. i.

[2] Ammian. lib. xxv. c. i. They imitated the speedy manner of killing them followed by Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, and thus described by Livy: Elephanti plures ab ipsis rectoribus, quam ab hoste interfecti. Fabrile scalprum cum malleo habebant: id, ubi sævire belluæ ac ruere in suos cæperant, magister inter aures positum ipsa in compage, quâ jungitur capiti cervix, quanto maximo poterat ictu adigebat. Ea celerrima via mortis in tantæ molis bellua inventa erat, ubi regendi spem vicisset; primusque id Hasdrubal instituerat. (lib. xxvii. c. xlix.)

[3] Illatis concitatius signis spiculorum impetum fregit. The same manœuvre had been adopted by Miltiades at the battle of Marathon. (Herod. lib. vi. c. cxii.) So also Ventidius against the Parthians. (Frontin. lib. ii. c. ii.)

he declared to have appeared to him previously to his assumption of the title of Augustus.[1] The phantom was now changed. Its head and its horn of abundance were covered with a veil, and it retired with an air of melancholy from the imperial pavilion.[2] Recovering from a momentary impression of amazement, he arose, and offered to heaven his midnight sacrifice to avert the impending misfortune. While performing this rite, he beheld a furrow of light, which, like a falling meteor, traversed the air and vanished. His excited imagination, gathering the most sinister presages from this phenomenon, viewed in it the menacing constellation of Mars. Before dawn, Julian, in the greatest haste, sent for the Tuscan haruspices, who, having declared that the fatal sign had warned him against undertaking any enterprise, conjured him, if not to abandon, at least to postpone, his march. Heedless of advice, which his active temperament must have found unpalatable, and the existing emergency might have rendered dangerous, he ordered his tents to be struck as soon as day appeared. A. D. 363.

The Persians, taught by frequent disasters that they were but an unequal match with the more practised troops of the Romans in regular conflict, contented themselves with the devices of stratagem, in which their proverbial subtilty was more likely to insure them success. Keeping to their heights, they watched and followed the advancing enemy, ready to take advantage of any opportunity of successful annoyance which might arise.

Retreat of the Romans.

The Romans were moving onward in columns, which, owing to the nature of the ground, were not closely serried, but still were well protected in flank; and Julian, who through unwariness, or perhaps over-confidence, remained unarmed, was in front, reconnoitring the country through which their march was to be held, when sudden information arrived that the rear of the army was attacked. On the spur of the moment, without stopping to put on his armour, he hastily snatched his buckler, and flew to the scene of disorder. While thus engaged, he was recalled by the embarrassing intelligence, that the vanguard was equally assailed. As he hastened with unabated activity to stay the evil in all directions, a body of Persian cavalry, sheathed in complete armour, poured upon the centre, and stretching themselves to the left wing, which had begun to bend back, dealt merciless havoc among the Roman bands, who were unable to sustain the appalling noise and onset of their elephants. But the presence of their great commander, reckless of perils, throwing himself into the thickest ranks, produced an instantaneous effect on the infantry, and they rallied with a bold and successful charge. The Emperor, waving his hands, pointed out the flying enemy to his troops, urged them on with an animating cry to the pursuit, and mingled with

They are attacked.

[1] See above, p. 189.

[2] Ammian. lib. xxv. c. ii.

A. D. 363. headlong ardour in the fray. His guards admonished him against exposing himself thus rashly to a throng, most formidable in flight.[1]

Julian is wounded.

Just then a javelin, shot by some unknown hand,[2] grazed against his arm, and, entering his side, remain fixed in his liver. After mangling his fingers in useless efforts to tear out the double-edged weapon, he fell from his horse, and was carried by his followers into the tent. No sooner was the wound probed, than gradually recovering from the pain, he called for his horse and arms, to return to the field and restore the courage of his men. But his strength, ill responsive to the mighty spirit that yearned for the onslaught, forsook him, and, exhausted with loss of blood, he found himself unable to move his limbs.

The battle terminates doubtfully.

The sight of Julian, the idol of the army, borne back bleeding to the camp, filled the soldiers with the liveliest emotions of grief mingled with revenge. Striking their spears upon their bucklers, they resolved to inflict signal punishment on the authors of their distress. Chiefless, —blinded with clouds of dust,—oppressed by the excessive heat,—they fought with the frantic courage of desperation. The Persians, on the other hand, slowly preceded by their elephants, which alarmed both men and horses by their enormous masses and waving trunks, rendered themselves almost invisible by the dense showers of arrows which they discharged. The clash of arms, the snorting of steeds, and the groans of the wounded, continued, says the narrator,[3] to be heard afar, till night put an end to the conflict and separated the two parties, wearied out with fatigue and sated with vengeance. Fifty lords and satraps, with two principal generals and a great number of inferior rank among the Persians, left dead on the field, attested the relentless ferocity of the struggle.

Credulous to the last, Julian did not consider his wound as mortal, because, according to his account, it was foretold by an oracle that he would close his days in Phrygia, which he understood to mean the province of Asia Minor, which bears that name. But on learning that the spot on which he lay was so called, he became sensible that all hopes of life must be resigned.

Julian's dying address.

His friends then assembled in his tent round the dying chieftain, with looks in which the deepest dejection was impressed. Julian, stretched on a lion's skin, his customary couch, alone betrayed no symptom of weakness. "The time is arrived, my beloved friends," he said, "when I am summoned, though at an early season, to depart

[1] Chez eux fuir c'étoit combattre. Montesquieu, Grandeur et Décadence des Romans. See Jondot, Hist. de Julien, p. 312.

[2] A rumour was spread that he had been slain by the Romans themselves. (Ammian. lib. xxv. c. i.) The Christians are charged, without any appearance of reason, as having instigated his assassination. Liban. De Ulciscend. Julian. nece, c. xiii. See Gibbon, Decline and Fall, &c. c. xxiv.

[3] Ammian. lib. xxv. c. iii.

from life. The loan, which nature re-demands, I return with all the cheerfulness of a faithful debtor, and not, as some might imagine, with reluctant sorrow. Taught by philosophy the surpassing excellence of the soul over the body, I find more reason to rejoice than to repine at the emancipation of the nobler from the baser substance. I likewise reflect that the gods have often sent death as the highest recompense of piety. I reckon it as a blessing which has prevented me from fainting under the pressure of difficulties, and from committing any action unworthy of myself. I have observed of all pains, that as they triumph over the weak and impatient, so they yield to those who resist them with perseverance and courage. I die without remorse. I am not stung with the recollection of having fallen into any heinous crime, either in the obscurity of early life or since the assumption of the purple. I have regarded the imperial authority as an emanation from the gods, which I trust I have preserved pure and unsullied, by governing my people with moderation, and avoiding to embark in war without mature deliberation. If my efforts have not always been successful, it is because success is at the disposal of a higher power. Convinced that the interest and happiness of his subjects ought to form the sole object of a good prince, I have always, as you know, leaned to tranquil and pacific views,[1] and I have banished from my conduct that licentiousness which is destructive alike of the moral principles and of the prosperity of states. But whenever the republic, whom I venerate as a mother, has called me to open dangers, I have encountered them with the firmness of one accustomed to trample under foot the varied accidents of fortune. I will not conceal from you that it had been predicted to me that I should fall by a violent death. I offer thanks to the everlasting Deity that I do not terminate my days through secret treason, or by the protracted torture of disease, or after the manner of condemned criminals,[2] but that I have earned a great and glorious end in the mid-career of brilliant achievements. In the opinion of all just judges, it is equally pusillanimous to long for death when it behoves us to live, for to regret life when it is time to die. My failing strength prevents me from speaking longer. I purposely abstain from naming my successor. My choice might be erroneous, and if rejected, it might perhaps expose to peril the person to whom it pointed. But as a faithful son of the republic, I hope she may obtain after my death a virtuous ruler."[3]

A. D. 363.

His views of the imperial authority.

[1] The insincerity of this assertion is obvious. Lituos somniabat et prœlia. (Ammian. lib. xxii.)

[2] Vel damnatorum fine. Florent. MS. The common reading "delicatorum" is not inconsistent with the character of Julian.

[3] As a specimen of the style of Ammianus, the original speech is subjoined: Advenit, o socii, nunc abeundi tempus è vitâ impendio tempestivum, quam reposcenti Naturæ, ut debitor bonæ fidei, redditurus exsulto: non, ut quidam opinantur, adflictus et mœrens: Philosophorum sententiâ generali perdoctus,

A. D. 363. Having thus spoken in the most composed manner, he ordered that his body should be removed to Tarsus in Cilicia, and distributed his private property among his most intimate friends. On learning the death of one of these, Anatolius, whom he had desired to see, he gave way to his affliction. Yet the same man had forbidden lamentations for himself, remarking to the melancholy circle by which he was surrounded, that it was but weak and abject to grieve over a prince who was about to be united to the heavens.[1] While they strove to stifle their emotions, he entered into a subtle dispute with Maximus[2] and Priscus, the philosophers, on the excellence of the soul. But as his wound reopened and the inflammation increased, his breathing became embarrassed. He called for a draught of cold water, and had no sooner drunk it, than, about the middle of the night, he expired without pain.[3]

His death, June 26, A. D. 363.

---

quantum corpore sit beatior animus, et contemplans, quoties conditio melior à deteriore secernitur, lætandum esse potius, quàm dolendum. Illud quoque advertens, quod etiam Dii cælestes quibusdam piissimis mortem tanquam summum præmium persolverunt. Munus autem id mihi delatum optimè scio, ne difficultatibus succumberem arduis, neve me projiciam unquam aut prosternam: expertus, quod dolores omnes, ut insultant ignavis, ita persistentibus cedunt. Nec me gestorum pœnitet, aut gravis flagitii recordatio stringit, vel cum in umbram et angulos amandarer, vel post principatum susceptum: quem tanquam à cognatione cælitum defluentem, immaculatum (ut existimo) conservavi, et civilia moderatius regens, et examinatis rationibus bella inferens et repellens: tametsi prosperitas simul utilitasque consultorum non ubique concordent, quoniam cæptorum eventus superæ sibi vindicant potestates. Reputans autem, justi esse finem imperii, obedientium commodum et salutem, ad tranquilliora semper, ut nôstis, propensior fui, licentiam omnem actibus meis exterminans, rerum corruptricem et morum: gaudensque, adeo sciens, quod, ubicunque me velut imperiosa parens consideratis periculis objecit respublica, steti fundatus, turbines calcare fortuitorum adsuefactus. Nec fateri pudebit, interiturum me ferro dudum didici fide fatidicâ præcinente. Ideoque sempiternum veneror numen, quod non clandestinis insidiis, nec longâ morborum asperitate, vel damnatorum fine decedo: sed in medio cursu florentium gloriarum hunc merui clarum è mundo digressum. Æquo autem judicio, juxta timidus est et ignavus, qui, cùm non oportet, mori desiderat: et qui refugiat, cùm sit opportunum. Hactenus loqui vigore virium labente sufficiat. Super imperatore verò creando cautè reticeo, ne per imprudentiam dignum præteream: aut nominatum, quem habilem reor, anteposito forsitan alio in discrimen ultimum trudam. Ut alumnus autem reipublicæ frugi, opto bonum post me reperiri rectorem. (lib. xxv. c. iii.)

[1] Humile esse cœlo sideribusque conciliatum lugeri Principem dicens. (Ammian.)

[2] This philosopher, who had first inspired Julian with aversion for Christianity, had been invited to court by him, and received with marks of esteem, which Libanius has praised highly (Orat. xii.), but which Ammianus thought below the imperial dignity. (Ammian. lib. xxii.) He was so haughty as to be less easy of access than the emperor himself. (Eunap. c. v.) Julian's "whole court," says Dr. Bentley, "in a manner consisted of Haruspices, Sacrificuli, and Philosophers." Remarks on a late Discourse on Free-thinking.

[3] The above account rests on the testimony of the honest and well-informed Ammianus, with which the tales added by Christian writers seem inconsistent.

He was then in the thirty-second year of his age, having reigned seven years and a half from his elevation to the dignity of Cæsar, three years since his assumption of the title of Augustus, and one year eight months and twenty-one days since he had enjoyed the undisturbed possession of supreme power. A. D. 363.

Thus perished, in the vigour of his age, after a brief but eventful reign, one of the only princes who appeared capable, by the rare endowments which the vicissitudes of his chequered life developed, to call again into existence the ancient discipline of Rome, and to maintain the character of the empire on the precarious elevation which it had reached. It has been justly remarked that his last moments were a copy of the death of Socrates, but without the ease and natural simplicity of the original. There is, indeed, in the whole scene a certain self-complacent, theatrical air, not very consonant with true greatness. It does not bear the gentle character of resignation. It exhibits itself too ambitiously by a studied display of phrases; and the visible effort to produce, as it were, the striking and the sublime of some grand catastrophe, tends to deprive the situation of the essential qualities of earnestness and solemnity. Remarks.

In person Julian was of the middle size, but of a robust make, and thoroughly well-proportioned frame. His eyes were full of fire, and his eyebrows handsome. His hair was peculiarly smooth; his beard long, and terminated in a point. His nose was straight; his mouth rather large, and his under lip hanging.[1] His neck short and bent; his shoulders thick and broad; and his countenance neither regular nor remarkable for beauty.[2] His public life was one unremitting struggle against the degenerate habits of the age, by the fatal influence of which the sinews of Roman greatness were gradually unstrung. Combining the utmost ability with heroic courage, he displayed the various qualifications of a consummate military commander, no less in the conduct of sieges, the disposition of marches, and the management of encampments, than by the skilfulness of his plans, the fertility of his evolutions, and the boldness of his attempts in the field of battle. The terror of his arms continued long after the blows which they had inflicted were past; and the rugged tribes, which he had quelled into submission, remained tranquil until his death. Possessing that double art which both inspires affection and His character.

It is pretended, that when Julian felt himself wounded, imagining he saw Jesus Christ, he filled his hand with blood, and cast it towards heaven with the blasphemous exclamation: "Glut thyself! Thou hast conquered, Galilæan, but I still renounce thee!" &c. See Theodor. lib. iii. c. xx. Sozom. lib. vi. c. ii. See the different reports of his death in Le Beau, Hist. du Bas-Empire, tom. iii. p. 374.

[1] Labro inferiore demisso, al. diviso. It was, probably, the pouting lip, like that of the Imperial family of Austria. See Valesius and Wagner, in loc.

[2] Ammian. lib. xxv. c. iv. Comp. Misop. See also Greg. Nazianz. in Julian. Orat. ii.

A. D. 363. enforces authority, he contrived to induce his troops, even without pay, to encounter the fiercest adversaries; and he succeeded in leading on bands of men, long accustomed and devotedly attached to the bleak regions of Gaul, into distant countries of vast extent, through the burning plains of Assyria to the very frontiers of Media. So singular, indeed, was the ascendency which he had acquired, that the mere threat of retiring into private life was sufficient, as it were, to silence the murmurs of the discontented. His well-built frame, hardened by long practice, enabled him to brave the severest changes of climate, and to sustain the most harassing fatigues. Requiring but little sleep or sustenance, he divided the period which others lost in rest, between the duties of personal vigilance and the pursuits of literary composition. Of the less brilliant, but far more solid, qualities which constitute true greatness, his love of justice and moderation, with a few disgraceful exceptions, have appeared in the course of his history. The greater part of his time, when at Antioch, was devoted to judicial proceedings. Though he was apt during trials to put irrelevant questions respecting the sect to which the parties before the court belonged, his decisions are said to have been free from the bias of religious prejudice. They were generally marked by precision, though sometimes grounded rather on natural equity than on established law. Taught by experience the odious nature of calumny, he was slow to attend to the charges of informers; and he displayed the most dignified contempt for points to which weak and unjust princes would have attached considerable weight. He rejected accusations, even when directed against men for whom he entertained a personal dislike. Yet the impartial historian has stated as a circumstance which but ill accords with his character for equity, that in his reign persons who complained against magistrates, however distinguished might be their own privileges, connections, and services, seldom obtained the redress they deserved, and found themselves compelled to purchase by secret bribes exemption from annoyance. His chastity,[1] a virtue which he considered as shedding as fair a lustre on the mind as beauty confers on the body, was not, even in the ardour of youth, exposed to the slightest suspicion from his most intimate followers. When in Assyria, a country no less remarkable for the seductive beauty than for the pliant morals of the female sex,[2] he preserved unimpeached the character of stoical indifference by which he was distinguished, and refused even to venture on the sight of the fair captives whom the chances of war had placed in his possession.[3]

His constitution, vigour, and form.

His chastity.

[1] Mamert. in Panegyr. Vet. Liban. Orat. Parent. c. lxxxviii. Recolebat sæpè dictum Lyrici Bacchylidis, quem legebat jucundè, id adserentem, quod ut egregius pictor vultum speciosum effingit, ita pudicitia celsius consurgentem vitam exornat. Ammian. lib. xxv. c. iv.

[2] Quint. Curt. lib. v. &c.

[3] Ammian. lib. xxiv. c. iv.

In a word,[1] had his virtues, flowing in a more natural and equable course from genuine feeling, depended less on the forced and fitful suggestions of artificial self-schooling; had a proper sense of dignity imparted the minor attributes of grace to his demeanour, and true magnanimity enhanced the splendour of his exploits, by withdrawing from them all appearance of vanity and ostentation;[2] and, above all, had right views of religion inspired a more just and benign, as well as more rational, spirit to his policy and conduct; his name, uniting the military fame of Alexander with the virtuous reputation of Marcus Aurelius, the two objects of his imitation,[3] would have shone among the most illustrious in the annals of history.[4] A. D. 363.

His body was transported to Tarsus, and buried near that city. His monument, rising on the banks of the Cydnus, was regarded by Is buried near Tarsus.

[1] Thomas, after having shown the difference between the character of Julian and that of Marcus Aurelius, whom he affected to imitate, justly observes: Son extérieur étoit simple, son caractère ne l'étoit pas. Ses discours, ses actions avoient de l'appareil et sembloient avertir qu'il étoit grand. Suivez-le; sa passion pour la gloire perce partout. Il lui faut un théâtre et des battemens de mains. Il s'indigne qu'on les refuse. Il se venge, il est vrai, plus en homme d'esprit qu'en prince irrité qui commandoit à cent mille hommes; mais il se venge. Il court à la renommée; il l'appelle. Il flatte pour être flatté. Il veut être tout à la fois Platon, Marc-Aurèle, et Alexandre. (Essai sur les Eloges, c. xx.)

[2] His character, as drawn by Prudentius, is well known:—

——— Ductor fortissimus armis;
Conditor et legum celeberrimus; ore manuque
Consultor patriæ; sed non consultor habendæ
Religionis; amans tercentûm millia Divûm.
Perfidus ille Deo, sed non et perfidus Orbi.
Apotheos. 450, *&c.*

Ammianus has thus candidly mentioned his defects: Levioris ingenii: verum hoc instituto rectissimo temperabat, emendari se, cum deviaret à fruge bonâ, permittens. Linguæ fusioris et admodum raro silentis: præsagiorum sciscitationi nimiæ deditus, ut æquiparare videretur in hâc parte principem Hadrianum: superstitiosus magis, quàm sacrorum legitimus observator, innumeras sine parsimoniâ pecudes mactans; ut æstimaretur, si revertisset de Parthis, boves jam defuturos: Marci illius similis Cæsaris, in quem id accepimus dictum, Οἱ λευκοὶ βόες Μάρκῳ τῷ Καίσαρι. Ἂν σὺ νικήσῃς, ἡμεῖς ἀπωλόμεθα. Vulgi plausibus lætus, laudum etiam ex minimis rebus intemperans adpetitor, popularitatis cupiditate cum indignis loqui sæpe adfectans, &c. (lib. xxv.)

[3] Comp. Julian. Ep. ad Themist.

[4] In this account of Julian, besides the original text of Ammianus, we have chiefly followed the elegant work of La Bléterie, Vie de Julien. Additional information may be found in Jondot, Histoire de l'Empereur Julien, 2 vols. Paris, 1817. This latter work, though it contains many just strictures on the conduct of the emperor, is for the most part written in a vein of declamatory detraction. The author is fond of drawing a parallel in his Notes between the Russian expedition of Bonaparte and the Parthian war of Julian. M. Jondot has likewise given an account of Julian in the Biographie Universelle, tom. xxii. Heyler mentions the following Work also on the subject of Julian. Ueber den Kaiser Julianus und sein Zeitalter. Ein historisches Gemälde, von A. Neander. Leips. 1812.

A. D. 363. the pagans as a temple, and bore engraven on it the following simple distich :—

Julian, having passed the rapid-rolling Tigris, lies here.
He united the qualities of a good prince and a brave warrior.[1]

---

[1] ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟϹ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΙΓΡΙΝ ΑΓΑΡΡΟΟΝ ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΤΑΙ·
ΑΜΦΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΒΑϹΙΛΕΥϹ Τ' ΑΓΑΘΟϹ ΚΡΑΤΕΡΟϹΤ' ΑΙΧΜΗΤΗϹ.
Zosimus.

Cedrenus says: Τὸ δύστηνον σῶμα ἀπεκομίσθη ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει καὶ ἐτέθη ἐν λάρνακι πορφυρᾷ κυλινδροειδεῖ, ἐν ᾧ ἐπέγραψεν ἐλεγεῖον τόδε,

ΚΤΑΝΩ ΕΠ' ΑΡΓΥΡΟΕΝΤΙ, ΑΠ' ΕΥΦΡΗΤΑΟ ΡΟΑΩΝ
ΠΕΡΣΙΔΟϹ ΕΚ ΓΑΙΗϹ ΑΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΤΩ ΕΠΙ ΕΡΓΩ
ΚΙΝΗϹΑϹ ϹΤΡΑΤΙΑΝ, ΤΟΔΕ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟϹ ΛΑΧΕ ϹΗΜΑ,
ΑΜΦΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΒΑϹΙΛΕΥϹ Τ' ΑΓΑΘΟϹ ΚΡΑΤΕΡΟϹΤ' ΑΙΧΜΗΤΗϹ.

See Lindenbrog. not. in Amm. Marcell. lib. xxv. c. 10.





The East and the West.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF JOVIAN TO THE FINAL DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE UNDER ARCADIUS AND HONORIUS.

FROM A. D. 363 TO A. D. 395.

A. D. 363. State of Roman army on the death of Julian.

UPON the death of Julian, the Romans found themselves surrounded with the greatest difficulties and dangers. From the varying accounts which have come down to us of the issue of the battle in which the emperor fell, it is doubtful whether he bequeathed to his successor a defeat or a victory; but the privations to which the soldiers were immediately afterwards exposed, rendered it almost a matter of indifference whether they could claim a triumph, or were compelled to acknowledge a repulse. Their provisions were already exhausted, and as the Persians had removed or destroyed everything which could supply the wants of the invaders, the deepest apprehensions were entertained throughout the camp that the legions would soon be compelled either to surrender to the enemy, or to fall under the more alarming attacks of famine and disease.[1]

Early in the morning of the 27th of June the principal officers assembled to elect a chief, and to deliberate on the means of extricating the army from the perilous situation in which it was placed. As the death of Julian was sudden, neither of the two great factions which at that period divided the empire, had an opportunity of promoting its particular interests by securing the vacant throne for one of its partisans; and as the safety of the troops required the aid of a

[1] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxv. c. vi.; Zosim. lib. iii. c. xxx.

A. D. 363. prudent and experienced leader, the voice of the electors was nearly unanimous in offering the purple to Sallustius, a soldier of high reputation, and who enjoyed the dignity of præfect in one of the eastern provinces. This distinguished veteran justified the opinion which had been formed of his character by the steadiness with which he refused to accept an office, to the duties of which, he alleged, his age and infirmities had rendered him unequal. His self-denial, however, threw the assembly into some embarrassment, and the commanders had already begun to listen to the suggestion of an inferior officer, who advised them to confine all their cares, in the mean time, to the removal of the army from a wasted and hostile country, and to postpone the election of an emperor until they should reach the borders of Mesopotamia, where they would receive at once a supply of food and a powerful reinforcement of men, when a few individuals shouted the name of Jovian as the future master of the Roman state. The tumultuary acclamation was instantly taken up by those who surrounded the tent, and who were waiting with impatience the result of the conference; and, accordingly, before half of the troops could be informed that the nephew of Constantine had expired, the authority of his successor was fully established by the suffrages or acquiescence of their generals. Ammianus, indeed, relates that they were proceeding from the camp to begin their march, when the new emperor, decorated with the ensigns of his rank, made his appearance amongst them, and that as his name, which now resounded from every quarter, bore a great resemblance to that of his predecessor, the soldiers imagined that Julian felt so little inconvenience from his wound as to be able to put himself at their head, and to resume the fatigues of war. But this momentary joy, he adds, was followed by affliction and tears when they found what had actually come to pass, and that their destiny was now confided to a leader whose military talents had not yet acquired their confidence.

Election of Jovian.

Flavius Claudius Jovianus was the son of Varronianus, an officer of talent, who commanded one of the corps to which Diocletian gave the name of Jovians; the origin, perhaps, of the appellation which was introduced into his family. He was a native of Mœsia, and probably a soldier of fortune; but being now advanced in years he lived in retirement, enjoying a degree of reputation which, it has been insinuated, reflected upon the successor of Julian the only distinction which attached to his person. Jovian held an office in the imperial establishment, which conferred a considerable share of dignity and was usually bestowed as a mark of favour, or as a proof of confidence, on the part of the reigning prince. As he lent the weight of his power to the restoration of Christianity, his fame has been cherished by some of the best writers among the fathers of the Church; while, on the other hand, his conduct in this respect roused the indignation of the Pagan historians, who have laboured to depreciate his abilities

Lineage and character of the new emperor.

both as a soldier and as a statesman. The shortness of his reign did A. D. 363.
not supply materials sufficiently ample to establish the conjectures of either party; but it seems to be admitted by the least favourable of his biographers, that his mind was generous and his manners affable,—that he was fond of literature and much disposed to further its advancement,—that he was active and capable of prolonged application,—and, finally, that he was sincere in his religious preferences, and liberal towards those who retained a different form of relief. It is not denied, at the same time, by his panegyrists, that he was deficient in experience, and altogether unaccustomed to high command; and, moreover, that in matters of personal indulgence he did not always exercise such a degree of restraint as would have become his rank in the state and his profession as a Christian. But it is worthy of being recorded, that even Ammianus, who was very little inclined to flatter his memory, acknowledges that the few faults with which he was chargeable were of such a nature as respect for his imperial dignity would, probably, have led him to correct.[1]



Jovianus.

Sapor informed of the death of Julian.

While Jovian was yet receiving the homage of the army, a standard-bearer, who had reason to dread his resentment, went over to the enemy, and, upon being admitted to the audience of Sapor, informed him that Julian was no more, and that the lowest of the military had set up in his place the mere phantom of an emperor, a simple guardsman, equally destitute of talents and of courage. The king was delighted with this intelligence, which relieved his mind from great apprehension. He immediately issued orders to his cavalry to prepare for an attack, resolving to hang upon the rear of the Romans during their retreat towards the Tigris.

He attacks the Romans.

Scarcely, then, had the legions proceeded from their camp when they found themselves assailed by a numerous body of horsemen, supported by a line of elephants. The Roman cavalry were thrown into some disorder at the first onset, and were about to give way, when the foot soldiers advanced to the charge, drove back the huge animals which had trampled down the light squadrons, and, after a sanguinary struggle, compelled the barbarians to retire. But the historian remarks that this advantage was purchased by the Romans at a dear price, for it cost them the lives of three of their bravest

[1] Edax tamen et vino venerique indulgens; quæ vitia Imperiali verecundiâ forsitan correxisset. Ammian. Mar. lib. xxv. c. vi.

A. D. 363. officers. At the close of the day, Jovian encamped near a small town or fortress, called Sumara, and on the following morning, as the enemy had again begun to act on the offensive, he deemed it necessary to entrench the advanced guard of his army in a narrow plain, encompassed on all sides by elevated ground. Here the Persians discharged upon them showers of arrows, and even made an attempt to reach the imperial tent by bursting through the Prætorian gate with a band of determined horsemen. This effort being repelled, the Romans continued their march to Earcha, from whence they pursued their route next day to Dura, a village situated on the banks of the Tigris.[1]

Murmurs of the soldiers.

Not more than four days had elapsed since the death of Julian, but so great were the sufferings of the troops, aggravated by undefined alarms as to the final result of the campaign, that it had already become extremely difficult to dissuade them from having recourse to the most desperate measures. At the position just named a report spread through the army that the frontiers of the empire were at hand, separated from them only by the river, along the course of which their march had been for some time directed. Misled by this false statement, the soldiers addressed the emperor with clamorous importunity, entreating that they might be permitted to attempt the passage of the Tigris, and thereby put an end to the miseries of their retreat. In vain was it that Jovian, with the principal officers, opposed this rash project, representing to them that a river at all times rapid, and now swoln by the melting snows of Armenia, could not be crossed but by the most dexterous swimmers,—that the enemy was in possession of both banks,—and that if a few of the strongest of their number should gain the opposite side, it would only be to fall into their hands. These wise remonstrances were entirely disregarded. Threatenings were mingled with the seditious shouts of the legionaries, and it became necessary to permit a limited number of Gauls and Germans to make the attempt. The emperor trusted that if they perished, the rest would become more reasonable, and that, if they succeeded, means might be devised for transporting the whole.[2]

Attempted passage of the Tigris.

Under the favour of night, five hundred practised swimmers threw themselves into the Tigris, and crossed it in less time than the most resolute had dared to hope. The Persians, who guarded the right bank, were buried in deep sleep, and consequently fell an easy prey into the hands of their enemies. Upon the return of dawn the Germans made a signal to announce their success, which induced the emperor to listen to the scheme of his engineers, who undertook to construct a species of bridge formed of inflated bladders and covered

[1] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxv.; Liban. Orat. Parent.

[2] Zosim. lib. iii. c. xxx. c. xxxi.; Ammian. Mar. lib. xxv. c. vi. Liban. Orat. Parent.

with reeds. Two days were spent in a fruitless struggle with the rapid current, which incessantly swept away the frail materials which the architects laid upon it; after which, as the soldiers had in the mean time consumed the remainder of their provisions, the whole army became quite furious, and demanded to be led against their pursuers, that they might die with arms in their hands, rather than sink by slow degrees under the horrors of famine. A. D. 363.

Sapor offers peace.

At this important crisis overtures for peace were made by Sapor, who, it is thought, being unwilling to drive the Romans to despair, or to expose himself further to the vicissitudes of fortune, proposed to sell to the invaders that security which they could no longer hope to procure by force of arms. Ammianus and Eutropius both served in this disastrous campaign, and wrote the history of it; and yet it is not easy to draw from their pages a satisfactory view of the reasons which induced the Persian monarch to prefer negotiation with beaten foes, to the honour of expelling them from his territory, or of retaining them in perpetual servitude. The latter of these writers does not conceal that the Romans had been worsted in more than one action, and hence that the peace which Jovian made was as necessary as it was disgraceful; while, on the other hand, the former maintains that his countrymen were uniformly victorious, and that the desire for an armistice was suggested to Sapor, not less by a regard to his own situation, than by any feeling of generosity, which may be supposed to have influenced him towards the remains of Julian's army.[1]

Negotiation.

Having listened to the propositions of Sapor, delivered by the general of cavalry and another individual of similar rank, Jovian thought proper to send two deputies to the Persian quarters, to ascertain from the mouth of the sovereign himself the terms on which he would consent to the termination of hostilities. The officers whom he chose for this purpose were Sallustius, who had declined the purple, and Arinthæus, a person of remarkable strength and valour, and esteemed one of the best captains of his age.

Insincere conduct of Sapor.

The conduct of the aged monarch did not justify the professions of self-denial and humanity which he had instructed his representatives to make. On the contrary, he gave reason to suspect his real motive was to gain time, and, by detaining the Romans in his country till their strength should be exhausted, to render retreat and resistance equally impracticable. It was remarked of him that he managed a negotiation on the same principle which he followed in carrying on war. The more the envoys of Jovian conceded, the more he demanded; and in proportion as they removed difficulties he busied himself in creating them. In this way four days were consumed, during which, Ammi-

[1] Jam turbatis rebus, exercitu quoque inopiâ laborante, uno a Persis atque altero prœlio victus pacem cum Sapore necessariam quidem sed ignobilem fecit. Eut. lib. x. Omnibus pene prœliis pars Romana superior. Ammian. Mar. lib. xxv. c. vi.

A. D. 363. anus informs us, the Romans endured the severest sufferings. Had the emperor, says he, penetrated the designs of Sapor, and continued his march while the treaty was on foot, he would certainly, in the interval which was lost, have reached the strongholds of Corduena, a fruitful and friendly region, from which he was not distant more than a hundred miles.[1]

Peace concluded—the terms.

As the strength of the Romans was founded on despair, the hope of peace melted their resolution, and weakened the desire of resistance. Hence Jovian, who had been deceived by the arts of his antagonist, no longer possessed the alternative of continuing the war. The terms dictated by the wily Persian, were disadvantageous, and even disgraceful to the empire; for he insisted, not only on having restored to him the five provinces beyond the Tigris, which had been wrested from his grandfather by Maximianus Galerus, but also upon receiving the impregnable city of Nisibis, Singara, and a place of arms called the Castle of the Moors, one of the strongest fortresses in Mesopotamia. Perhaps the hardest, or at least the most humiliating, of all the conditions, was that which prohibited the Romans from interposing in the affairs of Armenia, and even from granting assistance to Arsaces, the king of that country, in the event of his being attacked by any of the neighbouring powers. On this basis, so little creditable to the great empire of the west, was a truce of thirty years established, duly ratified by oaths and religious ceremonies, and confirmed by the exchange of hostages. All that Jovian could obtain from the generosity of the Persian ruler was permission to the garrisons of the castles, and to the inhabitants of the towns, which were ceded to him, to retire with their families into the nearest lands of the Romans.[2]

Sufferings of the Romans, and passage of the Tigris.

It does not appear that the emperor made any stipulation for obtaining food or a passage across the river for his famished soldiers. It is, indeed, very probable that, as the barbarians had no magazines, they could not have drawn a supply from the desolated country through which the armies had recently marched; but they had formed a bridge at no great distance from Dura, the use of which would have saved much time and life to the Romans, now fatigued and dispirited in the highest degree. Relieved from the dread of the Persian cavalry, the troops were indeed permitted to spread into the fields in search of fruits or water, or even of a shorter road to the place at which it was determined that they should pass the Tigris; while some of them, impatient to leave a country in which they had experienced nothing but various forms

[1] Quo temporis spatio antequam hi mitterentur, si exabusus princeps paulatim terris hostilibus excessisset, profectò venisset ad præsidia Corduenæ, uberis regionis et nostræ, ex eo loco in quo hæc agebantur centesimo lapide disparatæ. Ammian. Mar. lib. xxv. c. vii.

[2] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxv. c. vii.; Zosim. lib. iii. c. xxxii.

of suffering, threw themselves into the stream, with the faint hope of reaching the further bank. The greater part of these perished in the water; the others fell into the hands of the Saracens stationed along the river, who, enraged at the loss of their comrades, recently surprised by the Gauls, put their captives to death without mercy.[1] A. D. 363.

Pass through the desert and reach Mesopatamia

It is remarkable that none of the historians have mentioned the precise spot where Jovian embarked the relics of his army. The passage appears to have been effected without any annoyance from the enemy; but, owing to the want of boats, and the insufficiency of the other means which were used as a substitute, the sacrifice of life was very great. At the distance of a few leagues from the Tigris, the Romans encamped near the deserted city of Atra, a place rendered famous by the fruitless attempts to reduce it, which were successively made by Trajan, by Severus, and by Artaxerxes, the founder of the second Persian monarchy. Nearly two hundred miles of wilderness still stretched out before them, in which there was neither grass nor water for their cattle, and the greater part of which presented not the trace of a human foot. They, therefore, killed a number of their camels and other beasts of burden, and supplied themselves with as much water as they could carry; after which they proceeded upon their dreary march through the Mesopotamian desert. At the end of six days they met near the Castle of Ur a small convoy of provisions, forwarded by the Generals Procopius and Sebastianus, who, immediately after the election of the new emperor, had received notice of the distressed state of the army, by means of a tribune whom Jovian had despatched for that purpose. This supply, therefore, was the more gratifying to the prince, inasmuch as it assured him of the fidelity of two commanders, whose adhesion to his government, in his present circumstances, was of the very first importance, and, in fact, implied that of all the oriental provinces. At length the remains of a powerful army arrived under the walls of Nisibis, leaving the sandy waste strewed with their arms, their baggage, and even the unburied bones of their comrades, and presenting in their haggard countenances a picture of the misery which they had survived, and of the sufferings which they still continued to endure.[2]

Sensations created by the news of such disasters.

The intelligence, which now rapidly spread throughout the eastern parts of the empire, of the death of Julian, and of the unfortunate treaty by which it was succeeded, created everywhere a deep sensation. Disappointment prevailed among all classes of men, and a sincere grief among those who were attached to ancient maxims in religion and philosophy. Zosimus relates that the first person who

[1] Liban. Orat. Parent.; Ammian. Mar. ubi suprà.

[2] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxv. c. ix.; Liban. Orat. Parent.; Zosim. lib. iii. c. xxxiii.

A. D. 363. announced at Carrhena the demise of the emperor was overwhelmed with a shower of stones. But the inhabitants of Nisibis deprecated with the loudest lamentations the fatal conditions of the peace. They saw themselves exposed to the resentment of Sapor, their most inveterate enemy, and their city laid open to the incursions of those barbarous tribes, which constantly hovered upon the borders of the adjoining desert. The only hope which they could entertain was founded upon the importance of their station as a frontier town, upon their unshaken fidelity, and upon the services which they had lately rendered to the commonwealth. They were unwilling to believe that Jovian would persist in delivering them up to the Persians; they flattered themselves that, though he might feel his personal honour so far bound by the oaths which he had pronounced as not directly to contravene the treaty, he would nevertheless allow them to take up arms in their own defence, and intrust their safety to the strength of their walls.[1]

The fate of Nisibis, and distress of inhabitants.

The emperor, who had resolved to abandon them to their fate, refused an invitation on their part to take up his abode in the city, and to occupy the palace as all his predecessors had done. On the following day, Bineses, a lord of the Persian court, who accompanied Jovian, as well in the capacity of a hostage as to press the execution of the treaty, entered Nisibis attended by the proper authorities, and displayed on the citadel the standard of the great king. The sight of this fatal flag, and the order which the inhabitants received to withdraw from their native dwellings, threw them into the deepest consternation. They once more importuned their sovereign for leave to defend their fortifications, and to drive from their gates an enemy whom they had already so frequently baffled. But he was more deaf than ever to their entreaties; and the only reply which he vouchsafed to make to them was the publication of an edict, commanding them, under pain of death, to depart from the city within three days.

The scene which followed is described in very moving language by Ammianus, whose duty called upon him to witness it in all its details. Nisibis presented the appearance of a place taken by assault. Persons of all ages were seen collecting what they esteemed most precious in their houses and in the tombs of their ancestors, while, agitated by the most violent passions, they were heard mingling the accents of fury, despair, and grief with the names of their oppressors. The roads were soon covered with these poor fugitives, groaning under their burdens, and seeking the first asylum which Providence should be pleased to offer them. The most part took refuge under the walls of Amida, where Jovian gave directions that a suburb should be built for their reception, which continued long afterwards to bear the name of the town whence they had been expelled.[2]

[1] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxv. c. viii.; Zosim. lib. iii. c. xxxiv.
[2] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxv. c. ix.; Zosim. lib. iii. c. xxxiii.

As soon as this melancholy task was performed, Jovian despatched Constantius, a tribune, with orders for the evacuation of Singara and the Castle of the Moors, as also to deliver up the five provinces on the west side of the Tigris to the officers of Sapor. Thus was executed to the fullest extent the famous treaty of Dura, which is regarded by most authors as making an epoch in the decline of Roman power, and as inflicting a wound upon the vitals of the empire, from which it never afterwards recovered. It was ever a fundamental principle in the policy of Rome to refuse to yield anything to force; and never were this people more proud and unbending than when they had suffered a reverse. This valuable maxim had survived the republic, and was maintained under the monarchy to which it gave birth nearly four hundred years; but the successor of Julian departed entirely from its spirit in his stipulation with the Persians, and rendered himself still more odious by the manner in which he executed the treaty, than even by the conditions to which he thought it expedient to submit.[1]

A. D. 363. Singara and the Castle of the Moors surrendered.

The conduct of Jovian, in concluding peace with an enemy in whose power circumstances had placed him, has been made the subject of much casuistical discussion, both in ancient and in modern times. Ammianus Marcellinus, Eutropius, Festus, Zosimus, Agathias, and Valerius have condemned the measure as being equally pusillanimous and unwise. Some of the early Christian writers, on the other hand, and Tillemont in the last century, have endeavoured to defend the policy of the emperor; alleging that, although the truce was an unfortunate, and even a disgraceful, occurrence, it was nevertheless absolutely necessary. The Abbé de la Bléterie undertakes to moderate between the contending parties, and to show that while the charge, on the one side, has been pushed beyond the bounds of an impartial judgment, the ground on which the apology is rested is far from being unobjectionable.[2] The remark of Eutropius, that peace was necessary, applies, he thinks, to the state of things after the injudicious delay of four days spent in negotiation with Sapor; and hence the opinion of Ammianus remains unimpeached, that if Jovian had pushed on his army towards Corduena, he might have reached that fertile province, and have strengthened his ranks by the reserve which had been left there by his predecessor, before the food of his men were altogether exhausted. Tillemont's principal argument is founded on a mistake. He imagined that Corduena was situated at a great distance on the western side of the river; and consequently, in his defence of Jovian, he ascribes to the line of march which intervened all the difficulties and privations which were

Opinions as to the conduct of Jovian, and the character of the peace.

Tillemont and the Abbé de la Bléterie.

[1] Zosim. lib. iii. c. xxxiv.; Sext. Ruf. de Prov. c. xxix.; Aug. de Civitate Dei lib. iv. c. xxix.

[2] Hist. de l'Empereur Jovien, et Dissertation; Tillemont, Hist. des Emp. tom. iv. p. 581.

A. D. 363. encountered in the Syrian desert. But the Tigris did not oppose his progress towards the district in which supplies and a reinforcement awaited him; and it is impossible, therefore, not to agree with Ammianus, that the necessity which drove the emperor to the ruinous course he adopted was created by his own weakness, selfishness, and inexperience. We must acknowledge, says an eloquent writer,[1] that the conclusion of so ignominious a treaty was facilitated by the private ambition of Jovian. The obscure domestic, exalted to the throne by fortune rather than by merit, was impatient to escape from the hands of the Persians, that he might prevent the designs of Procopius, who commanded in Mesopotamia, and establish his doubtful reign over the legions and provinces which were still ignorant of the hasty and tumultuous choice of the camp beyond the Tigris. In the neighbourhood of the same river, at no very considerable distance from the fatal station at Dura, the ten thousand Greeks, without generals, or guides, or provisions, were abandoned, about twelve hundred miles from their native country, to the resentment of a victorious monarch. But, conscious of their superiority over the barbarians in arms and discipline, they disdained to yield, they refused to capitulate; every obstacle was surmounted by their patience, courage, and military skill; and the memorable retreat of the ten thousand exposed the weakness of the Persian monarchy. Similar resolution on this occasion might have been attended with similar success; and it is certain, at all events, that the loss sustained in crossing the river and the dreary waste which separated the Romans from Mesopotamia, would not have been exceeded by the struggling warfare to which they might have been exposed during the continuance of their march. While, however, we condemn the imbecility which led to the thirty years' truce with Persia, we are compelled to despise the special pleading by which it was meant to protect the reputation of the emperor, had he resolved to violate its conditions.

Precautions adopted by Jovian.

It was during the short stay which the army made at the Castle of Ur, that Jovian sent two trusty messengers to give notice to his family, in Illyrium, of his elevation to the throne. The infirmities of age had rendered his father incapable of holding any public office, and the enjoyment of domestic repose had withdrawn his affections from the splendour and dignities which were now within his reach; but Count Lucillian, the parent of the empress, still retained sufficient activity and zeal to fit him for the most important duties, and was, accordingly, nominated general-in-chief both of foot and horse. Thus invested with paramount authority, he was desired to select some officers of merit and of known fidelity, and to proceed forthwith to Milan, where he was to act as the imperial lieutenant in guarding the peace of the west. The emperor deprived Jovinus of the command in Gaul, which he conferred upon Malaric, a Frank by birth,

[1] Gibbon, Decline and Fall, vol. vi. c. xxiv.

but long engaged in the service of the Romans. By this step he freed himself from a man whose talents made him dangerous, and put in his place a stranger who could not aspire to the empire, and who would naturally regard the fortune of his benefactor as the foundation and support of his own. The count and his attendants were instructed to announce everywhere the death of Julian and the election of his successor, to grant to the governors of the provinces, through which they passed, commissions from the new sovereign, and to make known, on all hands, that he had concluded the war by an advantageous peace. In obedience to these directions, they marched night and day without stopping; but rumour, more swift and more sincere than they, anticipated them at every stage, and published the truth.[1] A. D. 363.

The emperor proceeds to Edessa and Antioch.

Such measures being adopted, Jovian proposed to move slowly through the eastern provinces, and to consolidate as much as possible the uncertain structure of his power in that important division of his empire. Immediately after fulfilling his engagements to the Persians, he confided to Procopius the duty of conveying to Tarsus, in Cilicia, the body of Julian, conformably to the last wishes of that prince. From Nisibis the emperor proceeded to Antioch by the way of Edessa, in which latter city he must have been resident on the 27th of September, according to the date of an edict issued from it, respecting the forage of the cavalry. In the following month he entered Antioch, very little gratified with the expression of feeling which had, hitherto, attended his progress. The people could not conceal the melancholy which recent events had struck deeply into their hearts, and seemed everywhere to look upon their new sovereign rather as the ally of Persia, than as the guardian of Roman honours and ascendency. In spite of his impatience to reach Constantinople, he could not refuse to stop some time in the capital of Syria, where his reputation would not be exposed to an unfavourable contrast with that of his predecessor. His troops, too, were in extreme want of repose. Antioch, the dwelling of plenty and centre of all the conveniences of life, was of all places the best calculated to relieve their wants and to solace their griefs; and prudence did not permit Jovian to separate himself from an army, upon whose suffrages was suspended the only right which he had to the throne.[2]

Pays respect to the memory of Julian.

The affairs of religion, the disputes of the Catholics and Arians, and even the claims of the Pagan philosophers, engaged the attention of the prince during his abode at Antioch. Disappointed at not hearing from the provinces of the west, he put his army in motion during the inclement month of December, and resolved, by forced marches, to arrive at the seat of government before the season should return for active service in the field. At Tarsus he assisted at certain

[1] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxv. c. viii.; Liban. Orat. Parent.; Zosim. lib. iii. c. xxxiv.

[2] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxv. c. x.; Zosim. lib. iii. c. xxxv.

A. D. 364. funeral ceremonies which were performed over the tomb of Julian. Ammianus relates that he satisfied himself with giving orders that the sepulchre should be suitably adorned; a compliment which Baronius regards as the cause of the premature death which soon afterwards befell Jovian, who, says he, decorated the grave of a wretch that deserved not the honours of a turf.[1] Tillemont, more liberal than this annalist, apologizes for the pious cares of the emperor by reminding his reader that it is lawful to honour human nature, the quality of a prince, and the other gifts which come from God, even in the person of a criminal.[2]

Mutiny at Rheims.

When Jovian arrived at Tyana, in Cappadocia, he learned from the secretary Procopius, and Memorides the tribune, whom he had sent into the west, that Malaric had refused the command in Gaul, to which he had been appointed by the emperor, and that Lucillianus, who had crossed the Alps to support the interests of his son-in-law in that province, had, by his intemperate zeal, excited a mutiny among the soldiers, and lost his life. This accident took place at Rheims, where Valentinianus made a narrow escape from the hands of the insurgents, whom, however, he soon induced to return to their duty, and to acknowledge the authority of Jovian. Deputies immediately followed from the army in Gaul, who assured the prince of the fidelity of their whole body to his government, as well as of the steady attachment manifested by their leader whom he had displaced. Upon this he reinstated Jovinus in his command of the cavalry; praised the exemplary conduct of the principal officers; and conferred upon Valentinianus an appointment in the guards, as a reward for his wise and resolute conduct at Rheims.[3]

Jovian celebrates the solemnity of his consulship, January 1, A. D. 364.

At the end of December Jovian entered Ancyra, where, on the first day of the following month, he celebrated the commencement of his consulate. It had been his intention to assume his father as his colleague; but, upon receiving notice that he was dead, he substituted his own son, a mere child, who happened, also, to bear the name of Varronianus. It is doubtful whether the boy was present at this ceremony, although the oration pronounced by Themistius proceeds on the idea that both consuls were actually in the assembly which he addressed. Socrates, however, suggests, with much probability, that the speech was not delivered till the emperor had reached Dadastana, a small town on the borders of Galatia, where the rhetorician arrived at the head of a deputation from Constantinople, to congratulate the successor of Julian on his accession to the throne of the Cæsars.

His death, February 17, A. D. 364.

Such a point does not, indeed, deserve the attention of the historian, and more especially as the young prince was not destined to occupy any very conspicuous place in the eye of his country. Jovian him-

[1] Hominis alioqui ne cespetitiâ quidem sepulturâ digni. Baron. Annales.
[2] Hist. des Emper. tom. iv. p. 590.
[3] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxv. c. x.; Zosim. lib. iii. c. xxxv.

self, in the midst of apparent prosperity, had, at this period, nearly touched the end of his government and of his life. His two capitals, the provinces, and the armies had already recognized him. The church was about to enjoy a profound peace; the state, united in all its parts, entertained the hope of repairing all its losses; and Jovian might justly promise to himself a long and glorious reign. Constantinople was preparing for him a magnificent reception; Rome, who flattered herself that she would soon see her emperor within her walls, was already striking medals to celebrate his arrival; and his consort was proceeding to meet him with all the pomp which became her high rank, when, on the morning of the 17th February, he was found dead in his bed.[1] A. D. 364.

Conjectures as to his death.

The cause of his death was not ascertained. No professional inquiry, it is true, seems to have been employed for that purpose: and, at the present day, we have no authority better than the surmises of his friends and the hints of his enemies, upon which we can form an opinion whether it was natural or violent. It is stated on the one hand, for example, that he was suffocated with the smoke of charcoal which was lighted in his chamber to dry the walls which had been recently plastered; while, on the other, it is insinuated that his demise must have been occasioned by indigestion, or by the bad quality of the food which he had taken at supper. Chrysostom says expressly that he was poisoned by his domestics; and Ammianus, by comparing his fate to that of Scipio Emilianus, appears to have given credit to the rumours that his days were shortened by the hand of an assassin. But amidst the various doubts which prevail on this subject, we may safely concur in the opinion of the Abbé de la Bléterie, that Jovian was not cut off by the ambition of the commander who was appointed to succeed him on the throne; for it was not until Sallustius had a second time declined the dangerous elevation, and a judgment had been formed respecting the fitness of Januarius, that the army on a sudden declared in favour of Valentinianus, who happened, at that critical moment, to be absent on military duty.[2]

Notice of his wife and son.

The body of Jovian was conveyed to Constantinople, where it was deposited among those of his predecessors, in the church of the holy apostles. At Rome, the senate placed him in the number of the gods. But his family bewailed his loss with the sincerest grief. His wife, who had never seen him as an emperor, was on her way to meet him when she received the news of his death. She survived him several years, a memorable example of the nothingness of all earthly greatness. In the course of a few months she had been

[1] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxv. c. x.; Eutrop. lib. x. c. xviii.; Oros. lib. vii. c. xxxi.

[2] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxv. c. x.; Eutrop. lib. x. c. xviii.; Chrysost. in Epist. ad Phil.; Hist. de l'Emper. Jovian, 151, 152.

A. D. 364. deprived of a father, a father-in-law, and a husband; the elevation of which last she had only learned to feel more deeply the pain of his loss. What in other circumstances would have been the comfort of a mother, was the principal source of her uneasiness. She had a son, an infant, whom accident had associated with the hope of empire, but who had now fallen from his high estate, and was likely to become an object of suspicion to the ruling sovereign. They were both alive in the year A. D. 380; but a barbarous policy had already deprived him of one eye, and his unfortunate parent was in continual dread lest a destiny still more severe should overtake her unhappy child, whose only crime consisted in being the son of an emperor.

Remarks on the character and events of his reign.

We have afforded greater space to Jovian's reign of seven months than the weight of his character may appear to deserve. But the events which took place under his government were much more important than his personal qualities, or even than the spirit of the administration which he began to exercise. His concessions to Persia, involving the surrender of a strong frontier along the Syrian border, and the relinquishment of all political interest in the affairs of Armenia, weakened the arms of Rome, and paved the way for other sacrifices which affected, still more deeply, her claims to universal empire. On former occasions, territories had been abandoned as unworthy to be retained at the expense of health, and of the other privations which are incident to an unfavourable climate; the legions had been defeated and their commanders slain, or thrown into the dungeons of an infuriated enemy: Crassus and Valerianus had endured the severest reverses of fortune, and exposed the commonwealth to great loss, as well as to a temporary disgrace. But never, says Zosimus, till the reign of Jovian, did the Romans accede to the formal surrender of any province occupied by their troops, and consent to withdraw from it, in the presence of a superior force, and in virtue of a stipulation ratified by the head of the government. The god Terminus, who, in protecting the boundaries of the republic, refused to listen to the voice of Jupiter commanding him to retire, at length condescended to give way before the genius of Sapor and the timid policy of Jovian.[1]

Valentinianus elected emperor, February 26, A. D. 364.

The sudden death of that prince left the chiefs of the army quite unprepared to nominate a successor. Upon their arrival at Nice, in Bithynia, their first thoughts, as we have already stated, turned to Sallustius, the Prætorian præfect, who again urged his age and infirmities, and resolutely refused the honour which they meant to confer upon him. It was next proposed to reward his merits by raising his son to the throne; but his self-denial once more prevailed, and he declared that the inexperience of the youth was no less a disqualification than the wasted faculties of the old man. Several days had now elapsed, and no one was named whose talents and character

[1] Zosim. lib. iii. c. xxxii.; Sext. Ruf. Fest. Breviar, c. xxix.

could unite the suffrages of the military leaders. At length the services of Valentinianus were called to mind. Sallustius recommended him with much earnestness, as an officer who possessed most of the properties fitted for sovereign power; and the same estimate of his worth had been formed by Arintheus, master-general of the horse, by Dagalaiphus, the commander of the domestic guards, and by the Patrician Datianus, who wrote warmly in his favour from Ancyra. On the tenth day, accordingly, after the demise of Jovian, the election of Valentinianus was made known to the army, by whom it was confirmed with the usual shouts and acclamations.[1] A. D. 364.

His family and early history.

The new emperor was the son of a Pannonian general, who, by his martial qualities, had raised himself from humble life to the successive command of the legions in Britain and in Africa. Valentinianus, who inherited the vigorous constitution and undaunted courage of his parent, gained the esteem of his fellow-soldiers by a minute attention to the duties of his profession, by frankness of manners, and an unimpeachable honesty. Zosimus describes him as well exercised in war, but ignorant of letters, and regardless of those accomplishments which were derived from the schools of rhetoric and oratory. Julian, however, appreciated his merit, and gave him an honourable rank in the army; while Jovian, as we have seen, was so much pleased with his conduct in Gaul, that he confided to him the command of the second company of the domestic guards. His personal appearance, too, was well fitted to gain respect. His countenance was open and manly, his stature rose above the common height, and his voice was distinct and powerful. In a word, he possessed those qualities which soldiers at once esteem and fear, and which, while they inspire confidence, insure obedience and submission. He had, moreover, attained the forty-third year of his age.[2]

His firmness towards the army.

Hardly had he ascended the throne when an occasion occurred for the exercise of these endowments. When about to address the army, from the tribunal on which he first presented himself to them as emperor, he was interrupted by a request, expressed in a loud and rather seditious manner, that he would begin his government by the choice of a colleague to divide with him its labours and responsibility. With the utmost calmness, he remonstrated with them on the folly of raising him to the head of the empire, if they meant, at the same moment, to deprive him of the power which belonged to his office, and which was necessary for a wise and successful administration of affairs. He told them, that it was now his duty to deliberate, and theirs to obey; upon which, he desired them to return to their quarters, where they should, in due time, receive the donative usually given by emperors on their accession. The troops, overcome by his firmness, saluted him with shouts of allegiance and fidelity,

[1] Zosim. lib. iii. c. xxxvi.; Ammian. Mar. lib. xxvi. c. 1; Philostorg. lib. viii. c. viii.

[2] Zosim. lib. iii. c. xxxvi.

A. D. 364. and afterwards conducted him, with military pomp, to the palace of Nice.[1]

Assumes Valens as his colleague, March 28, A. D. 364.

Valentinian, aware, perhaps, that the sentiment expressed by the soldiers had its origin in a higher quarter, took an early opportunity of consulting the superior officers as to the propriety of the measure which had been suggested. Dagalaiphus, in a short reply, satisfied him that his conjecture was well founded, and also pointed out the way in which it might be expedient to proceed in gratifying the public anxiety. "If you prefer to be guided in your selection by family love, you have a brother; but if you consider only the interests of the commonwealth, you will make choice of the most deserving." Upon his arrival at Constantinople, accordingly, he bestowed the title of Augustus on his brother Valens; a man who had not distinguished himself in the arts either of war or of peace, and who was satisfied to discharge in the government a subordinate part, suited to the moderate talents with which nature had endowed him. He was chosen for his affection and fidelity; qualities in which he was never found deficient.[2]

Division of the empire. A. D. 364.

About midsummer, in the year A. D. 364, the Roman empire was divided into two sovereignties, the eastern and the western. The former extended from the Mœsian provinces to the confines of Persia and of Nubia; the latter comprehended the vast range of country which stretches from the Ægean Sea to the Grampian mountains in Scotland. Valens, who was appointed emperor of the east, fixed the seat of his government at Constantinople; while his brother, who reserved to himself the more warlike countries of Illyricum, Italy, Gaul, Africa, Spain, Germany, and Britain, planted his court at Milan, the most convenient position for the ruler of the west. This solemn transaction took place in the palace of Mediana, a short distance from Naïssus; where, after appointing officers and magistrates for the administration of civil and military duty in the provinces, the imperial brothers took a final leave of each other, and repaired to their several capitals.[3]

Revolt of Procopius. A. D. 365.

The renewal of war with Persia during the following year carried Valens into Syria. His absence appears to have supplied an opportunity to his enemies of raising up a competitor for the throne in the person of Procopius, a kinsman of the emperor Julian, and who commanded, jointly with Sebastianus, the army which that monarch left in Mesopotamia, when he resolved to advance beyond the Tigris. It was even whispered that he was secretly destined for the purple, to supply the want of natural heirs in the family to which he was related; and moreover, that Julian, in the temple of the Moon at Carrhæ, had solemnly invested him with the title of Augustus. We

[1] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxvi. c. iii.; Philostorg. lib. viii. c. viii.; Oros. lib. vii. c. xxxii. [2] Zosim. lib. iv. c. i.; Ammian. Mar. lib. xxvi. c. iv.
[3] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxvi. c. v.; Zosim. lib. iv. c. iii.

learn, however, from the annalists of this period, that it was fear rather than ambition which impelled Procopius to grasp at the sceptre of the east. His life was menaced by the jealousy of the two sovereigns, who attempted to remove an imaginary rival, and thereby converted him into a real and formidable enemy. Escaping from his retreat in Cappadocia, he boldly entered the capital, and, proclaiming his pretensions, he was immediately acknowledged emperor by two cohorts of Gauls, who were affectionately attached to the memory of Julian. This force was soon increased by large bodies of troops stationed in Thrace, and by levies of peasantry, who viewed with contempt or distrust the government of Valens. Confident in his growing power, he sent a detachment of his army into Asia Minor, where he reduced some of the principal towns to obedience, and where he was gratified by the accession of the Jovians and Herculeans, those celebrated legions who, since the days of Diocletian, had contributed so much to maintain the glory of the Roman name. The widow of Constantius, who placed herself and her daughter under the protection of the usurper, added no small degree of strength and reputation to his cause; for the house of Constantine was still greatly cherished in the city which bore his name; and his descendants, although a female and a child, found many who were willing to sacrifice everything in order to secure tranquillity and safety.[1]

A. D. 365.

Sends a detachment into Asia Minor.

Valens was at Cesarea when the news of this insurrection were conveyed to him, and the first impression produced upon his timid mind was the necessity of negotiating with Procopius, and of surrendering to him an undisputed possession of the throne. The intelligence which reached Valentinian was still more gloomy and alarming. He was told that the emperor of the east had fallen in battle, that his army was vanquished or dispersed, and that the rebels were in possession of the finest provinces of Asia. Unable, from the exigences of a war in which he was engaged beyond the Alps, to repair in person to the scene of revolt, he induced the aged Sallust to resume the præfecture of Syria, and to rally round him the faithful veterans who might still be disposed to defend the privileges of a sovereign, elected by the army, against an usurper, who founded his claims upon a fiction, or upon the shadow of hereditary right. Valens was saved by the vigour and firmness of his counsellors. He intrusted his army to the præfect, to Lupicinus, to Arinthæus, and to Arbetio, an aged warrior, who had served under the great Constantine, and enjoyed the honours of the consulship. But Procopius was likewise followed by brave troops, experienced officers, and was able to dispute in two desperate engagements the dignity to which he had aspired. The first battle took place at Thyatira, where the balance of military fortune was a long time equally suspended. In

[1] Zosim. lib. iv. c. iv.; Ammian. Mar. lib. xxvi. c. vi.; Philostorg. lib. iv. c. v.–vii.

A. D. 365. the second, however, which was fought at Nacaria, his troops deserted to the enemy, and left him to seek safety in an ignominious flight. He was soon afterwards taken prisoner, owing to the treachery of his adherents, who attempted to purchase impunity at the expense of his life; and having endured many painful privations in the wilds of Phrygia, he expiated his unfortunate rebellion by suffering death at the command of the conqueror.[1]

His defeat and death.

Severity of the emperors.

We learn from Zosimus that Valens, who possessed little vigour in the field, showed much activity in punishing, with the loss of life and of goods, all who were implicated, however remotely, in the attempt of Procopius. His deeds of cruelty were more than equalled by the emperor of the west, whose ardent temper had been irritated by opposition and rendered savage by fear. The ignorance of the two brothers, besides, was attended with the most fatal effects on the peace of society; for, being altogether unacquainted with the boundaries which separate true science from that supernatural power over physical causes which has been claimed by fools or by knaves, they extended the control of their police to the imaginary intercourse of men with the spirits of darkness, and sought to prevent or to counteract that mysterious process by which the secrets of futurity could be revealed, and the malign influence of the planets could be directed against the persons and fortunes of individuals. The prevalence of magic alarmed both divisions of the empire; and tribunals were accordingly erected at Antioch and Rome, to punish all who could be accused of committing, or even of conniving at, that alleged crime. While conducting a tedious and uneventful war against the Persians, the sovereign of the east made his usual abode in the capital of Syria; at which place he first received information that a young man, attached to his court as one of the imperial notaries, was in the practice of consulting certain adepts in divination as to the name and quality of the next successor to the throne.[2] Having no longer any doubt that he was destined by fate to wear the purple after Valens, he communicated his hopes so freely, that the emperor at length was made acquainted with his dreams of future greatness. He suffered, says Zosimus, the punishment due to his offence.[3]

Prevalence of magic; fate of Theodorus.

Severe punishment inflicted upon all suspected of divination.

Suspicion being thus excited, and in some degree justified, no person, whatever might be his rank or character, was exempted from its malignant energy. Every one, especially, who had paid any attention to literature or philosophy, was exposed to the imputation

[1] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxvi. c. vii. viii.; Zosim. lib. iv. c. v. vi.

[2] To satisfy this dangerous curiosity, the soothsayers erected a tripod, which was so contrived as to exhibit at pleasure the several letters of the alphabet; and while the ambitious secretary, whose name was Theodorus, was gazing upon this instrument of deception, he saw successively appear on the magic circle the characters Θ, E, O, and Δ.

[3] Zosim. lib. iv. c. xiii.; Ammian. Mar. lib. xxviii. c. i.

of knowing the secrets of that magic which undermined at once the foundation of thrones and the health of princes. A wretched soldier, when suffering under the lash, screamed out the names of many individuals whom he described as accomplices in his crime, or at least as being privy to his magical operations. The safety of the state was immediately committed to the Prætorian præfect, who summoned from the remotest parts of the empire all those who, from their knowledge or influence, were likely to take an interest in public affairs, and who, for that reason, might be supposed addicted to political divination. The learned and the noble became the first victims. The prisons were soon crowded with the innocent of all ages and of either sex. A universal lamentation filled the provinces, and an historian relates, that more men were seen on the roads dragged along by the officers of justice, than were left in the towns from which they had been taken. The military at length complained that their cohorts could not supply guards to watch the different places of confinement, and stated their apprehension, that the prisoners, now far exceeding their own numbers, would have recourse to violence, and force a passage to effect their escape. Zosimus selects from the mass of those who suffered death, Maximus, a distinguished philosopher; Hilarius, a native of Phrygia, who had interpreted too clearly a certain ambiguous oracle; Simonides, Patricius, a Lydian, and Andronicus, from Caria, all of whom had reached the highest pinnacle of learning, and whose condemnation, he adds, proceeded from envy rather than from any feeling of justice.[1] A. D. 365.

Supposed to be somewhat exaggerated.

We are willing to believe that the narrative which respects this infatuated period is marked with some degree of exaggeration in the pages of Zosimus, as well as in those of Ammianus. The character of the two emperors, it is true, however different in their general expression, agreed in the readiness to adopt severe measures in all cases where their own interests appeared to be at stake. The excessive timidity of Valens, no less than the boisterous courage of his brother, supplied a specious pretext to that numerous class of persons, who, within the precincts of a despotic court, study to improve their fortunes or to gratify their revenge, by pointing out victims to the jealousy of the prince. Still, from the good sense which appeared in the administration of Valentinianus, at home and abroad, during the greater part of his reign, we cannot think it improbable that the love of rhetorical display has induced both the Greek and the Latin historians to colour their descriptions a little too highly.

Wise government of the imperial brothers.

It is admitted, at all events, that the wisdom and humanity of the general laws of these emperors formed a striking contrast to the foolish rage with which they punished the professors and the dupes of magic. The emperor of the west enacted a severe statute against all who should expose their new-born children, while he established

[1] Zosim. lib. iv. c. xiii.-xv.; Ammian. lib. xxix. c. i.-iii.

A. D. 365. an able physician, to be paid by the state, in every one of the fourteen quarters into which Rome was divided. Both princes exerted themselves to reform the abuses which had crept in during the recent commotions, and to realize every useful plan which had been suggested by their predecessors. It was their intention to found, in the chief town of every province, a school for the arts of rhetoric and grammar, which were to be taught in the two languages of the empire, to the youth of the surrounding districts. The seminary formed at Constantinople employed thirty-one professors in the different branches of learning, besides a number of scribes or copyists, whose pens were constantly engaged in multiplying manuscripts of those ancient authors whose works were recommended to the perusal of the students. The literary edicts of Valentinianus bear some resemblance to the statutes of a modern University. All proper motives were used to incite the indolent, to reward the active, and to restrain the vicious or inconsiderate; and while we read the rules enforced by an illiterate soldier, we are struck with astonishment, not less that he should have placed so much value upon science, than that he should have adopted means so extremely well calculated to accomplish his designs for its promotion.[1]

Their economy.

In point of economy, and a wise regulation of the finances, the imperial brothers are entitled to a place in the catalogue of patriotic princes. Valens, whose views of advantage were more restricted than those of Valentinianus, succeeded, during the first years of his reign, in remitting to the people of the East one-fourth part of the taxes which they had been accustomed to pay. The policy of the Roman emperor led him also to moderate the weight of imposts; but being more desirous that the government should be strengthened than merely that its expense should be diminished, he insisted that every person of wealth should contribute according to his means towards the defence and improvement of the state. His wisdom, in this respect, was perceived by future generations, who extolled the benefit which they derived from the enlarged revenue and powerful establishments, civil as well as military, which he had thereby accomplished.[2]

Punishment of the Batavian cohorts.

But the most important events in the government of a soldier are to be expected in the field of battle, or in the management of a campaign. Nor did the situation of Valentinianus long deprive him of an opportunity to signalize his courage and his talents as a general. Almost immediately upon his accession, the barbarous tribes of Alemanni, who inhabited the right bank of the Rhine, made an inroad into Gaul, with the view of indemnifying themselves for some neglect shown to them by his lieutenants in that quarter. Their success in

[1] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxxi. c. xiv.; Zosim. lib. iv.; Codex Theod. lib. i. tit. 11. Justinian. lib. viii. tit. 3.

[2] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxxi. c. xiv.; Zosim. lib. iv. c. iii. xvi.

the first attempt encouraged a repetition during the winter, when they defeated with considerable loss two Roman commanders, and dispersed the united army of the Heruli and Batavi, two German nations, who fought under the imperial banners. Valentinianus, in order to punish their dastardly conduct, stripped the Batavi of their arms, and condemned them to be sold as slaves; and it was not until after much humble entreaty that the enraged emperor allowed them to resume their swords, and to have a chance of recovering, in the presence of an enemy, the reputation which they had lost. In a battle which took place soon afterwards, they fought so gallantly, that, according to Zosimus, few of them returned to the camp.[1] A. D. 365.

Campaign against the Alemanni. A. D. 366.

In the summer of the year A. D. 366, a considerable army of horse and foot, under Jovinus, was sent against the Alemanni, who still retained a large portion of Gaul, and were in other respects so formidable, that Dagalaiphus declined the command of the troops which were appointed to attack them. Several actions ensued without producing any decisive result, until at length both armies met near Chalons, where, after a bloody conflict, which lasted from the rising to the setting of the sun, the Romans were rewarded with a complete victory and the capture of the enemy's king. The glory of this exploit was not a little tarnished by the murder of the prince who had fallen into their hands, as well as by the countenance which was afforded to the perpetrator of a similar deed at the court of Vadomius, a sovereign whose power had excited the apprehension of the provincial government in Gaul.[2]

Valentinianus erects fortifications on the Rhine.

Valentinianus was instructed by the constant renewal of hostilities that the northern frontier of the empire could no longer be protected by the legions alone, but that the sudden inroads of the various clans which composed the German nation required the aid of strong fortresses, entrenchments, and a connected line of military works. With this view he employed engineers to select the strongest positions along the Rhine, on which he erected castles of different magnitudes, furnished them with suitable garrisons, and placed them under the command of able officers. The barbarians, unaccustomed to besiege a fortified town, or even to submit to the delay of reducing a post by the more tedious opera-



Valentinianus.

[1] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxvii. c. i.; Zosim. lib. iv. c. ix.
[2] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxvii. c. ii. x.; Zosim. lib. iv. c. ix. xii.

A. D. 366. tion of blockade, relinquished for a time their predatory warfare. They possessed, however, sufficient discernment to perceive that the power of Rome was shaken,—that her troops had ceased to enjoy the reputation of being invincible,—that walls and ramparts were now substituted for swords and bucklers,—and that a little time would turn the tide of conquest in favour of the native courage and great bodily strength of their own northern warriors. But Valentinianus did not rest satisfied with fortifications, in order to protect his borders from insult and violence. He also employed the arts of diplomacy among the rival hordes which spread from the mouth of the Elbe to the Illyrian provinces, and endeavoured to turn their restless arms against one another. He inflamed the jealousy which subsisted between the Alemanni and the Burgundians, and encouraged the latter to bring into the field a force exceeding eighty thousand men, to act as a moving guard along the banks of the Rhine. By these means he secured a comparative tranquillity in that part of his dominions during the remainder of his reign.[1]

Inroads of the Saxons.

The attention of Valentinianus was drawn to a new description of enemy, who before his days had never disturbed the peace of the Roman provinces. The Saxons, an enterprising people from the shores of the German Ocean, gradually extended their maritime expeditions, till at length they were in the practice of levying contributions on the shores of Britain, of Gaul, and even of Spain. The emperor accordingly found it necessary to station a considerable military force on the sea-coast, to repel the invasion of those savage mariners who were wont to land at the mouth of every great river, pillage the adjoining country, and carry away much valuable booty. Several skirmishes took place in Armorican Gaul, in which the Saxons displayed the utmost valour, and sold a dear victory to their conquerors. The Romans, in some instances, were so unwise as to provoke their resentment by acts of cruel treachery, and thereby gave a character of ferocity to the war which the Northmen afterwards waged on the same shores; but these sea kings, as they delighted to call themselves, made no permanent settlement in the empire during the administration of Valentinianus, and added not, till a later period, to the oppressive weight which already bore down the sovereignty of Rome.[2]

Affairs of Britain.

A. D. 343 to A. D. 386.

The limits of a very important province had been already contracted by the incursions of an enemy not less barbarous than the Alemanni or the Saxons. The inhabitants of the northern parts of Britain, the Scots and Picts, with a mixture of Scandinavian adventurers, poured down upon the civilized districts of the island, and drove the subjects of Rome before them, until the fugitives with their savage pursuers reached the shores of the narrow sea which divided

[1] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxvii. c. x. lib. xxviii. c. ii. v.; Zosim. lib. iv. c. xii.
[2] Oros. lib. vii. c. xxxii.; Ammian. Mar. lib. xxviii. c. v.

Gaul from Albion. Constans, soon after the death of his father, attempted to retrieve the affairs of the British province; but his success appears to have been limited to the restoration of some degree of order in the administration of the civil government, and to the enforcement of discipline among the military. There is nowhere recorded any exploit against the barbarians, who, it is probable, may have retired at his approach, and, like the waves of the sea, returned with greater violence to occupy the ground which they had lost. The reign of Constantius again was marked by so much feebleness, particularly in the provincial government, that the calamities inflicted upon the Britons were only aggravated by the corrupt influence which directed the measures of the court. Julian, it is true, infused a greater degree of vigour into all branches of the public service; he selected governors and commanders who had the interest of the Commonwealth at heart; he discharged the arrears which were due to the legions in the remoter parts of the empire, and put an end to those disgraceful exemptions from military duty which his predecessor had allowed to be purchased with money. But the sudden death of that prince and the troubles which ensued, withdrew the attention of the Roman people from the miserable condition of their fellow-subjects in Britain; and it was not until Valentinianus was informed of the defeat of two commanders with the loss of a great body of troops, that he appointed Theodosius to assume the government of the province.[1]

A. D. 343 to A. D. 366.

Successes of Theodosius. A. D. 367 to A. D. 370.

The deliverance of Britain was not accomplished without great labour and peril. Two summers were spent in driving back the invaders into the wilds of Caledonia, and in restoring the fortifications which they had broken down. Recovering once more the level country which occupied the space between the Tweed and the Forth, Theodosius gave to it the name of Valentia, and thereby connected the memory of his conquests with the fame of his imperial master. Without adopting the inflated style of panegyric employed by Claudian, we may yet believe that, since the days of Agricola, no Roman general had impressed a deeper terror upon the rude warriors of the north than the lieutenant of Valentinianus. It is, perhaps, still more to his credit that, in those days of rapacity and avarice, he left his command with an unsullied reputation, and sought no other reward than the military promotion to which his services had entitled him, and the approbation of a prince who was qualified to appreciate his merits.[2]

Revolt in Africa. A. D. 366 to A. D. 373.

The vast extent of the empire, the various and sometimes incompatible interests which stimulated its numerous provinces, the short reigns of several successive emperors, and the venal character which already disgraced too many of its public officers, produced almost

[1] Jul. Firmic. Mat. Lib. Orat. Parent. c. xxxix.; Jerom. tom. ii. c. iii.

[2] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxvii. c. viii. lib. xxviii. c. iii.

A. D. 366 to A. D. 373.

necessarily, from time to time, the horrors of insurrection, and even of positive rebellion. Africa for many years had proved an obedient and valuable accession to the Roman state; it paid a large tribute to the general government, and required nothing in return except occasional protection from the savages of the desert, who sometimes attacked the cities and destroyed the crops. But the military governor, whose name was Romanus, refused in one instance to march to the relief of the provincials unless they should advance such a supply of money and camels as they could not raise within the specified period. Their towns were accordingly left to the rage of certain barbarian tribes, which issued from the wilderness of Getulia, and their vines and fruit-trees were destroyed, almost in the presence of the troops which ought to have been employed for their security. The inhabitants of Œa, Laptis, and Sabrata, usually called Tripolis, or the Three Cities, suffered the most from the attacks of their predatory neighbours, and had, on the occasion alluded to, endured even the miseries of a protracted siege. Their complaints, so far from procuring redress, only brought down upon them an increase of distress. The president of the United Towns was condemned to be publicly executed; four eminent citizens were put to death as accomplices in a false accusation against the imperial commander, and the tongues of two others were cut out. Irritated by this inhuman treatment, the Africans joined the rebellious standard of a native prince, and endeavoured to dissolve a connection which proved at once burdensome and fatal.[1]

Nabal, one of the most distinguished of the Moorish princes, had a numerous family of sons, two of whom, Zamma and Firmus, disputed the succession to their father's wealth. In a quarrel which followed, the latter deprived the former of life; and the survivor, finding himself eagerly prosecuted by the Roman governor, under whose protection the paternal inheritance was placed, resolved to throw off his allegiance and try his fortune in arms. The provincials, no longer able to bear the tyranny of Romanus, hailed the young Moor as their deliverer, and prepared to take the field. Success attended their first efforts. Firmus was everywhere acknowledged not only as an African sovereign, but as being worthy to assume the purple, and give a master to the world; and as the vanity of this chieftain was more than equal to his martial skill, he is said to have hesitated whether he ought not at once to proclaim himself the successor of Valentinianus, as emperor of the west, and to transport his victorious bands to Italy.[2]

Firmus rises against the Romans.

Theodosius sent to suppress the insurrection.

No sooner had the insurrection assumed an aspect of sufficient importance to engage the attention of the imperial court, than Theodosius received a commission to suppress it, and to inflict a condign

[1] Zosim. lib. iv. c. xvi.; Ammian. Mar. lib. xxviii. c. vi.
[2] Oros. lib. vii. c. xxxiii.; Ammian. Mar. lib. xxix. c. v.

punishment upon the most guilty of its authors. This able general, A. D. 373.
sailing from the mouth of the Rhone with a reinforcement of chosen troops, soon turned the tide of victory in favour of his master; and, notwithstanding all the arts of Firmus, who attempted repeatedly to aid his military stratagems by political fraud, he at length reduced him to the necessity of seeking refuge in the territories of Igmazen, a Getulian prince, whose friendship he had gained. Theodosius, well aware that hostilities could only be terminated by the death of the rebel, resolved to pursue him into the depth of the solitude which he had chosen for his retreat; and when he was challenged by Igmazen as to the object of his expedition into the lands of an independent monarch, he described himself as the representative of the Roman emperor, the master of the world, who had sent him to punish a traitor and robber. He demanded that the fugitive should be forthwith delivered up to him; threatening, in case of refusal, that the king himself and his whole nation should soon be made to feel the weight of a resentment which would root out their names from among the principalities of Africa. Igmazen yielded to the measures of the Roman leader, and consented to give up the son of Nabal. As it was the intention of Theodosius to lead his captive in triumph to the shores of the Mediterranean, he set strong guards over his person; but Firmus, aware, perhaps, of the fate which awaited him, disappointed his conqueror by strangling himself in prison. The dead body was carried into the province, to attest the complete success of Theodosius, and to crush the hopes of the disaffected.[1]

Fate of Theodosius.

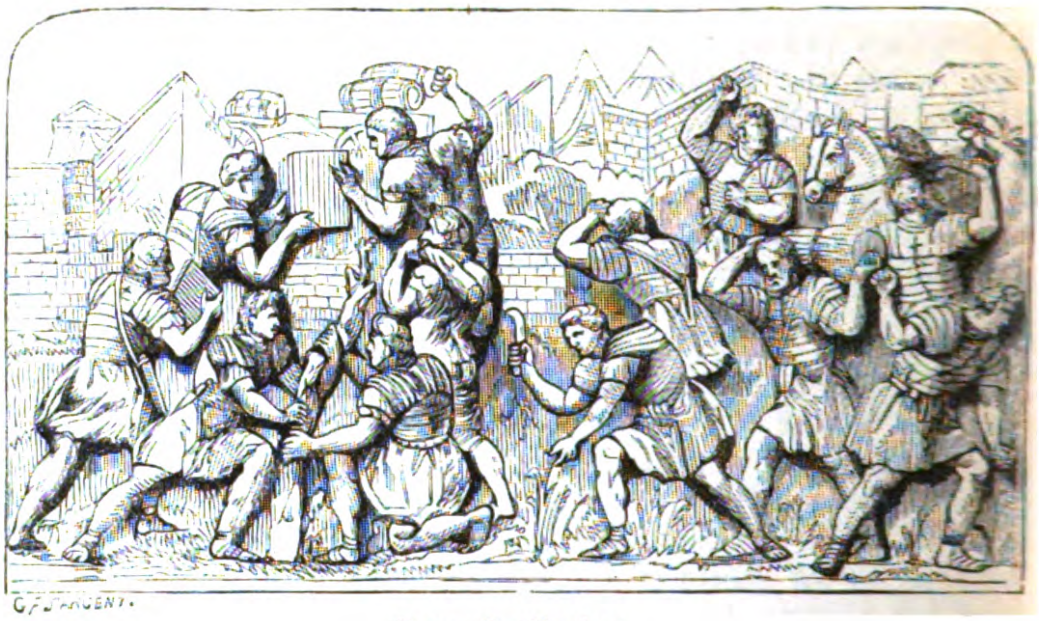
The future history of this great commander, the founder of an imperial family, is very obscurely indicated by the annalists of his age. We are merely informed that he became the victim of court intrigue, and was executed at Carthage about a year after the death of Valentinianus, as a person too powerful or too severe in his manners to be tolerated under a youthful reign. Romanus, on the other hand, whose crimes and incapacity were fully established, had the good fortune to escape with impunity.[2]

Dispute with the Quadi. A. D. 374.

The precautions adopted by the emperor of the west for securing his frontiers led to a dispute with some of the most warlike of the Sarmatian tribes. In the distribution of the provinces on the Danube, Valentinianus retained under his immediate inspection the rich plains of Illyricum and Pannonia; and finding that the barbarians who dwelt towards the north and east were constantly increasing their numbers and improving their troops in the military art, he extended a line of fortifications along the most assailable parts of his border, and on the banks of the river. The Quadi, suspicious as to the objects of a policy which was not less calculated for attack than

[1] Oros. lib. xxix. c. v. [2] Ibid. xxviii. c. iv.; Oros. lib. vii. c. xxxiii.

A. D. 374. defence, opposed the erection of a particular fortress, on the ground that it encroached upon their territories; the reasons for which complaint appeared so just to Equitius, the Roman governor, that he issued orders to the engineers to desist from the undertaking.[1]



Roman Fortifications.

Murder of Gabinius by the Romans.

Valentinianus, who resided in Gaul, upon hearing of this interruption, gave way to an impulse of rage, and instantly sent Marcellinus, the son of the præfect of that country, to supersede the master-general of Illyricum as governor of the province, and to carry on the works which had been suspended. Gabinius, the king of the Quadi, lost no time in renewing his representations to the successor of Equitius, who received him with much attention, and pressed upon him an invitation to partake the hospitality of his table. This patriotic prince, unsuspicious of fraud, placed himself in the power of the Roman deputy, and was barbarously murdered; a melancholy instance of the little regard which was now paid by the principal officers of the empire either to personal honour or to the law of nations. The subjects of Gabinius, justly incensed at this shameful breach of public faith, rushed to arms, and vowed an ample revenge. They invaded Pannonia in great strength of horse and foot, before the crops were gathered off the ground; and, destroying everything which they could not remove, they spread terror and desolation over the whole province. They even attacked the walls of Sirmium, which, however, were defended with great resolution by Petronius Probus, the Prætorian præfect, who had adopted the precaution of throwing a body of archers into the town. But their disappointment

[1] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxvii. c. v.; Zosim. lib. iv. c. xvi.

here was fully compensated by a decisive victory gained over two legions which Equitius had marched against them; while, deriving courage from the success of their countrymen, large bands of recruits daily flocked to their standards, determined to strip the Romans of all their conquests on both sides of the Danube. This threat would infallibly have been realized, had not Theodosius, the son of the restorer of Britain, displayed in the conduct of the war consummate military talent, and tired or defeated the successive hordes which inundated the province of Mœsia.[1] A. D. 374. Good conduct of the younger Theodosius.

In the spring of the year A.D. 375 the emperor left Treves in person, at the head of all the troops which could be spared from Gaul. The Sarmatian states, alarmed at his preparations, sent ambassadors to meet him, who might represent the grievances which they had sustained, and propose terms for a lasting peace. Valentinianus dismissed them with an evasive answer, and hurried on to the scene of action, cherishing in his heart a firm resolution to vindicate the majesty of the Roman government, and to punish the temerity of the barbarians by whom it had been insulted. In pursuance of this impolitic determination, he had no sooner arrived at Sirmium than, instead of inquiring into the murder of Gabinius, and setting an example of impartial justice, he commenced a war of devastation and massacre which he carried into the midst of the enemy's country. Having successfully retaliated the invasion of Pannonia, he repassed the Danube to spend the winter at a town called Bregetio, in the modern Hungary; intending, upon the return of the active season, to complete the destruction of the Quadi, and establish on a firm and permanent basis the tranquillity of all the Illyrian provinces. That devoted people, therefore, made another attempt to awaken his clemency and obtain his pardon. Their envoys assured him that the inroad of which he complained was not sanctioned, but rather condemned and lamented, by the public council of their nation, and that they were ready to forego all the grounds of dispute which had led to the unfortunate contest in which they were engaged. This statement, which they hoped would disarm his anger, only inflamed it to a degree of unutterable fury. His violent temper assumed the mastery at once of his reason and of his constitution; his whole frame was shaken with the storm which raged within him, and before he could find words in which to express his indignation, a blood-vessel burst, and he fell back insensible into his chair. In a few minutes Valentinianus was a corpse, after having reigned about twelve years over the most important provinces of the Roman empire. This event suspended for a time the progress of hostilities on the Upper Danube; and it will afford us an opportunity of resuming the thread of history as it respects the dominions of the Valentinianus repairs to Illyricum. His death. Nov. 17, A. D. 375.

[1] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxix. c. vi.; Zosim. lib. iv. c. xvi.

A D. 375. east and the policy of Valens, in his wars and treaties with the Goths on the one hand and with the Persians on the other.[1]

Persian war.

Valens succeeded to the troubles which arose from the unfortunate campaign of Julian, and from the still more unfortunate negotiations by which that campaign was concluded under the auspices of Jovianus. It will be remembered that one of the conditions of the peace which Sapor granted to the necessities of the Romans was an entire withdrawal on the part of the latter from all concern in the affairs of the tributary kingdoms of Armenia and Iberia. The Persian monarch, who claimed the sovereignty of these two states, immediately marched into the former at the head of such an overwhelming host as rendered resistance equally vain and impracticable; but, being unwilling to have recourse to violence against a people whom he professed to regard as natural subjects, he effected his purpose by inducing Tiranus, a weak and unsuspicious prince, to listen to expressions of friendship and assurances of protection. A sudden death soon removed the descendant of Arsaces, and paved the way for the reduction of Armenia to the rank of a Persian province. Iberia was next invaded; and Sauromaces, who reigned in that country, being expelled by a superior force, the crown was placed on the head of Aspacuras, a person of very inferior rank and character, who consented to govern as the lieutenant of Sapor.[2]

Fall of Artogerassa.

In Armenia one city alone refused to acknowledge the new government, or to receive a garrison of Persian soldiers. Artogerassa was strong from its natural position, and well fortified by art, and besides it contained the principal treasury of the kingdom, and the widow and son of the ill-fated Tiranus. Animated by their presence, the inhabitants sustained a vigorous siege, repulsed several attacks made upon their walls by the cuirassiers of the great king, and gained repeated advantages over the main body of the enemy in the open plain. But the troops of Sapor were constantly recruited, and at length prevailed. Artogerassa was compelled to open its gates to the conqueror, to deliver up into his hands the wife of its late prince, and to accept such terms as he might be pleased to grant. Para, the son of Tiranus, made his escape through the Persian lines during the siege, and found his way into the territory of the Romans.[3]

Invasion of Armenia and Iberia by the Persians.

From the scanty notices which remain of this Persian war, it would seem that Valens was more anxious to fulfil the conditions of the treaty made by his predecessor on the banks of the Tigris, than to recover the ascendency which the empire formerly possessed among the nations of the east. He maintained, indeed, powerful armies on the frontier, ready to act, should a proper occasion present

[1] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxx. c. v.; Oros. lib. iii. c. xxxii.; Zosim. lib. iv. c. xvii.; Victor. in Epit.

[2] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxvi. c. xii.; Mos. Chor. lib. iii. c. xvii. [3] Ibid.

itself for asserting the rights of the ancient allies of Rome; and it is A. D. 367.
not improbable that Sauromaces owed to the menacing attitude assumed by the legions on the Euphrates and the confines of Armenia the degree of power which he was again permitted to exercise in his native country.

The Iberians, unable to expel the viceroy of Sapor, were in some degree consoled to find their lawful sovereign restored to the half of his kingdom; while the people of Armenia, equally impatient under the Persian domination, cherished the hope of soon seeing the heir of their throne invested with the rank and power to which his birth entitled him. Valens, meantime, commanded his generals to observe the strictest neutrality, and not to expose his administration to the charge of perfidy by being the first to draw the sword. Skirmishes between the outposts, indeed, threatened on several occasions to engage both armies in a general action; but the leaders on both sides, influenced by similar views, referred the decision of every dispute to an accurate interpretation of the treaty existing between the two empires, and thus shaped their conduct in the spirit of lawyers, rather than in that of military antagonists. In this manner the reign of Valens as well as of Sapor was brought to an end, without being distinguished by any remarkable occurrence on the theatre of war.[1]

History of Para, the son of Tiranus.

The fortunes of Para, the prince of Armenia, have left a deep stain on the weak and faithless policy which, at that period, swayed the court of Constantinople. This young man, at the solicitation of his mother, left Artogerassa in disguise, a short time before it fell into the hands of the Persians. His first reception by the emperor was extremely gratifying to his hopes, and he was encouraged to rely upon the support of his father's patrons, whose interests, he was assured, were never separated from those of the Armenians. Para was accordingly permitted to place himself at the head of his friends in his native country, and to rely upon the aid of the legions, which, under Count Trajan and Vadomius, king of the Alemanni, had pitched their camp on the Armenian border. But Valens had not firmness sufficient to resist the reproaches of Sapor, who accused him of violating the principal stipulation of the late peace; and having, perhaps, some reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of the prince himself, he resolved to withdraw him from a scene which could not fail to excite jealousy, and, ultimately, to involve the country in war. With this view he invited him to Constantinople under pretence of arranging with him certain measures necessary to be pursued for their common interest, but secretly with the intention of depriving him either of life or of liberty. Not imagining that such shameful perfidy could be practised by a Roman emperor, the youth left the mountains of his native country, where his adherents

[1] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxvii. c. xii., lib. xxx. c. xii.; Mos. Chor. lib. iii. c. xxviii.

A. D. 367. were the most numerous, and proceeded on his journey towards the capital of the east. He had no sooner reached Tarsus in Cilicia, however, than the real object of Valens began to disclose itself in the pretexts under which he was stopped from advancing further, and in the vigilance with which he was watched. He resolved, therefore, to extricate himself from the hands of his treacherous allies; and communicating his intention to a body of faithful horsemen whom he had brought as an escort, he burst from his keepers, and turned his face towards the Euphrates. A legion was sent in pursuit of him; but his cavalry, lightly armed and well mounted, soon left the heavy troops at a distance, and marching two days and two nights without intermission, they swam across the river, although its banks were crowded with soldiers, and arrived in safety beyond the limits of the Roman power.[1]

His assassination by Count Trajan. A. D. 374.

But the perfidy of the imperial court could employ other arms besides those of the legions against an enemy. Count Trajan, who commanded an army on the confines of Armenia, received instructions to remove the emperor's fears in regard to the royal fugitive; and this officer, who proved a suitable instrument in the hand of his pusillanimous master, used every art to gain the confidence of Para, and to increase his reliance upon the good faith of the Romans. The tragedy which was acted at the table of Marcellinus was repeated at that of Count Trajan. A splendid banquet was prepared, and served up according to the forms of oriental magnificence. The prince was received with distinguished respect, and entertained with all the deference due to a sovereign ally of the Roman empire; but as soon as the company were a little heated with wine, an assassin, who had waited for the appointed signal, rushed from his hiding-place, threw himself on the king of Armenia, and after a short struggle stabbed him to the heart.[2]

The Gothic war. A. D. 367–370.

A more active war employed the arms of Valens in the north. The Gothic tribes, which since the days of Constantine had been increasing in skill and numbers, gradually pressed upon the Roman frontier; and finding themselves no longer inferior to the troops which occupied the Thracian provinces and the western shores of the Euxine, they shunned no fair occasion of measuring their strength with the redoubted soldiers of the empire. Hermanric, chief of the Ostrogoths, had founded an extensive kingdom which stretched from the Danube to the Baltic, and from the lake Mæotis to the sources of the Elbe and the Weser; and being thereby rendered master of the powerful energies of the greater part of Germany and of western Scythia, he thought himself authorized to interpose in the quarrel between Valens and Procopius for the sceptre of Byzantium.[3]

[1] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxx. c. i. [2] Ibid.; Mos. Chor. lib. iii. c. xxi.
[3] Jornand. c. xxviii.; Ammian. Mar. lib. xxxi. c. iii.

It was as a kinsman of Julian, and, consequently, as a branch of the house of Constantine, that Procopius solicited the aid of the Goths; and when the latter granted the co-operation of their arms, they imagined that they were only acting in accordance with the faith of treaties which had already subsisted more than twenty years. They crossed the Danube to the amount of thirty thousand men, resolved to march to Constantinople, and to decide the fate of the eastern empire. But Valens, imitating the defensive system pursued by his brother, formed a chain of military posts strongly fortified, by means of which he at once checked their progress and cut off their supplies. Want of food soon rendered the barbarians an easy conquest to the steady discipline of the Romans. Thousands of them surrendered, and were scattered over the adjoining provinces as slaves; while their generals, who denied that war had yet been waged with the empire, complained bitterly of the perfidious conduct by which they had been ensnared. A fruitless negotiation ensued, which left both parties more irritated than before, and gave occasion to a series of wars, in which the declining condition of the Roman state became more and more apparent.[1]

A. D. 367. Success of Valens.

In the spring of the year A. D. 367, the Gothic powers, under the command of Athanaric, chieftain of the Visigoths, prepared to meet the legions, led by Victor and Arinthæus, on the northern bank of the Danube. It is probable that Hermanric, no longer able to take the field, had instructed his lieutenant to act on the defensive, and, if possible, to draw the enemy into the strong grounds which skirt the Dacian provinces. This policy succeeded; for the Romans, after the fatigues of a lengthened campaign, were compelled to recross the river and seek winter-quarters in a more genial climate. The following year did not produce any events of a more decisive character. The emperor satisfied himself with watching, in his camp at Marcianopolis, the movements of his restless foe, and with imposing a strict interdict on all mercantile transactions with the provincials. The Goths, who had now acquired a taste for luxuries, felt this prohibition very sensibly, and were induced, in order to remove it, to attempt more active hostilities in the following campaign. Athanaric hazarded a general action on the plain, in which he was defeated with great loss both of men and of reputation. A reward offered for the head of every Goth that should be brought into the imperial camp quickened the pursuit, and added greatly to the slaughter of the vanquished. So signal a discomfiture, as well, perhaps, as some motives which were addressed to the private interest of their leader, induced the barbarians to listen to overtures for peace. Athanaric, who had bound himself by an oath not to set his foot on the territory of the Romans, consented to meet Valens on the Danube, which was then recognised as the boundary of the rival nations; and there, in

Conclusion of the war, and treaty of peace. A. D. 370.

[1] Eunap. Excerp. Legat. p. 18.

A. D. 369. the middle of the stream, a treaty was ratified, and hostages were exchanged, which secured at least suspension of arms during the space of six years.[1]

Valentinianus, the emperor of the west, left two sons, the elder of whom, whose name was Gratianus, had for several years been associated in the empire, and invested with the title and dignity of Augustus. The younger, the fruit of a second marriage, inherited the name of his father, and afterwards succeeded to the throne under the same appellation. At the death of their parent, Gratianus was at Treves, superintending the administration of Gaul; while his brother, only four years old, was in Illyricum with the empress Justina, who had accompanied her husband on his march towards the Danube. This combination of circumstances afforded an opportunity to the ambitious leaders, Mellobaudes and Equitius, who commanded the Illyrian and Italian legions, to establish their own power in opposition to that of the rightful heir. They prevailed upon the troops to proclaim the young Valentinianus as emperor of the west, and to decorate him with the ensigns of supreme power. Gratianus, whose claims and power could not be questioned, continued the exercise of his authority in Gaul; determined to seize the first occasion for punishing the authors of a conspiracy by which his dominions were curtailed, and who obviously intended to reign under the name of an infant monarch. Meantime, he cheerfully received his youthful brother as a colleague, and advised the empress to take up her residence at Milan, where she could attend to the education of her son, reserving to himself the defence of the Rhine, and of the fruitful provinces to which it proved a natural rampart.

Accession of Gratianus and Valentinianus II. A. D. 375.

Policy of Valens.

The demise of Valentinianus would have presented to an ambitious mind a temptation to extend the power exercised at Constantinople to the provinces of the west; but Valens, who found his arms and councils sufficiently employed by the numerous enemies who hemmed in his dominions on the east and north, allowed his two nephews to exercise jointly the undisputed government of Rome. At either extremity of the empire, indeed, there was a heavy pressure of barbarous nations, who, impatient of their ancient boundaries, and now accustomed in part to the more refined enjoyments of a civilized country, threatened, from time to time, to transfer their whole population into the Roman territory, and to take forcible possession of the cities as well as of the richest lands. The eastern emperor had recently established peace with his Gothic neighbours, on the basis of mutual concession, and hoped that the experience of the various miseries which attend the progress of hostile armies had created in the minds of all the wandering tribes which hung upon his frontier a salutary dread of war, and a firm resolve to abstain from future aggression. In this feeling he repaired to Antioch, to enjoy the

[1] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxvii. c. v.; Zosim. lib. iv. c. xx.

blessings of tranquillity, which he prized more highly than the triumphs of the most successful campaign; to give countenance to the reviving power of Armenia; and to observe the motions of the Persian monarch, the most subtle and inveterate of all the enemies of Rome.[1] A. D. 375.

Inroads of the Huns. A. D. 376.

Little more than a year had elapsed when Valens was informed that the Visigoths, impelled by a victorious enemy more barbarous than themselves, had advanced to the banks of the Danube, and were now craving the protection of the empire. The Huns, disturbed in their possession of northern Asia, had, during a long period, been gradually approaching the shores of the Euxine; and, accordingly, in the year A. D. 376, they were found to have extended their migration beyond the Palus Mæotis, and even to have touched the borders of Dacia. In their progress they had conquered the Alani, a powerful people, who occupied the plains which stretch between Mount Caucasus and the rivers Don and Volga, as also the Ostrogoths, who dwelt near the Cimmerian Bosphorus; and as they established a permanent residence in every country which they subdued, the former inhabitants, unless they consented to become their slaves, were reduced to the necessity of seeking new lands, either as warriors or as supplicants.

Valens permits the Visigoths to cross the Danube.

On the present occasion, the Gothic nations, who had so lately met the legions of Valens in the field, saw the propriety of using entreaty rather than force. They sent ambassadors, who loudly deplored the misfortunes of their countrymen, importuned the Roman government to grant them an asylum in the nearest province, and gave assurance, in the name of all the Visigoths, that they would obey the laws, and protect the frontier of the commonwealth. The emperor was induced to comply with their request. The governor of Thrace was instructed to receive them, and upon the express condition of delivering up their arms and their children to the care of the Romans, to supply them with a sufficient extent of soil, on which they might raise corn and feed their cattle. Fear of the enemy, or a desire to seize the best land, occasioned a tumultuous embarkation. Many were swept away by the violence of the current, and drowned; and it was not until several days and nights of incessant labour, that the whole colony, including two hundred thousand warriors, under Alavivus and Fritigern, were safely conveyed across the swollen Danube. The officers of Valens, more influenced by personal considerations than by a sense of duty, accepted the bribes which the Goths presented, in order to be allowed to retain their weapons; and, accordingly, when the latter mustered their strength on the southern bank of the river, the Romans beheld a formidable army, ready either to co-operate with them in repelling invasion, or to strip them at once of their independence and of their territory. Aware, when it

[1] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxxi. c. x.

A. D. 376. was too late, of the appalling danger to which he had thereby exposed the Mœsian provinces, the emperor refused a similar petition on the part of the Ostrogoths, who, under Alatheus and Saphrax, the guardians of the son of Hermanric, had likewise retreated before the overwhelming host of Huns, which seemed to cover the face of the earth.[1]

Their subsequent ill-usage.

A wise people would have acted with liberality towards so large a body of foreigners whom they had received into their bosom, and whom, as it was very doubtful whether they could subdue them, it was the worst policy to irritate and treat unjustly. But the imperial lieutenants on the northern borders of his dominions could listen to no counsel which did not promise to gratify their avarice; and observing that the barbarian fugitives were possessed of considerable wealth, they resolved to drain it from them by the most iniquitous measures. Lupicinius and Maximus exercised at that period the military government of Thrace, of whom, if any credit is to be given to contemporaneous history, it may be confidently asserted that a base regard to private emolument was the leading motive of their administration. They raised the price of provisions to such a rate that a slave was demanded for a loaf of bread, and ten pounds of silver for a small quantity of meat. The murmurs of the plundered Visigoths at length awakened the apprehensions of their oppressors; but while a plan was forming to scatter the warlike portion of them over the remoter districts of the province, the Ostrogoths forced a passage across the Danube, and established their camp in the territory of the empire.[2]

Their revolt and success.

A. D. 377.

The studied insults to which the followers of Alavivus and Fritigern were continually exposed soon led to a revolt. A battle took place in the neighbourhood of Marcianopolis, in which Lupicinius sustained a marked defeat. The victors, renouncing the dependent condition of strangers and exiles, assumed possession of their lands in right of conquest; and sending their martial hordes into the most fruitful parts of Thrace, they avenged upon the innocent inhabitants the injuries which they had received at the hands of the local government. They were soon joined by additional bands of their countrymen, whom a feeling of wrong as well as the successes of Fritigern, had alienated from the Roman standard. Their children, too, who had been sold into bondage, recovered their freedom, and returned with delight into the society of their kindred; stimulating, at the same time, by an account of the sufferings which they had endured, the resentment which already glowed in the breast of every Goth.[3]

[1] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxxi. c. iii.; Zosim. lib. iv. c. xx.; Eunap. in Excerp. Leg. Jornand. c. xxv., xxvi.

[2] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxxi. c. xlv.; Oros. lib. vii. c. xxxiii.

[3] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxxi. c. v.; Jornand. de reb. Get. c. xxvi.; Ammian. Mar. lib. xxxi. c. vi., vii.

A. D. 377. Battle on the Danube.

The discomfiture of the legions at Marcianopolis roused Valens to some degree of activity. Instead, however, of attempting to soothe the rude soldiers who had been pillaged and insulted by his generals, he resolved to crush them by superior numbers; for which purpose, he called in his best troops from the east, solicited reinforcements from his nephew Gratianus, and expressed a determination to march from the capital of Syria to Constantinople, that he might direct in person the progress of the war. He confided the immediate command of this powerful army to Count Trajan and Profuturus; who, as soon as they could marshal the cohorts which were stationed in Thrace, issued orders to the inferior officers to commence a general movement in search of the barbarians. Fritigern, whose talents had raised him to the highest post in the Gothic camp, had collected his warriors in an extensive plain near the most southern stream of the Danube; where, perceiving from the dispositions of the imperial commanders, that they meditated an attack, he awaited their approach with confidence and resolution. A sanguinary conflict ensued, which continued with various success from the dawn of day till the setting of the sun. Neither side could claim a victory, and both had suffered so much as to be afraid to renew the contest. The Goths remained on the ground which they had previously occupied, surrounded as usual with their fortification of cars and waggons; while the Romans, whose diminished ranks suggested a different mode of warfare, adopted the plan of confining the barbarians between the river and the adjoining mountains, in the hope of starving them into an unconditional submission. A line of ramparts, and a strong body of horsemen under Saturninius the master-general of the cavalry, were employed to aid the operations of the legionaries, who were ordered to contract, by a gradual advance, the limits of the Gothic encampment, and thereby to cut off their supplies from the adjacent country.

Retreat of the Romans.

But hardly was this scheme arranged when intelligence arrived that new swarms had crossed the Danube, prepared to support the brave Fritigern, and to share the lands which he had conquered. Saturninius, apprehensive of being surrounded by these unexpected invaders, judged it expedient to retire; while the chiefs of the Visigoths, equally anxious to provide against future events, cultivated an alliance with Alatheus and Saphrax, the regents of the Ostrogoths, who had now a common interest with their former enemies. He obtained the aid also of some hordes of Huns and of Alani, who had found their way into Mœsia; to whom were soon united a strong detachment of Sarmatians, animated by revenge and the love of rapine.[1]

A. D. 378. Valens proceeds against them in person.

In the manner now described did the year A. D. 377 pass away. The firm footing established by the barbarians in two important provinces of the empire, called into exercise the little energy which

[1] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxxi. c. vi.–ix.

A. D. 378. belonged to the character of Valens. Upon his arrival the following year at Constantinople, he was accused by the multitude as the author of that unwise measure which had filled their country with hungry and merciless savages; and urged, at the same moment, to lead forth the army which garrisoned the capital, in order to deliver Thrace from the ravages of a cruel and detestable foe. He possessed not sufficient independence of character to despise this popular remonstrance; but assembling such troops as were at hand, he left his palace, and proceeded to the camp which was pitched under the walls of Adrianople. His generals, meantime, particularly Sebastianus, the commander of the cavalry, were engaged in frequent actions with the enemy; and although, upon the whole, the Roman arms were successful, it had become apparent to all classes of the soldiery, that the Gothic war, whatever might be its issue, could not be terminated without a great effusion of blood. The more considerate among the superior officers, accordingly, whose opinion the emperor condescended to ask, dissuaded him from a hasty attack upon the encampment of the barbarians, and urged him rather to exhaust their strength by keeping them constantly under arms, and by intercepting their supplies, until his nephew Gratianus, who was on his march at the head of the flower of the western legions, should have time to join him. Those officers, on the other hand, who wished to flatter the vanity of their master, and to soothe his jealousy, represented to him the advantages of a spirited onset, while the enemy were yet under the impression made upon them by the valour of Sebastianus, and also the injury that might result to his reputation, were the honour of victory to be divided with the youthful emperor of Rome. The infatuation of Valens was further encouraged by the deep policy of Fritigern, who, feigning a mixed sentiment of penitence and alarm, professed his readiness to return to his duty as a vassal of the empire, provided certain waste lands in Thrace were granted to his followers, with a sufficient allowance of corn and cattle to support them till their fields should be brought into cultivation.

Total defeat of the Romans near Adrianople.

The counsel of Sebastianus, whose abilities fitted him for the field rather than for the cabinet, prevailed, and the emperor issued orders to prepare for battle. It was on the 9th of August, A. D. 378, that Valens proceeded from his camp at Adrianople to attack the Goths who lay at the distance of about twelve miles; a day, it has been justly observed, which may be ranked among the most inauspicious that ever influenced the fortunes of Rome. The march, though not long, was performed under a sultry sun; while a mistake on the part of the subordinate officers occasioned so much delay and confusion before the troops could be arranged on the field, that many of the men were quite exhausted, and the confidence of the greater number of them very much depressed. In this crisis, when an active commander would either have withdrawn his squadrons from the presence

of the enemy, or instantly led them on to the attack, Valens had recourse to negotiation, and even condescended to despatch an ambassador to the Gothic camp. But hardly had his commissioner departed when the battle began by the advance of his own troops. A body of auxiliaries, under the direction of Bucarius, an Iberian chief, discharged their arrows upon a detachment of light horse which happened to pass their line; but not being supported by the rest of the army, who had received no orders to engage, they fell back with precipitation from the charge of the Gothic spears, and spread confusion and dismay throughout the wing to which they were attached. The action soon became general, and terminated in the entire defeat of the Romans. The emperor was wounded, and either was crushed under a heap of dead bodies, so as not to be recognized by friend or foe, or, as is more commonly conjectured, he was carried to a cottage in the neighbourhood, in which he and his attendants perished by fire. The loss of the vanquished was very great. A large proportion of their bravest officers fell in the field; and more than two-thirds of the common soldiers shared the same fate, or were reduced to the most wretched servitude. Since the battle of Cannæ, says Ammianus, no such disaster befell the Roman people; and could he have foreseen the fatal effects which resulted from it, his lamentation would have been still deeper, and his regret more poignant.[1]

A. D. 378.

Death of Valens.



Roman General and Foot-soldier engaged.

The victorious Goths, following up their success, laid siege to Adrianople; but they soon found here, as they had experienced on former occasions, that the arms which enabled them to conquer in the field, were of no avail against strong walls and fortifications; and also that troops who turned their backs in the open plain, were

Ravages of the Goths.

[1] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxxi. c. ix.–xii.; Zosim. lib. iv. c. xxii., xxiii.

A. D. 378. formidable antagonists when stationed behind a rampart. After a fruitless attempt, therefore, to possess themselves of that city, they shifted their camp to the suburbs of the eastern capital; but perceiving that the obstacles to which they had just yielded at Adrianople, presented themselves in tenfold greater power on the shores of the Bosphorus, they abandoned the hope of the rich plunder which had excited their avidity, and spread themselves over the defenceless provinces of Macedonia, Thrace, and Illyricum. The ravages which they committed in these countries made a deep impression on the minds of those who witnessed them, and are recorded in the pages of several authors, both ecclesiastical and civil, as the severest punishment with which Providence had visited the human race for many generations. St. Jerome relates that the fury of the Goths extended to the beasts of the field, the fowls of the air, and even to the fishes of the sea; all of which diminished in number before the insatiable rapacity and destructive habits of the enraged barbarians. But making every allowance for the exaggeration of writers, whose natural feelings were as much injured as their property, it cannot be concealed that the provincials were subjected, during a long course of years, to all the indignities and privations which the arms of a rude people never fail to inflict on civilized countries.[1]



Roman Horse-soldier.

Massacre of the Gothic youth.

To prevent a similar catastrophe in the more eastern parts of the empire, a measure was resorted to by the local governors, which cannot be contemplated without horror and detestation. Upon the stipulation made with the Visigoths, when they were first received into Mœsia, their sons were sent into the cities of Asia Minor; where they were instructed in the polite arts, and in those branches of literature which were thought best fitted to refine their manners and to subdue the natural fierceness of their temper. Twelve years had now elapsed since their migration across the Danube; in which period many of them had grown up to manhood, and had become acquainted, at the same time, with the events of the several campaigns which had taken place in the European provinces. Fears were entertained that the daring youths would embrace the earliest opportunity to assert their rank, and to imitate the example of their fathers,

[1] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxxi. c. xviii., xix.; Zosim. lib. iv. c. xxiv.

who had just annihilated a Roman army, and slain an emperor in the field of battle. It was therefore resolved to ward off this contingent evil, by putting them all to death. An order was accordingly set forth by Julius the master-general, that all the young men of the Gothic nation should assemble in the principal city of their respective provinces; and as it was insidiously reported that the object of this meeting was to confer upon the most distinguished of their number gifts of land and other marks of public approbation, the summons was universally obeyed with the utmost alacrity. On the day appointed, a body of troops was prepared in the several towns to which the sons of the Goths were invited; who, upon a signal given by the officers in command, fell upon their unarmed victims and left not one of them alive. This bloody deed, so unworthy of a great people, relieved the provincials, perhaps, from immediate alarm; but, in the end, it was retaliated with the utmost severity, while, in the eyes of impartial posterity, it seems to afford some degree of justification for the atrocities perpetrated by the conquerors of the empire.[1]

A. D. 378.

Is retaliated by the Goths.

It has been mentioned that Gratianus was on his march towards the theatre of war when his uncle came to the resolution of attacking the Goths single-handed. At the moment he reached the confines of Macedonia he learned that Valens had fallen, and that the greater part of his army was cut in pieces; upon which he intermitted his progress into a hostile country, in order that he might consult for the preservation of the empire, and name a successor to the throne of Constantinople equal to the arduous duties which now attached to the sovereignty of the east. He meant that his choice should confer the purple on a person equally distinguished by talent and by virtue; and although at the age of nineteen he could not derive much assistance from his experience of human character, the selection which he made at once proved his discernment and has secured for him the praise of future ages. About the middle of January, in the year 379, he presented to the army of Illyricum his new colleague, who was forthwith invested with the title and powers of Augustus. As the successor of Valens, his jurisdiction extended to Asia, Egypt, and Thrace, to which, as Gratianus found himself closely pressed by the Alemanni on either bank of the Rhine, were now added the adjacent provinces of Dacia and Macedonia. Pacatus assures us that the young emperor reluctantly accepted the honours to which he was elevated, and that his objections were expressed in such a manner as showed that he sincerely wished to shun the distinction for which so many others longed as the greatest earthly felicity.[2]

Before we proceed to narrate the events which throw a lustre on the reign of Theodosius, we shall resume very briefly the history of

The Alemanni threaten the Western Empire.

[1] Eunap. in Excerpt. Legat.; Ammian. Mar. lib. xxxi. c. xvi.

[2] Oros. lib. vii. c. xxiv.; Pacat. Panegyr. lib. xii. c. x.–xiii.; Themist. Orat. xiv.; Vict. in Epit.; Soz. lib. vii. c. ii.–iv.

A. D. 378. the Western Empire, under Gratianus and his brother, the young Valentinianus, in which several occurrences took place, during the years A. D. 378 and A. D. 379, which had no slight influence on the declining fortunes of Rome. The elder of these princes, as we have



Equestrian Figures of Theodosius, Gratianus, &c.—*Montfaucon.*

already stated, reserved for his own maturer genius the government of Gaul, of Spain, and of Britain; while he committed to the nominal superintendence of the son of Justina the more tranquil countries of Italy, Africa, and Illyricum. The victories gained by his father over the Quadi and Sarmatians did not secure for Gratianus the enjoyment of a lasting peace; for we find that, almost immediately after his accession to the throne, these restless barbarians poured down upon the Rhine and threatened even the seat of government at Treves. The Alemanni, too, at a somewhat later period, renewed their inroads upon the empire. Receiving intelligence from one of their countrymen, who had been promoted to the Imperial Guards, that a large body of troops was about to march for Pannonia to assist Valens against the Goths, they resolved to seize the favourable moment to elude the vigilance of the officers stationed at the forts along the frontier, and to push their bands into the heart of the province.[1]

They cross the Rhine, and are defeated by Gratianus.

An army, accordingly, numbering from forty to seventy thousand men, crossed the Rhine and began their usual devastations on the property and dwellings of the provincials; but as the legions had not yet proceeded to any great distance, they were speedily recalled and were soon in a condition to check the advance of their barbarous

[1] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxxi. c. x.; Oros. lib. vii. c. xxxiii.; Vict. Epit. Jerom. in Chron.; Auson. Cons. p. 378; Ammian. Mar. ibid. Docet arcessitu Valentis patrui Gratianum Orientem versus mox signa moturum.

enemy. Gratianus was assisted on this occasion by the experience of Nannienus and Mallobandes, the latter of whom was at once king of the Franks and count of that class of household troops who were called the domestics. The sovereign of the Alemanni did not shun the engagement which the Roman emperor sought to bring on. The hostile armies met at Argentaria, in the district of Alsatium, and attacked each other with the utmost impetuosity. Long did the valour of the invaders withstand the more disciplined charge of the legions, who darted amongst them showers of missile weapons; but at length their king being slain, and the best of their warriors either killed or wounded, they turned their backs and fled to the nearest woods for safety. Gratianus pursued them across the Rhine, followed their retreat from hill to hill and from forest to forest, into the very centre of their country, and had in a short time the satisfaction to see them lay down their arms and implore his clemency. He yielded to their prayer on condition of their delivering up to him a certain number of their young men, who might serve in his army in Illyricum, or be retained in Gaul in the capacity of hostages. Having thus afforded a brilliant proof of his perseverance and determination, not less than of his military skill, the young emperor at once secured the tranquillity of Gaul, and impressed the German tribes with a deep respect for his government.[1] A. D. 378.

Character of Gratianus.

But the leisure of peace did not produce upon the character of Gratianus the same happy effects which resulted from the vicissitudes and activity of war. Upon his return to Treves, after the settlement of the East, he gave himself up to amusements which, although untinctured with vice, did not accord with the martial spirit of the times, while they withdrew his attention from the more mighty concerns of government. He spent in the most frivolous occupations, and especially in that of the chase, the greater part of every day, leaving the provinces to the oppressive exactions of his ministers, and the army to the intrigues of certain ambitious spirits, who failed not to exasperate the minds of the soldiers and to inveigh against his general administration. The discontent of the military was not a little increased by the knowledge that the emperor had received a band of Alani, a Scythian clan, to serve about the palace in the honourable situation of guards, and that his partiality for these barbarians had been excited not only by their dexterity as archers and agility as huntsmen, but even by their wild habits and savage dress, both of which he condescended to imitate. The purity of his morals, however, and the gentleness of his manners, strengthened in the hearts of the great mass of the people a hereditary reverence for the son of Valentinianus; and it was not until the emissaries of rebellion from another province unfurled the standard of war in Gaul that

[1] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxxi. c. x.; Mallobandem—domesticorum comitem, regemque Francorum; Auson. Cons. p. 378; Oros. lib. vii. c. xxxiii.

A. D. 378. Gratianus was made aware of the full extent to which he had lost the confidence of the empire.[1]

Accession of Theodosius. A. D. 374.

The affairs of the east were conducted with great prudence and ability by Theodosius. This celebrated prince had acquired under the eye of his father, the most distinguished general of the late reign, a full acquaintance with the art of war, which he afterwards carried to a high degree of practical eminence in his various campaigns in Britain, Africa, and on the shores of the Western Ocean. On the death of Valentinianus he was appointed to command the army of Mœsia, where, by his consummate skill, he foiled a large host of the barbarians and saved the adjoining provinces. The fate which his parent underwent, in the first year of Gratianus, disgusted him so much with public employment that he retired into his native country, a district of Spain, where he spent his days in the pursuits of agriculture and in the improvement of his flocks. From this solitude he was invited by the emperor of the west to succeed Valens on the throne of Constantinople, and to recover from the arms or from the terror of the Goths and Huns one of the fairest portions of the Roman territory. He was now in the thirty-third year of his age, possessed a manly countenance and fine figure, and was recommended to all classes of his subjects by an untainted character, as well as by the fame of warlike achievements seldom equalled by the oldest generals.[2]

His prudent policy in regard to the Goths.

When Theodosius first took the field as emperor, he found the legions of Thrace so deeply panic-struck by their recent defeat, that it was impossible all at once to inspire them with such confidence in their discipline and superior tactics as was necessary to insure success in a great battle. He therefore deemed it expedient to act for some time on the defensive. Having fixed his head-quarters at Thessalonica, the principal city of Macedonia, he satisfied himself with watching, in the first instance, the movements of the barbarians, and with strengthening the fortifications of the garrison towns throughout the province. When his soldiers had gained repeated advantages over the predatory bands of the enemy, he led them forth to a general action; and although we have no details illustrative of his progress in the reconquest of this country, there is no room for doubt that his success must have been frequent and decisive. It appears, however, that as long as Fritigern lived, the Goths maintained their ground to a considerable extent on the southern bank of the Danube, and that, until his death had dissolved the confederacy of those powerful tribes, Theodosius deemed it expedient to trust more to the cautious policy upon which he began the war, than to the valour of his troops, who were still unable to forget entirely the disaster of Adrianopolis. But after the event now alluded to had spread discord and jealousy among the leaders, the emperor found little difficulty in purchasing the

[1] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxxi. c. x.; Vict. in Epit.

[2] Ammian. Mar. lib. xxix. c. vi.; Pacat. lib. xii. c. ix.

services of some and the neutrality of others. By the aid of a chief of the Amali, who was induced to join his ranks, he obtained an easy victory over a large army of that people, who with their allies, the Huns, had learned so far to despise the Romans as to indulge in careless dissipation in the neighbourhood of their camp. Athanaric, too, the king of the Visigoths, who had long experienced the caprice of fortune, expressed his readiness to accept the friendship of the empire. Theodosius met him at the distance of several miles from Constantinople, conducted him with pomp into the capital of the east, and entertained him there with the utmost kindness and magnificence. The aged monarch was not destined to leave the imperial city. A mortal disease terminated his eventful life, while a guest in the palace of him who had succeeded his bitterest enemy, and who was raised to the throne with the express intention of rooting out his nation and family. Policy, not less than a feeling of a more generous nature, induced Theodosius to bestow upon him a splendid funeral, and even to erect a monument to his memory,—a measure which was so much applauded as the proof of a liberal spirit, that the whole army of Visigoths made an offer of their services to the imperial government.[1]

A. D. 378.

Death of Athanaric.

The course of events soon brought another accession of warriors and colonists to the eastern empire. The Ostrogoths, under the command of Alatheus and Saphrax, appeared again in Dacia, after having swept the greater part of Germany and filled their tents with prisoners and spoil. The lieutenant of Theodosius, commanding a strong fleet and numerous army on the Lower Danube, succeeded, by means of some trusty spies, in prevailing upon the barbarians to attempt a passage in the night, while the Romans, as they were taught to believe, would be entirely off their guard and buried in sleep. The followers of Alatheus, accustomed to conquer and impatient of delay, embraced with avidity a proposal which seemed to gratify all their hopes. They accordingly embarked in three thousand small boats the bravest in the van, and pushed for the opposite shore; nor had they any suspicion of the snare which was laid for them, until they were attacked by the Roman galleys, which dispersed and sunk the greater part of their flotilla. The king, with the best of his troops, perished either in the water or by the sword. The remainder of the multitude on the northern bank, being deprived of their leaders, and finding themselves incapable of resistance, resolved to imitate their old rivals the Visigoths, and strove to obtain by negotiation that which they could no longer hope to extort by arms. They offered their allegiance and services to Rome, provided they were to receive in return a sufficient extent of vacant land to accommodate the survivors of their nation, and instead of being scattered over the pro-

Return of the Ostrogoths, and their defeat on the Danube.

[1] Zos. lib. iv. c. xxv., xxvii., xxxiv.; Themist. Orat. xiv. p. 181; Jornand. c. xxvii., xxviii.

A. D. 378. vinces and mixed with the inhabitants, that they should be permitted to live together and occupy exclusively the districts and villages which might be assigned to them.[1]

They are received into Phrygia and Lydia.

The emperor, aware that his savage enemy had recently improved in arms and discipline, judged it unwise to provoke their desperation, and thereby to hazard the tranquillity of a frontier which had been already so dreadfully ravaged. He acceded to their wishes, and promised to them an asylum in the fertile countries of Phrygia and Libya. Corn was supplied to meet their present necessities, while, to encourage them in the pursuits of agriculture, they were exempted, for several years, from the usual tribute paid by the occupiers of land. The Goths accepted these benefactions as due to their character and prowess, rather than as offerings made to the call of humanity. They refused not, indeed, to acknowledge the sovereignty of the emperor, but they insisted, at the same time, upon the privilege of living according to their own laws, and of restricting their obedience, in war as well as in peace, to the authority of their native commanders. Forty thousand of them were at all times prepared to discharge their military obligations to Theodosius; but as they were soldiers by profession and accustomed to earn an abundant livelihood at the point of the sword, they did not conceal their expectations that the pay, clothing, and other appointments provided by the head of the government would prove suitable to the rank which they made bold to claim as the defenders of the empire.[2]

In fact, it soon appeared that the armed colonists, whom the successor of Valens had received into the bosom of his dominions, might declare themselves, at no distant day, the masters and conquerors of his people. The unwarlike provincials were treated by them with the utmost contempt and insolence, as unfit to bear arms and incapable of self-defence; and in such circumstances the safety of the Romans depended much more upon the divisions of their domestic foes than upon their own vigour or patriotism. The Goths, who were strangers to concord in their own country, did not learn to cultivate it during the first years of their residence in the empire. On the contrary, they were divided into two factions, one of which, under Fravitta, professed to love peace, and to have a common interest with the Romans; while the others, led by Eriulphus, studied only the independence of their tribe and the most favourable opportunities for securing the sovereignty of the land which they had been permitted to occupy. A brawl between these chiefs, which took place

[1] Zos. lib. iv. c. xxxv., xxxviii.; Themist. Orat. xvi.; Zos. lib. iv. c. xxxviii.-xl.; Synes. de Reg. pp. 25, 26; Tillemont (tom. v. p. 218) expresses his regret that the Goths were not separated. Il eut été à souhaiter que l'on eût dispersé ces Barbares en divers endroits, pour en être tout-à-fait maître; but he himself assigns a sufficient reason why they did not consent to it.

[2] Zos. lib. iv. c. xl.; Themist. Orat. xvi.

at the imperial table, disclosed to Theodosius the motives by which they were severally actuated. Fravitta, incensed and alarmed at the violence of his rival, followed him on his retreat from the palace, plunged a sword into his breast, and thereby allayed for a time those warm contentions which threatened a civil war in the first instance, and finally the dismemberment of the eastern provinces.[1] A. D. 386. Dispute between two Gothic chiefs.

The prudence of Theodosius pointed out to him the path which might most beneficially be pursued in such delicate circumstances, and enabled him to preserve that just balance between the hostile parties which prevented both from acquiring a dangerous ascendency. By these means, as well as by an unremitting attention to the fortifications of his principal towns, and to the efficiency of the frontier garrisons, he succeeded in maintaining peace at home, and in deterring the hordes of Scythia from accomplishing any new invasion. We return, therefore, to the affairs of the west, where Gratianus, during the latter years of his reign, forfeited, by his caprice and trivial pursuits, the reputation which he had gained in early youth.

The dissatisfaction which was very generally felt in Gaul broke out in Britain, where Magnus Clemens Maximus, whose rank in the province has not been ascertained, was induced to countenance an insurrection, and finally to aspire to the throne. This commander, who was a native of Spain, had formerly served under the same standard with Theodosius; and it is imagined, that certain feelings of envy or of disapprobation, which respected his ancient fellow-soldier, had no small influence in determining his conduct when about to declare himself a rebel against the emperor of the west. It appears not, however, that his views were originally directed towards the purple. On the contrary, if we may believe Orosius and Sulpicius Severus, he was compelled by the soldiers to assume sovereign power, in opposition not only to a sentiment of duty, but to his personal inclination.[2] Revolt of Maximus in Britain. A. D. 383.

Having displayed the flag of rebellion, he resolved forthwith to carry the war into Gaul, and to anticipate any offensive movement on the part of Gratianus. So popular was his cause among the British provincials of all ages and both sexes, that he was followed across the channel by an immense colony of the inhabitants, rather than by a select body of warriors. A hundred and thirty thousand males, and upwards of seventy thousand females, are said to have Invasion of Gaul.

[1] Zos. lib. iv. c. lvi.; Themist. Orat. xvi.; Eunap. in Excerpt. Leg. p. 21; Claud. de Bello Get. clxvi.; Jornand. c. xx., xxix. It ought to be observed, that this event is by Zosimus placed in the year A. D. 392, instead of A. D. 386, and that he names the Gothic princes Fraoustus and Prioulus. The Ostrogoths, who are called Gruthungi by others, are by him called Prothingi.

[2] Zos. lib. iv. c. xxxv.; Pacat. Panegyr. lib. c. xxiii.; Sulp. Sever. Dial. ii. c. vii.; Oros. lib. vii. c. xxxiv.

A. D. 383. passed over on that occasion, and hence the origin of Brittany, a province which owed its name and population to the revolt of Maximus.[1]

Gratianus expelled,

The rapidity of this movement completely disconcerted the emperor, who was pursuing at Paris the pastimes to which he had too long sacrificed the highest interests of his government. When roused from his fatal security by the intelligence that a hostile force had established a footing in Gaul, he made an effort to assemble the legions, and to inspire them with a resolution which he himself did not feel. But the troops, alienated by neglect, and disgusted by his preference of the barbarian guards, whom he had introduced into the palace, joined with loud acclamations the standard of Maximus, and avowed their resolution to support the usurper. Even the cohorts which were stationed in the capital, and appointed to the duty of protecting his person, refused to obey his orders. Deserted by the

pursued,

army, Gratianus fled towards Lyons, attended only by about three hundred horsemen; and he was doubly mortified to find, as he hastened his retreat, that the disaffection which had seized the military was equally prevalent among the peasants and the inhabitants of the towns. Every gate was shut against, and every voice was lifted up to accuse or to insult him. Had he, however, continued his flight until he reached the confines of Italy, where the power of his brother Valentinianus remained unshaken, he might have retrieved at once his fortune and his character; for it is not denied by the worst enemies of the western emperor that he possessed an ample share of individual courage, as well as considerable talent and experience in war. But he trusted to the ignorance or perfidious professions of the governor of Lyons, who induced him to halt, and make a stand for his life and crown. Whether he fell the victim of treason or of inconsiderate zeal must for ever continue doubtful; but it is certain that he had not long intermitted his retreat when he was overtaken by Andragathius, the cavalry general of Maximus, and almost

and assassinated. August, A. D. 383.

instantly put to death. Several of his officers and attendants shared the same fate; but the only circumstance of any importance connected with this shameful catastrophe, was the refusal of the rebels to deliver the body of his brother to Valentinianus, who, after a lapse of three years, employed St. Ambrose to make the request.[2]

Maximus sends an embassy to Theodosius.

Maximus was no sooner on the throne of Gaul than he sent an ambassador to Theodosius to acquaint him with his elevation, and to offer him the alternative of friendship or of war. He desired his representative to assure the emperor of the east that the murder of Gratianus was perpetrated by the soldiers without his knowledge;

[1] Zos. lib. iv. c. xxxvi.

[2] Pacat. Panegyr. lib. xii. c. xxviii.; Socrat. lib. v. c. xi.; Sozom. lib. vii. c. xiii.; Zos. lib. iv. c. xxxv.

that he had not thirsted for the distinction which had been conferred upon him by the legions of Britain; but that, as fortune had placed him at the head of the most warlike provinces of the empire, he was determined to maintain his rank by force of arms, should his title be disputed by either of his colleagues. Theodosius, however much disposed to avenge the death of his patron, and the breach of fidelity which had led to it, found it convenient to temporize. He could not shut his eyes to the precarious condition of his own dominions, surrounded by enemies to whom the fatigues of war were the most agreeable relaxation, and possessed by allies whose faith could not be expected to resist an opportunity of procuring plunder, or of extending the limits of their territory. He resolved, therefore, to prefer the alliance of Maximus to the chances of a bloody and protracted quarrel with him, reserving, by a distinct and specific condition, the sovereignty of Italy, Africa, and the Western Illyricum, for his brother, and confining, by a stipulation equally explicit, the new monarch to the countries beyond the Alps. The image of Maximus was immediately added to those of Theodosius and Valentinianus, and exhibited in public for the recognition of the people; but, amidst these demonstrations of harmony and confidence, a discerning eye might discover tokens of suspicion on the one side, and of hatred on the other, and, on all hands, the elements of a convulsion which could not long be suppressed.[1] A. D. 383.

Four years passed away without any actual rupture between the emperors of the east and of the west. This interval, however, had not passed in total inactivity on either side; for each, knowing the power and ambition of the other, was exerting all the while his utmost endeavours to augment his military establishment, and to increase his warlike resources. Maximus enlisted a numerous body of Germans, whose licentious habits and fierce tempers rendered them fit instruments for the destructive campaign which he meditated; and as he wished to get possession of the passes of the Alps without awakening the fears of the young Valentinianus, he pressed him to accept a reinforcement of troops from Gaul, to assist the Pannonian legions in the defence of their frontier. The ambassador of this prince, altogether unsuspicious of the design to which he was induced to lend himself a tool, consented to conduct the soldiers of Maximus to the borders of Italy; and the stratagem succeeded so far, that the mountain fortresses were delivered into the hands of the auxiliaries; the passes were secured for the march of a larger force

Maximus invades Italy. A. D. 387.

[1] It deserves notice that Orosius and some other writers do not receive Maximus into the number of emperors, but represent Theodosius as reigning alone after the death of Gratianus. Anno ab urbe conditâ 1138, Theodosius quadragesimus primus, interfecto per Maximum Gratiano, Imperium Romani orbis solus obtinuit, mansitque in eo annis undecim, cum jam in Orientis partibus sex annos, Gratiano vivente, regnasset. Lib. vii. c. xxxv.

A. D. 387. which followed in their footsteps; and the emperor himself, with the flower of his army, pushed on with so much speed that he was within sight of Milan before any intelligence could be given of his approach.[1]

Justina and her son fly to Thessalonica.

The empress Justina and her son had no resource but in flight. They directed their course to the strong city of Aquileia, which they reached in safety; but womanly apprehensions soon urged a further retreat, upon which the royal fugitives embarked on the Adriatic, and sailed round to Thessalonica. Maximus meantime entered Milan in triumph; and the subjects of Valentinianus, finding that no claim was made upon their allegiance, submitted without a struggle to the government of the conqueror.

Theodosius resolves on war.

No sooner did Theodosius learn that the brother of Gratianus had taken refuge in his territory than he repaired, attended by his counsellors, to the port of Macedonia, at which the youth and his parent had landed. In the presence of his illustrious guests, the great question of peace or of war was freely agitated; and it is not concealed by the friends of Theodosius that, though he was alive to every sentiment of gratitude, of patriotism, and of generosity, he hesitated some time whether he should draw the sword or listen to terms of accommodation with the tyrant of Gaul. It is insinuated by Zosimus that the mind of the emperor, which could not be swayed by considerations of policy or of honour, yielded at last to the softer impulse of love. The sister of Valentinianus pleaded the cause of the west and of the imperial family with so much effect, that he could no longer refuse to take up arms in their defence. He made haste to solemnize his nuptials with the eloquent princess; after which he issued orders to the legions on the Danube, the Euphrates, and the Nile, to make preparations for war.[2]

On no occasion did the military talent of Theodosius appear to greater advantage than in his arrangements for the campaign against Maximus. Expecting, from the experience of the latter in the management of an army, and more especially from the great interest which he had at stake, a formidable resistance, he brought into the field a large body of his finest troops, while he employed several detachments to threaten the Gallic provinces near the source of the Rhine, and thereby to distract the attention of the invader. The two emperors at length came in sight of each other near Siscia, a town of Pannonia, and prepared to decide the fate of the Roman empire in a general action.

The armies meet at Siscia.

The heavy legions of Germany and Gaul viewed with contempt the barbarian array of the Scythian cavalry and mounted archers whom Theodosius had trained to the regular movements of war; but

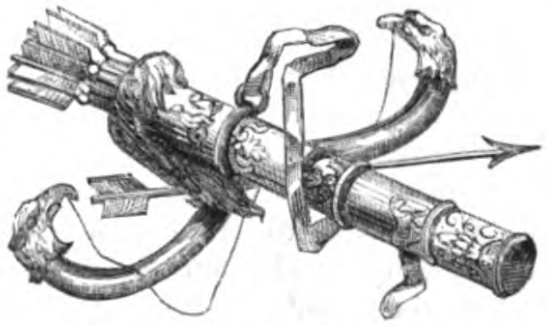
[1] Sulp. Sever. Dial. iii.; Pacat. lib. xxii. c. xxv. xxvi.

[2] Zosim. lib. iv. c. xlvi.; Oros. lib. vii. c. xxxv.; Pacat. Panegyr. lib. xii. c. xxx.–xlvii.

the first charge of these furious horsemen threw them into such disorder, that the plan adopted by Maximus was immediately disconcerted, and his strongest positions transferred to the possession of his enemy. As the battle began late in the day, the conflict was interrupted by the approach of night; but, on the renewal of the fight in the morning, the tide of success ran so decidedly in favour of the eastern army, that the best of the Gallic and German troops threw down their arms and acknowledged the conqueror. Theodosius, eager to terminate the war by the death of his antagonist, pursued him with so much speed that, on the second day, he reached Aquileia almost at the very moment when the other entered its gates. A vigorous siege soon made him master of the fortifications; and the place was saved from military execution on the promise that Maximus should without delay be delivered up to his clemency. It is said that policy, or the natural tenderness of his heart, withheld, for a brief space, the sentence which Theodosius was expected to pronounce. After this momentary hesitation, however, he resigned him to his fate; when he and his son Victor, whom he had raised to the dignity of Augustus, were put to death by military executioners.[1]

A. D. 387.

Maximus is defeated, and afterwards put to death.



Arms of the Barbarians, from the Arch of Trajan.

The conqueror spent the remaining months of A. D. 387 at Milan, with the view of reforming the abuses of government, of giving vigour to the administration of law, and, above all, of reviving the sources of prosperity in all the branches of national industry and public wealth. After making a few examples of just severity, in the case of the most atrocious criminals, he directed his whole attention to console and relieve the afflictions of the province. He not only restored their lands to the husbandmen who had been deprived by the usurper, but also made ample compensation for the losses which they had sustained in the course of the war. His generosity was further manifested in conferring a yearly allowance upon the mother of Maximus, and a good education upon his daughter; both of whom were rendered destitute by the fatal issue of the battle of Siscia, and who, under the reign of a less humane prince, would have been left to their miserable fate. Theodosius, in short, has deserved the singular commendation, that his virtues always seemed to expand with his fortune; the season of his prosperity was that of his moderation,

Corrects abuses in the government, and compensates the losses of the provincials.

[1] Zosimus (lib. iv. c. xlvii.) states that Victor was slain in the Alps by Arbogastes; and that Andragathius threw himself into the sea. Socrates, lib. v. c. xiv.

A. D. 378. and his clemency appeared most conspicuous after the danger and commotions of a civil broil.[1]

In the spring of A.D. 389, the emperor made a solemn entry into the ancient city of Rome, where he was received at once as a conqueror and a deliverer. Various abuses, which had crept into the government during the successive usurpations which had alarmed Italy since the days of Julian, were corrected with a gentle hand; but such was the delicacy of Theodosius, that although he was now, in fact, the master of the Roman world, he gave orders that every public measure should be pursued in the name of Valentinianus, and that his authority should be recognised in every legal deed and enactment. And further, as soon as the power of law was again sufficiently established, he invited the young monarch to return to Milan; when, besides restoring to him the dominions which had been wrested from his authority by Maximus, he subjected to his rule all the countries beyond the Alps.[2]

Restores Valentinianus.

A. D. 391.

But the brother of Gratianus appears not to have possessed sufficient activity and resolution to govern a people who wanted principle to be loyal, and courage to oppose rebellion. His mild, virtuous, and pliant character, which would have adorned the intercourse of private life, served only to excite the contempt of rude warriors, and to afford a pretext for their treachery. Arbogastes, who had performed essential services in the late war, was appointed master-general of the armies of Gaul; and it should seem that he availed himself of the influence afforded by his rank to weaken the interests of his prince among all classes of his subjects, and to pave the way for his own accession to supreme power. He appointed his partisans to all offices of trust; officered the legions with men who were devoted to his cause; and, in a word, usurped so completely all the functions of state, that Valentinianus soon found himself stripped of the most important privileges of royalty, as well as of the enjoyment of personal freedom. The distance between Milan and Constantinople increased the danger of his situation; for although he apprized Theodosius of the perils by which he was surrounded, he could not expect the arrival of military aid in time to thwart the designs of his rebellious general. He therefore summoned Arbogastes into his presence at Treves, whither he had removed his court, reproached him with his treasonable intentions, and finished by depriving him of all his offices. The barbarian smiled at the impotent resentment of his sovereign; and, in a few days, the latter was found strangled in his apartment. As there was no one to bear witness to the manner of his death, the emissaries of the traitor laboured to impress upon the public mind that it was voluntary; an argument which the master-general of the Gallic armies afterwards employed, through the medium of the im-

Revolt of Arbogastes, and death of Valentinianus.

A. D. 392.

[1] Pacat. in Panegyr. Vit. lib. xii. c. xx.; Ambros. vol. ii. Epist. xl.

[2] Zosim. lib. iv. c. xlvii.

perial ambassador, when he communicated to Theodosius the demise of Valentinianus.[1] A. D. 392.

Eugenius raised to the empire of the west.

Arbogastes chose to govern the empire under the name of a dependent whom he had resolved to elevate to the throne. Eugenius, originally a professor of rhetoric, was first employed by the governor of Gaul as his private secretary, and subsequently appointed by him to the duties of master of the offices. To the still higher rank which was destined for him by his patron, he is said to have acceded with reluctance; being aware that, although clothed with the purple, he must still continue the servant of Arbogastes, and be exposed at the same time to all the odium and danger of government. Theodosius, on the other hand, could not be ignorant of the motives which had guided the conduct of the barbarian general in his selection of an emperor; while he had grounds for the justest resentment against him as the author of his colleague's death, and of all the confusion and distress which were likely to result from it. His indignation was further stimulated by the grief of his wife, who with tears deplored the unhappy fate of her brother, and urged him to take up arms to punish the rebellious murderers, and reduce to obedience the monarchy of the west. After due preparation, therefore, he took the field; having under his command the troops of all the allied or tributary nations which had flocked to his standard from the east and the north. Scythians and Arabians, Goths, Huns, and Alani marched under the banners of their native leaders, among whom was the renowned Alaric, whose name is so closely associated with the downfall of Roman independence.[2]

Theodosius prepares for war.

Theodosius met with no resistance till he had descended from the Julian Alps into the plain which extends from their southern limits. His opponent, the wily Arbogastes, knew that the heavy troops of Gaul and Germany would prove more efficient on level ground than among the narrow passes of the mountains; and moreover that, if he should gain a victory, the retreat of his enemies would there be more easily prevented, or at least rendered more destructive. The event had nearly established the accuracy of his calculations. The eastern army was repulsed with great slaughter, and compelled to seek a refuge in the verge of the lofty range over which they had recently passed, while the conqueror, anticipating such a result, threw a body of light-armed men into their rear, to interrupt their flight towards Pannonia. The triumph of rebellion would have been complete, had the soldiers of Eugenius continued faithful to his interests. But the legions of Gaul, at the very moment when the fortune of the empire and the fate of Theodosius were placed in their hands, remembered

Victory of Theodosius. A. D. 394.

[1] Zosimus (lib. iv. c. xlvii.) says that he had the benefit of his mother's advice; but she appears to have died immediately after his restoration. Oros. lib. vii. c. xxxv.; Soc. lib. v. c. xxv.; Zosim. lib. iv. c. liii.

[2] Zosim. lib. iv. c. liv.–lviii.; Claud. III. Cons. Honor. 396.

A. D. 394. the oaths which they had taken to support the house of Valentinianus, and offered their services to the prince whom they had been employed to cut off. Being thus unexpectedly reinforced, the eastern emperor renewed, or rather, perhaps, sustained the attack, on the following morning, when he gained a decided advantage over the diminished ranks of his antagonist, and thereby quashed the insurrection. Eugenius fell into his hands, and was immediately beheaded by the indignant guards. Arbogastes, who had escaped from the scene of action, and wandered some time in the mountains, put a period to his despair by falling on his own sword.[1]

Death of Eugenius and Arbogastes.

Prodigies attending the battle.

We have intentionally passed over all the supernatural circumstances, as they were considered, which have been preserved with so much care by the ecclesiastical writers of the fourth century, and which are faithfully recorded in the several works of Tillemont. The storm in the Alps, for example, which aided the arms of Theodosius, could not be regarded as an unusual event by the inhabitants of the mountains; while the miraculous intelligence of the victory, which reached Constantinople long before the swiftest courier could have accomplished the journey from Aquileia, must be ranked with those numerous instances in which rumour anticipates the progress of authenticated fact. The authors of the Theodosian age were credulous and superstitious to a very high degree; and we find, accordingly, that, in selecting materials for history, they exercised very little of that discrimination which separates the fictions of a pious mind from the simple events which are brought to pass by human agency and the operation of physical causes. We admit, however, the unimpeachable honesty of the compilers, whose judgment or whose knowledge we find so little reason to extol; and thus, while we dissent from the philosophy of Ambrose, Augustin, Socrates, and Theodoret, we have the utmost confidence in their narratives, so far as they themselves were witnesses of the facts which they have embodied in their pages.

Accession of Honorius.

The young Honorius had either accompanied his father in the campaign against Argobastes, or he joined the army immediately after the throne of the west was rendered vacant by the death of Eugenius. Sozomen and Socrates are of opinion that Theodosius did not send for his son until he felt the ravages of the disease which soon afterwards terminated his life. It was at Milan that the emperor placed in the hands of Honorius the sceptre of Rome, and with it the sovereignty of Italy, Spain, the two Gauls, all Africa, and the Western Illyricum. At the same time he nominated Stilicho as general-in-chief of the legions in those parts, recommending to him the care of the prince, whose inexperience he knew could not fail to encounter many difficulties in the government of nations so widely

[1] Zosim. lib. iv. c. lviii.; Ambros. vol. ii. Epist. lxii.; August. de Civit. lib. v. c. xxvi.; Sozom. lib. vii. c. xxiv.; Claud. in IV. Cons. Honor. 70.

scattered, and influenced by views of policy so extremely different.[1] Having discharged this important duty, he made arrangements for the festivity which usually accompanied the accession of an emperor; and the last effort of his strength was exhausted in returning acknowledgments to the people for the acclamations with which they had received his son. Zosimus tells us that he embraced this opportunity to dissuade his pagan subjects from persevering any longer in their superstitious rites, urging upon them a cordial reception of the Christian faith, and the more reasonable service which it enjoined; but he adds, with visible satisfaction, that no one paid any respect to the harangue of their imperial master.[2] He did not live to witness the success of his zeal; for, while preparing to return to Constantinople, he was cut off by dropsy, in the fiftieth year of his age. His body was embalmed, and sent to the capital of the east.[3] A. D. 394.

Death of Theodosius, January, A. D. 395.



Theodosius.

Few of the Roman emperors died more lamented than Theodosius the Great. His sincere attachment to Christianity, and the efforts which he made to further its progress, contributed, it is true, very materially to the advancement of his fame among a large and influential class of his subjects; but his character, on other accounts, exhibited so many points deserving of applause, that even the most determined of his enemies among pagan writers are compelled to acknowledge his merits, and to praise the mild and impartial spirit in which he conducted his government. The welfare of his people seems to have supplied the ruling motive of his policy in peace and in war; and, although bred a soldier and desirous of military glory, he on all occasions appeared more willing to sacrifice his reputation for courage, than to earn the renown of a hero at the expense of life and property. In drawing the sword he never yielded to the dictates

Character of Theodosius.

[1] Zosim. lib. iv. c. lix. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

A. D. 395. of passion or of personal interests; while, in conducting the details of a campaign, he afforded the most convincing proofs that his talents qualified him to take a place in the list of the greatest commanders, as well as in that of enlightened and patriotic statesmen.[1]

General reflections.

The times, indeed, in which he lived were prone to corruption, and disfigured with much ignorance, superstition, and crime. The spirit of the ancient Roman constitution had almost entirely evaporated; the love of country had been succeeded by avarice, luxury, and venality; the legions had contracted the habits of mercenaries and the feelings of slaves; while the mass of the people, eager to purchase an exemption from the toils and peril of war, quietly permitted barbarians to fight their battles and to elect their masters. The nobles, generally speaking, had ceased to take any concern in the administration of public affairs. The despotism to which, since the days of Tiberius, they had been forced to submit, was wielded by the caprice and supported by the power of the army; and, in fact, for more than three hundred years prior to the accession of Theodosius, the seat of government was in the camp, and the imperial ministers were the præfects of the guards, or the commanders of cohorts. The power of the church, in some instances, began to supply the deficiency of law, and to give vigour to the principles of morality; but, at the end of the fourth century, the impure tenets of heathenism still divided the faith of the empire, both in the east and west, and countenanced the loose maxims on which the intercourse of life was generally conducted. Zosimus accuses the sloth and effeminacy of Theodosius as the cause of the corrupt habits which prevailed among his subjects; but it is obvious, that the example of a monarch, whose residence varied with the exigencies of the state and the change of the seasons, and who was half his life at the head of an army in the field, could not be chargeable with the demoralization of all the nations from the Euphrates to the Atlantic. The greatest stain, perhaps, which attaches to his character, is the severity which he employed in punishing a popular insurrection at Thessalonica. In that city the death of a favourite general was revenged by the massacre of six or seven thousand persons, who were invited to the theatre for the express purpose of being put to military execution. It ought, however, in justice to be remembered, that his resentment was inflamed by the misrepresentations of his minister Rufinus; and also that, after the first burst of passion which accompanied the fatal order, he sent a messenger to countermand it, who, unfortunately, did not arrive until the repentance of his master could be of no avail.

Severity of Theodosius at Thessalonica.

[1] Ambros. vol. ii. Epist. xl.; Pacat. Panegyr. Veter. lib. xii. c. xx.



Arcadius and Honorius.

CHAPTER XIX.

FROM THE FINAL DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE TO THE SACK OF ROME BY THE GOTHS.

FROM A. D. 395 TO A. D. 410.

THE accession of Honorius in the west, and of his brother Arcadius to the throne of Constantinople, marks an epoch in the history of the Roman empire. The division which took place when Valentinianus I. intrusted to Valens the government of the eastern provinces, amounted to little more than the appointment of a lieutenant, who might exercise the imperial offices in subordination to a supreme head. But when the two sons of Theodosius assumed the sceptre of their respective dominions, it appears to have been understood that each was to be independent of the other, both as to the ground on which their authority rested, and also as to the objects for which it should be employed. We may, therefore, regard it as an established fact, that the Roman world, which was formerly divided for the sake of convenience, was henceforth separated into two parts, as distinct kingdoms, subject to different laws, and destined to follow an entirely new line of succession. To Arcadius, who for a considerable time had held the rank of Augustus, there fell, as his inheritance, the valuable provinces of Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, Thrace, Dacia, Macedonia, and the Eastern Illyricum; extending from Dalmatia to the borders of Persia, and from the Danube to the cataracts of the Nile. Honorius, on the other hand, was pronounced the master of Italy, of Gaul, of Africa, Spain, Britain, the Western Illyricum, Noricum, and Pannonia; a territory which embraced the most important nations of modern Europe, and comprehended every

A. D. 395. Accession of Arcadius and Honorius.

Division of the empire.

A. D. 395. climate which is to be found between the Grampians and Mount Atlas.[1]

Character of Arcadius,

Our attention is first attracted to Arcadius, who is described by his contemporaries as a weak and pusillanimous prince. He had nothing in his mind or body resembling the greatness and dignity of his father. His figure was small and badly formed; his countenance was sallow, and expressive of imbecility, hesitation, and languor, marking a total absence of genius, and even of all deep passion or sustained emotion. Equally devoid of talent and of energy, he could not fail to become the tool of some one of those ambitious persons who surrounded his throne; and, unfortunately for himself as well as for his country, the power of government was seized by the hand of an individual, whose abilities were never guided by the feeling of patriotism, whose aspiring views were never restrained by the sense of humanity, and whose heart was dead to the stings of compunction. Rufinus, who imposed upon the late emperor a high opinion of his prudence and fidelity, was raised by him to the præfecture of the east, and found himself, upon the death of his patron, still able either to command the confidence of the ruling monarch, or to subdue his reluctance. We pass over the various steps by which this favourite of Theodosius supplanted his rivals and deceived his master, to give an outline of his short administration as the representative of Arcadius, whose name was only used to veil the avarice, and to afford a pretext for the cruel exactions, of his minister.[2]

and of Rufinus, his minister.

As Rufinus was not called to direct the affairs of state in the carrying on of war, or in the establishment of peace, his policy was limited to the accumulation of wealth, which he regarded as the instrument of power; and in the prosecution of this object he had recourse to all the means which an insatiable covetousness, set free from every principle of justice and compassion, could suggest to a man clothed with unbounded authority. The remark of Claudian, that one house received the rapine of the whole world, has not been accused of much exaggeration; for whatever could be extorted by oppressive taxes, by bribery, by fines and confiscations, by forgery, by the sale of justice, of favours, and of public offices, was poured into the coffers of the præfect. The flame of his avarice, says the poet just named, could not be extinguished with rivers of gold. His parsimony, too, was equal to his avarice; and hence he neglected to gain the support of the soldiers, who, had they shared in his plunder, would not, it is probable, have called in question the foul expedients by which it was obtained. His vindictive and jealous spirit, moreover, created enemies among a class of men who were less exposed to his extortion than to his personal resentment. He had procured the death of several individuals whose rank was higher than his own,

Cruelty and extortion of Rufinus.

[1] Oros. lib. vii. c. xxxvi.; Zosim. lib. v. c. i.

[2] Zosim. lib. iv. c. li.; Claud. in Rufin. lib. i.; Zosim. lib. v. c. ii.–iv.

especially of Tatianus, whom he was immediately appointed to succeed, and of Proculus, the son of this distinguished officer, who was præfect of Constantinople. In a manner equally unjust he took away the life of Lucianus, the Count of the East, who had purchased from Rufinus himself the high preferment which now awakened the jealousy of the latter. He resolved to execute in person the vengeance which he had meditated against this delegate of his power; for which reason he made a rapid journey to Antioch, dragged him before his tribunal, and sentenced him to a cruel and ignominious punishment.[1] A. D. 395.

Such unrelenting ferocity turned against the imperial minister the rage of every order of the people, from the eunuchs in the palace to the generals at the head of the army. The former, who were, perhaps, the most intimately acquainted with his purposes, set the example of opposing his nefarious schemes. He had betrothed his daughter to Arcadius, and by this marriage he hoped to establish his authority on a permanent basis; but the chamberlain Eutropius, acting in concert with the other eunuchs, conducted to the pliant emperor a young lady named Eudoxia, whose father commanded a body of Franks in the service of Rome. Disappointed, and even in some degree the object of ridicule, Rufinus did not despair of maintaining his ascendency over the feeble mind of his sovereign, and of enjoying an ample revenge upon all by whom his plan of domestic aggrandizement had been thwarted.[2]

His disappointment in the marriage of Arcadius.

To effect this object he importuned the government of the western empire to send back the troops which Theodosius had led into Italy in his last expedition. Stilicho, who presided at the helm of affairs in the name of Honorius, expressed his readiness to comply with this request, and even to march at the head of the eastern contingent to Constantinople. As the main reason assigned by Rufinus for demanding the return of the troops was founded on an alarm excited by the appearance of the Huns on the Syrian border, and of Alaric in the provinces of Thrace and Macedonia, the offer of the western general to assist with his presence and advice the brother of his sovereign, ought not to have created the slightest suspicion. But Stilicho claimed the guardianship of both emperors, as having, he alleged, been intrusted to him by their father in the last moments of his life; and it was therefore suspected that his authority might derange the plan of administration adopted, or rather tolerated, by Arcadius, under the auspices of his ambitious præfect, and involve the two empires in war. He was accordingly informed that, although the legions of the east were still expected to obey the summons for-

[1] Zosim. lib. iv. c. lii.; Claud. in Rufin. lib. i.; Orbisque rapinas accipit una domus; Philostorg. lib. ii. c. iii.; Ambros. Epist. l.; Symmach. lib. iii. c. vi. Zosimus (lib. v. c. i.) includes Stilicho in the charges which he brings against Rufinus.

[2] Zosim. lib. v. c. v.; Philostorg. lib. ii. c. vi.

A. D. 395. warded to them from the capital, his personal attendance would not be accepted; but that, on the contrary, if he passed the line which separated the dominions of his master from those of Arcadius, his conduct would be regarded as an act of avowed hostility. Stilicho abstained from a measure which, he saw, would at once defeat his object, and occasion much national calamity; but he intrusted to Gaïnas, a Gothic chief, in whom he had the utmost confidence, the command of the eastern forces and the accomplishment of his revenge. When, therefore, the cohorts had advanced within a mile of the metropolis, they halted until the emperor and his minister should come forth to greet their arrival; and no sooner did they see the enemy of their general and the oppressor of the people surrounded by their ranks, than one of their number stepped forth and plunged a sword into his breast. The fury of the populace, hitherto checked by fear, now burst out without restraint. The body of Rufinus was literally torn in pieces; and his wife and daughter, had they not taken refuge in a religious sanctuary, would have shared the same fate.[1]

Death of Rufinus. A. D. 395.

The feeble Arcadius now found himself in the hands of the men who had deceived and murdered his principal servant. The empress, who owed her elevation to the stratagem of Eutropius, recommended him to the favour of her husband; while Gaïnas, who could rely upon the support of the army, sought no other patron. Zosimus insinuates that the influence of Stilicho was exerted to secure the promotion of his tools at the court of Constantinople, and that the general of Honorius still aspired to the government of both empires, in capacity of guardian to the two young princes. Whatever truth there may be in the former part of this suggestion, there seems to be no doubt that his interference in the administration of the eastern state roused a spirit of opposition to his policy so strong and determined, that the sons of Theodosius, instead of affording mutual support against the powerful nations which were, on all sides, pressing upon the limits of their respective provinces, viewed each other as enemies to be weakened or subdued. The Roman empire was thus not less divided in interest and affection than in territorial dominions; and hence its decline and final overthrow were accelerated, from year to year, by the very counsels and arms which ought to have secured its perpetuity.[2]

Eutropius and Gaïnas succeed to his power.

Gothic war. A. D. 396. An inroad of the Goths under the celebrated Alaric revived for a moment the union of the two empires. After the most patient investigation into the few sources of historical truth which still remain, we have not been able to discover the cause of the formidable war which, in A. D. 396, alarmed the interior provinces both of Italy

[1] Claud. in Rufin. lib. ii.; Zosim. lib. v. c. vii.; Sozom. lib. viii. c. i.; Soc. lib. vi. c. i.; Philostorg. lib. xi. c. iii.

[2] Zosim. lib. v. c. viii.; Claud. I. Cons. Stilich. lib. i.; Sozom. lib. viii. c. i.; Claud. in Eutrop. lib. i.; Philostorg. lib. xi. c. iv.

and of Greece. Zosimus and Orosius agree in ascribing it to the arts of Rufinus and of his rival Stilicho; each of whom is accused of wishing, amid the turmoil which must ensue, to enhance the value of his services, and thereby to raise himself to the supreme power.[1] This charge, as it respects the minister of Arcadius, is attended with a considerable show of probability; and his memory is still loaded with the atrocious imputation of meditating a change in the government, to be effected by the success of the barbarians against his native prince, the son, too, of his greatest benefactor. His treason is attributed to the disappointment which he sustained in the marriage of the emperor with Eudoxia instead of his daughter; to avenge which, says Claudian, he invited the Huns into Asia, and laid Europe open to the Goths. He lived not to witness the fatal effects of his wicked policy.

A. D. 396. Conjectures as to its origin.

The march of Alaric, who descended from the banks of the Danube, through Thrace, Dacia, Macedonia, and Thessaly into Achaia, and even the Peloponnesus, was marked with blood and desolation, with the sack of towns and the captivity of the inhabitants. Rufinus had everywhere placed such officers in command as either could not defend their country, or who were base enough to receive instructions not to defend it. The straits of Thermopylæ were abandoned without drawing a sword; and the strongest positions in Greece were given up as fast as the enemy could advance to occupy them. Phocis and Bœotia could not resist the torrent of barbarians which were thus let in upon them. All the men capable of bearing arms were massacred, while the women and children were reserved for the most degrading servitude. Athens saved her walls by a seasonable capitulation; but Argos, Corinth, and Sparta submitted unconditionally to the good pleasure of the conqueror, and resigned their wealth, their ornaments, the triumphs of art and of war, and, above all, the flower of their inhabitants, as a prey to his savage followers. As, however, the succeeding events of this Gothic insurrection are more closely connected with the history of the West than of the East, we shall not follow them out to any greater length at present, but resume the narrative as it respects the reign of Arcadius and of his unworthy ministers at Constantinople.[2]

Devastation committed by Alaric in Greece.

Eutropius was on many accounts the most odious and contemptible of those instruments of tyranny which were employed or permitted by the weak monarch of the Grecian empire to oppress his subjects. The origin and occupations of this favourite cast a shade upon his character which no degree of power or of wealth could remove;

Character of Eutropius.

[1] Oros. lib. vii. c. xxxvii. Ut rebus repentè turbatis, necessitas Reipublicæ scelus ambitûs tegeret, barbaras gentes ille inmisit, hic fovit. Zosimus (lib. v. c. v.) says much the same.

[2] Claud. in Rufin. lib. ii.; Zosim. lib. v. c. xvi. The latter historian mentions that Athens was saved by the appearance of the spectre of Achilles.

A. D. 396. while the insolence with which he assailed men of the noblest birth, and the rapacity with which he plundered all classes of the people, excited against him an universal feeling of indignation. His avarice was equal to that of Rufinus, without having the accompaniment of that lofty ambition which stimulated the covetousness of the latter. To the disgrace of the Roman name, he appeared in the senate as a consul, and at the head of the army as a commander; imitating the acts which were performed by Cæsar and Camillus, as an ape mimics the doings of a man.

Cruelty and tyranny of his government. A. D. 397.

The contempt with which his person and administration were everywhere regarded soon rendered him impatient of superior merit as well as of illustrious genealogy. Abundantius, who had introduced him to the palace of Constantinople, was the first victim of his spleen, being deprived of his fortunes, and banished to an inhospitable district on the shores of the Black Sea. Timasius, the master-general of the armies under Theodosius, was the next whom it was thought expedient to accuse of disaffection towards the emperor and his prime minister. He, in like manner, was stripped of his immense riches, and doomed to pass the remainder of his days in the desert of Libya. Nor was it held sufficient to protect himself against the just anger of those whose rank in the state was degraded by his presence in the councils of his sovereign: he procured a law of treason to be passed, which punished with death and confiscation of goods every one who should conspire, either with subjects or with strangers, against any of the persons whom the emperor considered as the members of his government, of his household, of his civil establishment, and even the principal officers of his army. On this broad ground a private quarrel might be identified with a deliberate conspiracy against the state; and as the intention, if it could be detected, was amenable to the same tribunal with the overt act, a hasty expression, or an ambiguous term, exposed the most illustrious individuals in the empire to the loss of life and estate. Nay, to complete the reign of terror, it was enacted that the sons of traitors, although not convicted of the crime laid to the charge of their parents, should be rendered incapable of inheriting property, either on the side of the father or on that of the mother, or of receiving any legacy bequeathed to them by kinsmen or by strangers.[1]

Insurrection of Tribigild, A. D. 399.

This intolerable oppression found an avenger in a part of the empire which, perhaps, was the least exposed to its weight. The chief of one of those colonies of Ostrogoths which had been planted by Theodosius in Phrygia, influenced either by the desire of plunder or by the secret instigation of Gaïnas, took the field at the head of his clan, and displayed the standard of rebellion. Tribigild, meeting with no formidable resistance, made a great impression on the richest provinces of Asia Minor; the intelligence of which no sooner reached

[1] Claud. in Eutrop. lib. i.; Zosim. lib. v. c. ix.

Constantinople, than an army was sent against him under Leo, a rude and ignorant soldier, while Gaïnas was ordered to proceed into Thrace to defeat any attempt that might be made in that quarter. The incapacity of the former was soon made manifest. The barbarians attacked his camp in the night, and dispersed his troops; the greater part of whom made haste to join the victorious rebel, and to encourage him in the pursuit of his ulterior object, the acquisition of wealth, and, as they imagined, the punishment of Eutropius. The failure of Leo rendered necessary the presence of Gaïnas with a reinforcement from the Thracian legions; but this officer, still more incensed than Tribigild against the imperial favourite, had no intention to weaken the body of the insurgents, or to disappoint their hopes. Instead of opposing the Ostrogoths, he directed their movements, and even strengthened their positions; and when he had thus made them formidable, he wrote to Arcadius that the smallness of the army under his command, as it rendered the issue of a battle uncertain, dictated the expediency of terminating the contest by a negotiation for peace. The emperor, who could contemplate no alternative, waited with impatience for the conditions which it might please the victor to propose; but when he heard that the head of his minister was demanded as the basis of the treaty, he was struck with horror and alarm. His wife Eudoxia, who valued the safety of her throne more than the life of an ennuch, urged his compliance with the claim of Tribigild; insinuating, at the same time, that Eutropius had recently been guilty of some misdemeanours which gave great offence to her feelings of propriety. The miserable being, whose life was thus made the price of peace, fled to the metropolitan church, where, under the protection of St. Chrysostom, he enjoyed the privilege of sanctuary until the fury of the people had subsided. He was in the first instance banished to the island of Cyprus, whence he was almost instantly recalled, and condemned to death.[1]

A. D. 399.

Death of Eutropius. A. D. 399.

But the ambition or revenge of Gaïnas was not satisfied with the downfal of Eutropius. Displeased at the elevation of Aurelian and Saturninus, two individuals of consular rank, who were invested with the offices to which he aspired, he threw off his allegiance altogether, united his force with that of Tribigild in the province of Lydia, and forthwith advanced to the shores of the Hellespont. Arcadius found it necessary to enter into a negotiation with the two rebellious commanders. He condescended to have a personal interview with them at Chalcedon, where he agreed to sacrifice his new ministers to appease the jealousy of Gaïnas, to make the latter master-general of the Roman armies, and to permit the capital to be garrisoned with Gothic soldiers.[2]

Revolt of Gaïnas.

[1] Zosimus (lib. v. c. xiii.) represents the insurrection as originating with Gaïnas. In lib. v. c. xiv.–xviii. he gives a good account of this rebellion. Philostorg. lib. ii. c. vi. [2] Zosim. lib. v. c. xxii.; Sozom. lib. vi. c. iv.

A. D. 399. Revolt of Gaïnas.

This success led to the speedy ruin of the fortunate barbarian. Unable to repress the violence of his followers, who mixed with the insolence of conquest the acrimony of religious controversy, he had the mortification to learn that a great part of his army was cut off by the citizens of Constantinople, who had risen in defence of their creed. Gaïnas was declared a public enemy, and compelled to seek safety in flight. The loyal troops in the adjoining provinces were intrusted to the command of Fravitta, a Gothic chief, whose fidelity towards the emperor pointed him out as the fittest person for that important charge; upon which suitable preparations were made by sea and land to subdue the rebellious generals, and to restore the independence of government. Of the war which ensued, so few details have been preserved, that we can only form a conjecture in regard to the scene on which it was prosecuted, and the immediate results which it produced. It would appear that a succession of defeats in Thrace induced Gaïnas to attempt the passage of the Hellespont in the face of a superior force, by which he was repulsed with great loss and pursued towards the Danube. In these circumstances he relinquished whatever designs he might have entertained on the sovereignty of the East, placed himself at the head of his light cavalry, and resolved to fight his way into the countries beyond the river, where he hoped to resume the power which he is supposed to have originally possessed, as the leader of a small sept, or tribe. But

His defeat,



Dacians attacking a Roman Fort.—*Montfaucon, Antiq. Expliquee.*

Uldin, the king of the Huns, occupied all the strong positions on the southern bank of the stream which the fugitive intended to pass; and being unwilling that an adventurer, at once so bold and faithless, should have the means of forming an army in his rear, and desirous,

perhaps, to recommend his services to the imperial court, he opposed the further retreat of the vanquished rebel. Gaïnas, reduced to despair, made several furious charges upon the lines of his antagonist, in one of which he was slain, together with the greater part of his devoted band. His head was sent to Constantinople, and relieved the unwarlike emperor from the fears which had recently oppressed him, as well for his life as for his crown.[1] A. D. 399. and death.

The peace procured by this victory appears to have continued unbroken till the death of Arcadius. Seven years elapsed between these two events; during which period the Goths and Huns, satisfied for the moment with the share which they had obtained of the best lands in the empire, were resolved to check the further inroads of their countrymen, who came to plunder rather than to occupy the cultivated fields. They now proved the main defence of the northern frontier. The tranquillity of the capital, indeed, was occasionally disturbed by the contests of the two great religious parties, which at that time divided the Christian world, the Arians and the Catholics. Then, as on other occasions, the interests of the true faith were made the pretext for indulging personal animosity and for gratifying ambitious views; and we find, accordingly, that thousands of both sexes, who knew not the meaning of the language which they used, nor the import of the question which they discussed, were ready to inflict and to suffer death, rather than yield a single step to their theological opponents. The empress herself, who had taken offence at the archbishop, the celebrated Chrysostom, mingled in these disputes; and, on several occasions, carried her enmity so far as to convince every one that her zeal was stimulated by private resentment, and not, as she professed, by a regard for evangelical truth and piety. Religious controversies.

Zosimus relates, that in this year, a part of Syria and of Asia Minor was laid waste by an irruption of the Isaurians, who, bursting from the fastnesses of Mount Taurus, swept away from the husbandmen of Pamphylia and Cilicia the fruits of their land, and robbed the inhabitants of the villages. This temporary invasion was checked by Arbazacius, who soon drove the freebooters back into the hills, and strengthened the military posts along the border; his reputation, however, did not pass unsullied by the suspicion that he had sold to the marauders the facility of escape, and accepted a share of their booty for permission to carry away the remainder. But this occurrence did not materially interrupt the peace of the empire, which, as we have already remarked, was not menaced by any powerful enemy until after the demise of Arcadius, which took place in the month of May, A. D. 408.[2] Invasion of the Isaurians. A. D. 404. Death of Arcadius.

The family of the emperor, at his death, consisted of three daughters and a son. This last, named Theodosius, was only seven years

[1] Zosim. lib. v. c. xxiii.

[2] Ibid. c. xxv.; Philostorg. lib. ii. c. viii.; Sozom. lib. viii. c. xxv.

A. D. 408. of age when the throne of the East, now become hereditary, fell into his possession. His mother had recently paid the debt of nature; his uncle Honorius was incapable of rendering any assistance in the government of a state, which was already become more a rival than an ally, and hence the care of his person and authority naturally devolved upon the great officers of the court and of the army. There is, indeed, to be found in the pages of Procopius a traditional narrative, setting forth that Arcadius had, by a special clause in his will, confided the fortunes of his son to the generosity of the Persian monarch; whom, it is said, he regarded as less likely to be influenced by ambitious views than the turbulent chiefs by whom the throne of Constantinople was at that period surrounded. Agathias relates that the report of such an arrangement had reached his times, and, without positively calling the truth of it in question, directs his criticism rather to the wisdom of the measure than to the evidence upon which it had been believed. Subsequent writers, however, who have bestowed upon the testament of Arcadius fully more attention than it deserves, leave no room for doubt that Procopius must have been misled by a popular story, and that the young Theodosius was in no respect indebted either to the counsels or the arms of Persia.[1]

Availing ourselves of the pause created by the death of the Eastern emperor, we resume the history of the West under the government of Honorius. We intentionally omit the details of a second African war, excited by Gildo, a brother of the tyrant Firmus, and which ended, like the former, in the defeat and death of the principal rebels.

Marriage of Honorius.

A. D. 398. This year was signalized at once by this success, and by the marriage of the emperor with his cousin, the daughter of Stilicho; events which appear to have employed the panegyrics of poetry, as well as the diligence of those minute annalists who measure the importance of things by their local interest rather than by their effects on the public welfare. We pass on to a more momentous occurrence in the reign of Honorius, the invasion of Italy by Alaric, the celebrated leader of the Goths.

Advance of Alaric on Greece.

We have already described the operations which took place in Greece when, A. D. 396, a various army, under the chief just named, carried terror and devastation from the shores of the Danube to the extremity of Peloponnesus. The ministers of Arcadius, jealous of the power possessed by Stilicho, who had been sent to deliver the eastern empire from the horrors of invasion, opposed the measures of their ally to such an extent that the Goths effected an easy escape from his hands. The Roman general was even commanded to retire from the dominions of Arcadius, while Alaric was received into the confidence of the government whose territories he had ravaged, and whose authority he had laboured to subvert. After having destroyed the fairest parts of Greece and plundered Epirus, the Gothic prince

[1] Agath. lib. iv.; Sozom. lib. ix. c. i.

was raised by the court of Constantinople to the rank of master-general of the eastern Illyricum. Nor did his elevation stop here; for his followers, animated by his numerous victories, and assured of future success, proclaimed him king of the Visigoths, and of all the tribes who owned their kindred or allegiance.[1] A. D. 397. A. D. 398.

His successes.

Situated between the two empires, Alaric could not fail to prove formidable to both. Enraged, perhaps, by the hostility of the Romans directed by the splendid talents of Stilicho, and, at all events, regarding them as a much more powerful enemy than the effeminate bands of Constantinople, he resolved, in the first instance, to lead his troops against Honorius, and to effect, if possible, the entire conquest of Italy. After two years' preparation, accordingly, he advanced into the warlike province of Pannonia, forced the passage of the Alps, and pitched his camp in the plains of Istria and Venetia. But these achievements, it is obvious, could not be accomplished without the expense of much time and bloodshed; and hence, although his first invasion of Italy began A. D. 400, it was not till the third summer that the terror of his arms disturbed the repose of the imperial court at Milan. Many battles and sieges must in the interval have occupied his attention and thinned his ranks, and there is even a great air of probability in the conjecture that the Gothic king was compelled, oftener than once during that period, to retire towards the Danube, and recruit his forces among the native tribes who lined its banks. In the beginning of the third season, however, he approached so near the residence of the feeble Honorius, that it became necessary for the latter either to relinquish Italy altogether to the barbarian conqueror, or to make a great effort to drive him once more beyond the mountains. The prince himself, yielding to his fears, was inclined to follow the advice of those who recommended an immediate retreat into Gaul; but Stilicho, unwilling to abandon the city and country of the Romans into the hands of a savage host, which would plunder and debase the venerable memorials of their ancient fame, entreated his sovereign to maintain, if possible, his ground at Milan, until a sufficient army could be raised to check the progress of the invader. With this view, the gallant general repaired to the northern frontiers, whither the best-disciplined portion of the legions had been despatched. He crossed the Alps amidst the ice and snow which still lingered in their valleys, and attacked in the hilly parts of Rhætia a powerful body of the enemy who threatened a descent into the low country. He induced several tribes of the Alemanni to join the standard of the emperor, and to take arms against a people who were already become formidable to all the western nations of Europe. In like manner, he summoned from the borders of the Rhine, and even of Caledonia, every cohort that could be spared from the immediate defence of those provinces, and ordered them to hasten their march for the pro-

Energy of Stilicho.

[1] Claud. in Eutrop. and de Bell. Get. v. 565.

A. D. 403. tection of Italy. So great, indeed, was the emergency, that he did not refuse to receive into his ranks a numerous body of Alanian horsemen, although former events had taught him to distrust alike their discipline and their fidelity.[1]

He saves Honorius at Asta.

But the activity of Stilicho could not keep pace with the ambition of Alaric or with the fears of Honorius. The Gothic army having crossed the Adda, the Roman emperor, at the head of a feeble band of courtiers, fled into Liguria, on his way to the frontier of Gaul; but being pressed by the light troops of the enemy, he sought a temporary refuge within the walls of Asta. The king of the Visigoths, eager to terminate the war by the capture of the prince, invested the place with his whole force; and as the means of defence were small, and the resolution of the garrison was unsustained either by courage or talent in their leader, the siege would, probably, have ended in a speedy capitulation, had not the father-in-law of Honorius descended from the adjoining heights with a body of soldiers determined to save their emperor, or to perish in the attempt. The appearance of this able officer soon changed the aspect of affairs. Alaric, who imagined that all the honour and wealth to be gained by the surrender of Asta were already in his hands, had the mortification to find himself surrounded, and exposed to the instant attack of a numerous and indignant army. The chiefs of his camp compelled him to adopt the prudential measure of retreating, as long as it was in their power to escape, and to carry with them the load of booty with which their march was encumbered.[2]

Defeats the Goths at Polentia.

From Asta we trace the position of the Goths to the neighbourhood of Polentia, where they appear to have pitched their tents.

A. D. 403. On the morning of Easter Sunday, A. D. 403, Stilicho attacked them whilst employed in their devotions, and gained an important victory. The abilities of Alaric were displayed to the greatest advantage, and he more than once turned the tide of battle against the assailants; but the steady valour and discipline of the Romans finally prevailed, forced the intrenchments of his camp, and drove him from the field at the head of his remaining cavalry. The spoils of Greece, which the barbarians still carried about with them, rewarded the success of the conquerors; thousands of prisoners fell into their hands, and, among the rest, the wife of Alaric, still loaded with jewels and precious stones, and recently elated with the hope of occupying the throne of the west.

Alaric marches to Rome.

The Gothic commander, superior to the caprice of fortune, resolved to occupy the time which was spent by his enemies in congratulation, in the bold enterprise of seizing upon Rome itself, and thereby of indemnifying his soldiers for their loss at Polentia. His cavalry, which had retreated in tolerable order, was still equal to a rapid march

[1] Claud. de Bell. Get. v. 267.

[2] Claud. VI. Cons. Honor. and de Bell. Get. v. 580.

across the Apennines; and hoping to take the capital by surprise, he had no doubt of gratifying the avarice and revenge of his followers before any considerable body of troops could be sent against him. But the vigilance of Stilicho could not be deceived. Rome was made aware of the danger which menaced it, and supplied with a garrison from the neighbouring territory. Disappointed a second time, the despair of the barbarians might have impelled them to some rash attempt not less destructive to the country than a more regular triumph in the field; a consideration which induced the Roman general to propose a truce, and to hold out to the invaders the means of retiring without further loss of honour or of property. The conditions were accepted on the part of Alaric; but as every concession had been wrung from him by the pressure of circumstances, or by the overwhelming influence of the chieftains, who exercised a separate authority in his camp, he never cordially relinquished the determination which he expressed upon his entrance into Italy, of finding within its limits either a kingdom or a grave. It is upon a reference to such feelings only that we can account for his attempt upon Verona while pursuing his retreat towards the Rhætian Alps. His intention was, by a sudden assault, to take that important city, the key of the fine country by which it is surrounded; but his design being made known by certain traitors who kept up a correspondence with Stilicho, he was attacked in front and flank by a superior force, and punished with a defeat not less severe than he had sustained at Polentia. On this occasion he owed his personal safety to the swiftness of his horse, and to an unskilful manœuvre on the part of the Alani, who, in their eagerness to conquer, broke their ranks, and thereby made an opening for the Gothic cavalry to charge. Alaric, although discomfited, continued to keep the field against Stilicho, until, finding his men sinking under the weight of disease and famine, he thought proper to listen to the advice of his captains, and embrace the opportunity which was held out to him for effecting a retreat.[1]

A. D. 403.

Stilicho prevents him.

A truce.

Alaric fails in an attempt on Verona.

Rome, recently delivered from the terror of an assault, expressed an ardent desire to receive within her walls the son of Theodosius. After some delay he was induced to comply with the entreaties of the senate; and at length, in the month of December, 403, he entered the city with all the pomp of an ancient triumph, having by his side, in the same chariot, the indefatigable commander, by whose talents and courage Italy was for a time relieved from the presence of a sanguinary foe. In the games which followed, Honorius abolished, by a formal decree, the inhuman spectacle of gladiators; following in this measure not only the counsels of religion, but also the softer spirit of the age, which had begun to take offence at the sight of blood so unprofitably and cruelly shed.[2]

Honorius enters Rome. A. D. 403.

[1] Claud. de Bell. Get. v. 560, and VI. Cons. Honor.

[2] Prudentius, in his poem against Symmachus, described the sin and horror of

A. D. 403. Fixes the seat of his government at Ravenna.

The capital of Italy had not for many years been regarded as the residence of her sovereigns. During the preceding century, indeed, Rome had only three times witnessed the presence of an emperor; and as the reasons assigned for transferring the court to a position nearer the important frontier of the Pannonian provinces, had reconciled the citizens to the change, no attempt seems to have been made to detain Honorius in the palace of the Cæsars. The people of Milan solicited him to return to their city; but the alarm which he had suffered on the approach of Alaric determined him to make choice of a situation where he might more easily obtain the means of defence or of flight. He selected Ravenna, on the shores of the Adriatic, which, for more than three hundred years after, continued to be the seat of government and the metropolis of Italy.[1]

Invasion of Italy by Radagaisus. A. D. 405.

A series of events about this period distracted the western empire; but they are so indistinctly arranged by Zosimus, the only regular historian to whom we can refer, that it is somewhat difficult to ascertain their order. It was, probably, in the second year after the repulse of Alaric, that a German prince, named Radagaisus, descended from the shores of the Baltic at the head of a powerful host of Vandals, Suevians, and Burgundians, to attack Italy and Gaul. This mighty army, consisting of more than two hundred thousand warriors, was divided into three parts; one section of which, under the personal command of the sovereign, advanced towards the Upper Danube, with the view of pouring down upon the hereditary dominions of Honorius. The safety of Rome and the defence of the empire were once more intrusted to the prudent valour of Stilicho; but so unexpected was the inroad upon Pannonia, and so reluctant had the people of Italy become to the exercise of arms, that it was found impossible to attempt the protection of a distant frontier, or even to occupy the passes of the Alps. The legions were accordingly reinforced with large bodies of barbarian auxiliaries, Huns, Goths, and Alans, who appear to have engaged on either side indifferently, and to have chosen the standard of Stilicho or of Radagaisus, according to their individual preferences.[2]

Destruction of his army by Stilicho.

It was the policy of the Roman general to make no resistance to the progress of the enemy until he could attack him with his whole assembled force, and in an advantageous position. In his camp at Pavia he received intelligence that the Germans had issued from the mountains, crossed the Po, and even advanced to the city of Florence, which they were preparing to besiege. It grieved him to hear that several of the finest towns in the upper provinces were pillaged and

---

those combats; and Telemachus, a monk, raised his voice against them in the amphitheatre. See Encyclopædia, Misc. div. Gladiators; Prud. in Sym. lib. ii. v. 1121; Theod. lib. v. c. xxvi.

[1] Claud. VI. Cons. Honor. 494; Procop. de Bell. Get. lib. i. c. i.

[2] Zosim. lib. v. c. xxvi.

destroyed; but as his arrangements were not yet completed, he confined his exertions to the increase and discipline of his army. At length, when the barbarians had for some time wasted their strength against the walls of Florence, he advanced to complete their destruction. He began by surrounding their camp with a deep ditch and rampart, which at once cut them off from retreat and from a supply of provisions. Several skirmishes, indeed, appear to have taken place during the progress of the work, which were attended with various success; but, in the end, Radagaisus found himself confined to a narrow space of ground between the city and the circumvallation with which he was invested, and rendered alike incapable of commanding a field in which to fight, or an opening by which to retire. He resolved, therefore, to have recourse to a treaty, or rather, perhaps, to listen to a proposal to that effect made by his prudent antagonist; who, as he found it very difficult to recruit his legions, avoided every occasion of sacrificing the lives of his men. But whatever might be the motives in which it originated, the negotiation was followed by an issue fatal to the life of the German prince and to the fame of Stilicho. Under some pretence, which has not been explained, Radagaisus was disgracefully beheaded, and his people were sold for slaves, and scattered over the face of the surrounding country.[1] A. D. 405. Death of Radagaisus.

The other divisions of the grand army, which had descended to the borders of the empire, turned their line of march towards the west, crossed the Rhine, and entered the northern provinces of Gaul. This invasion is the more memorable from the fact that the mixed host of Vandals, Burgundians, Alans, and Suevians never afterwards retreated, but made a final settlement in the country which they overran. To save Italy, the father-in-law of Honorius, as already mentioned, successively withdrew the regular troops from the more distant parts of the empire, leaving all the countries beyond the Alps, from the Danube to the Forth, to the chances of barbarian warfare. The forts on the Rhine were dismantled, the garrisons were removed, and the interests of Rome, on that important frontier, were confided to the arms of the friendly tribes who had accepted the alliance of her generals. Hence the German invaders met with no effectual resistance in their march through the seventeen provinces of Gaul. Two or three cities might, perhaps, withstand a siege; and, in some places, the raw levies which were raised on the spur of the occasion, might dispute a strong pass with the vanguard of the conquerors; but, in the annals of that period, so few indications remain of a resolute defence or a protracted struggle, that we follow the advance of the Burgundians and their allies from the river to the Pyrenees, as if they were marching through a peaceful territory.[2] The remainder of his army invades Gaul.

[1] Oros. lib. vii. c. xxxvii.; Zosim. lib. v. c. xxvi.

[2] Zosim. lib. vi. c. iii.; Oros. lib. vii. c. xl.; Claud. I. Cons. Stilich. lib. i. v. 221.

A. D. 407. Insurrection in Britain.

A similar cause produced a similar effect in Britain. The principal stations in that island were stripped of the troops which usually kept the surrounding country in awe; upon which the provincials, who had long been impatient of a foreign yoke, rushed to arms, and asserted for a moment a precarious independence. They raised to the British throne two emperors, whom they almost immediately afterwards deposed and murdered. Fascinated by the mere sound of a name, they next exalted to the imperial dignity a private soldier called Constantine, who had neither talents nor experience to qualify him for his high office. But he had, nevertheless, penetration enough to perceive that his safety would be most effectually secured by giving employment to his rude subjects, and by directing their impetuous valour against a people whom they had been taught to regard as their natural enemies. He conducted a large body of them across the Channel into Gaul, where he announced himself as sovereign of the west, and invited the allegiance of all the districts which were not under the immediate control of the German conquerors. He then marched against the Vandals and Burgundians, over whom, as he generally surprised them in detached bodies, he gained repeated advantages. He even foiled the imperial general whom Honorius commanded to send his head to Ravenna; and, finally, pursuing his fortune into Spain, he succeeded in establishing his authority among all the nations of that fine peninsula. The son of Theodosius, who despaired of subduing him, admitted his claims to the sovereignty of the west, and even asked his assistance to expel the Goths from Italy, to the fairest parts of which they now began to maintain an hereditary right.[1]

Constantinus raised to the throne of Britain and Gaul. A. D. 407.

Revolt of Gerontius in Spain. A. D. 408–409.

It would appear that Constantine crossed the Alps to co-operate with his imperial ally against their common enemy; but the result of the expedition, whatever it may have been, is concealed in the turbulent scenes which followed. Spain was excited to insurrection by Count Gerontius, one of the bravest generals of the British monarch; and, hence, Constantine had no sooner returned to Arles, the seat of his government, than he found his title disputed by Maximus (whom the rebellious commander had invested with the purple), and his capital besieged. While Gerontius lay before the walls of Arles, a Roman army, which had passed the mountains, appeared under the banners of Constantius, whose commission instructed him to depose both pretenders, and to restore Spain and Gaul to the sceptre of Honorius. The insurgent chief escaped across the Pyrenees, where he put himself to death; Maximus soon afterwards fell into the hands of the enemy, and underwent a similar fate; and, consequently, none remained but Constantine, who had to contend with a captain far his superior in courage and military science. Sensible of the dangers which en-

[1] Claud. I. Cons. Stilich. lib. ii. v. 250; Zosim. lib. v. c. ii.–vi.; Oros. lib. vii. c. xl.

vironed him, the king of Britain and Gaul entered into a negotiation with the Franks and Alemanni, who engaged to assist him with a numerous army; but Constantius anticipated the motions of these allies, met them in their own country, and visited them with a tremendous defeat. The usurper, unable to take the field, threw himself upon the generosity of the conqueror; and, having obtained a promise of personal safety, he set out in company with his son on the way to Ravenna. To excite the veneration or fears of the emperor, the deposed monarch caused himself to be clothed with the character of a priest, an expedient, however, which did not avail; for when he and the young prince had nearly attained the end of their journey, an order from the palace consigned them both to the hands of an assassin.[1]

A. D. 411. Downfal and death of Constantine.

But the course of events recalls us to the history of Alaric, who was about to occupy a distinguished place among the characters of that interesting drama which preceded the downfal of the western empire. On his retreat from Italy, after the defeat at Verona, he is described as having suffered many privations, and lost a great part of his army; but the king of the Goths had long been exercised in all the casualties which belong to war, and could bear them with equanimity, while his ranks received an immediate accession from his migratory countrymen who hung on the limits of the empire, and whom the fame of his exploits and the hope of plunder attracted to his standard. He was, therefore, very soon in a capacity to take the field either as the enemy or as the ally of Honorius. In virtue of the office which he held under the eastern empire, as master-general of the further Illyricum, he was entitled to maintain a considerable military force; and as his secret object was to extend his power on both sides of the Adriatic, it seems to have been to him a matter of the utmost indifference whether he should begin by attacking the sovereign of Ravenna, or his feeble brother at Constantinople. Stilicho, who joined to the experience of a warrior the penetration and wisdom of a consummate politician, determined to gain the Gothic king, by raising him to an honourable station in Italy, and by pointing out a profitable employment for his arms. Alaric was accordingly nominated to the chief command of the Roman armies in the Illyrian præfecture, and directed, at the same time, to make an inroad into the territories of Arcadius, to which, for certain reasons of state, Stilicho thought it expedient to revive the claims of his master. He accepted the appointment, and pretended to obey the orders communicated to him from the court of Ravenna; but discovering, perhaps, the true motive which guided the policy of the prime minister, he soon relinquished his enterprise against Thessaly and Epirus, and removed his camp to the confines of Italy. Actuated by the most various and inconsistent motives, Alaric now demanded a

Alaric resumes his views on Italy.

Is appointed to a command in Illyricum.

Again threatens Italy.

[1] Sozom. lib. vii. p. 379; Zosim. lib. vi. c. v. vi. xiii.

A. D. 408. reward for his services in the east; insinuating, in no ambiguous language, that if Honorius did not immediately accede to his wishes, he would without delay indemnify himself and his followers by seizing upon the wealth of the adjoining provinces.[1]

His forbearance is purchased by the promise of four thousand pounds of gold.

In this very difficult crisis, Stilicho anticipated some advantage from consulting the senate. He repaired to Rome, whither also he appears to have conducted the emperor, and there, in the palace of the Cæsars, he laid before the collected wisdom of the nation the state of public affairs, and solicited the aid of such advice as might enable him to save at once the honour and peace of the country. The spirit of Brutus seemed to revive, for a moment, within the walls of the senate-house. The members generally denounced the system of government which had put the weapons of the Romans into the hands of the Goths, and brought on the disgraceful alternative either of purchasing forbearance, or of violating the national faith. Stilicho applauded the patriotism of the senators, and approved the display of independent sentiments which animated their deliberations; but he reminded them at the same time that the Gothic camp overlooked the richest plains of Italy, that it was full of soldiers to whom war had become a pastime or a trade, and that if they did not gratify the demands of Alaric, they must consent to behold their cities levelled with the ground, their fields laid waste, and their pastures stripped of their flocks. It was therefore resolved that four thousand pounds of gold should be presented to the king of the Goths, in name of compensation or of subsidy,—an arrangement which was justly described by one of the speakers as a treaty not of peace but of servitude.[2]

Disgrace and death of Stilicho.

A. D. 408.

The manifest tendency of the principles adopted in the government of Stilicho was to exalt the power of the Goths by conceding too much to the pusillanimous feelings which prevailed among the Italians. The barbarian auxiliaries were now, in fact, become the standing army of the empire; and nothing seemed wanting to complete the extinction of the Roman name but the elevation of a Gothic prince to the throne of Augustus. Perhaps it was the fear of this disgraceful result which excited against the minister that suspicion or hatred which soon afterwards terminated in the loss of his influence and of his life. His authority was gradually undermined in the palace by the crafty measures of Olympius, who irritated the pride and alarmed the fears of Honorius, by representing to him that the absolute rule, exercised by his father-in-law, diminished the splendour of the imperial dignity, and was probably meant to pave the way, on the part of the general, for the assumption of a title of which he had long enjoyed all the privileges. Similar intrigues propagated similar

[1] Zosim. lib. v. c. xxix.; Sozom. lib. viii. c. xxv.; lib. ix. c. iv.; Soc. lib. vii. c. x.

[2] Oros. lib. vii. c. xxxviii.; Zosim. lib. v. c. xxix. xxx.; Sozom. lib. ix. c. iv.

apprehensions in the camp at Pavia, where the remains of the Roman army continued to practise the forms of ancient discipline. The friends of Stilicho were the first victims of insurrection, and among them were the most distinguished persons of the state and the principal officers of government. At length the hero himself, who had repaired to Ravenna, was seduced from the altar under an oath of protection, and instantly beheaded by the sword of Count Heraclion.[1] A. D. 408.

The blind rage which thus deprived the empire of its last defence, could not be satisfied while any one survived who bore the name or blood of Stilicho. His son Eucherius, whom it was said he meant to raise to the sovereign power, was pursued and put to death. His personal adherents were persecuted under various pretexts, and chiefly on the ground of their being privy to a conspiracy, the object of which was supposed to be the deposition of the weak-minded Honorius. The vindictive temper of Olympius allowed no individual to escape who had contributed to the fame or shared the bounty of the master-general of the west; and we find, accordingly, that Claudian the poet, whose muse was never silent when the arms of Stilicho were successful, was involved in the calamities which overtook the fortunes of the latter. He employed his wit against a powerful courtier who rose upon the ruins of his patron, and thereby exposed himself to a degree of danger which could only be averted by a humiliating acknowledgment of his offence. A cloud, indeed, hangs over the close of his history; but there is no doubt that his last days were embittered by the enmity of those who hated him for the love which he expressed for the conqueror of the Goths.[2] The persecution of his friends.

While the infatuated ministers of Honorius were pursuing the objects of their private revenge, or gratifying the cupidity of their partisans, Alaric, who no longer dreaded the Italian legions, resumed his intention of marching to Rome. The subsidy which had been voted by the senate was not yet paid; and the wily barbarian, who still retained his position at Æmona, had penetration enough to perceive that the failure of the imperial treasurer in regard to the main condition of the treaty supplied him with a pretext for invading Italy, which might be turned to much greater advantage than he could gain from the four thousand pounds of gold. He covered his ambitious designs, however, with a fair show of moderation. He listened to the excuses which were urged by the ministers of Honorius, and expressed his readiness to grant delay, on condition that two young noblemen should be sent to his camp as pledges for the sincerity of their fathers. The court of Ravenna, still ignorant of the character from whom they had so much to fear, attributed the negotiations of Alaric to his sense of weakness, and to the remembrance of his late disasters; but while they were cherishing this groundless Alaric prepares to march to Rome.

[1] Philostorg. lib. xii. c. iii.; Zosim. lib. v. c. xxxi.–xxxiv.; Oros. lib. vii. c. xxxviii.

[2] Zosim. lib. v. c. xxxiv. xxxv.; Oros. lib. vii. c. xxxviii.

A. D. 408. Crosses the Po, and takes several cities.

persuasion, the Gothic king descended from the Alps, passed the Po, and reduced some of the most opulent cities in the north of Italy. Aquileia, Altinum, Concordia, and Cremona, opened their gates at his approach; while the numerous bands of his countrymen who had entered the service of the empire, ashamed of the apathy which had fallen upon their leaders, and smitten at the same time with the desire of sharing the triumphs of their native prince, crowded to his standard to the amount of thirty thousand. Not choosing to incur delay by attacking Ravenna, he pushed on his columns till he had secured the passes of the Apennines; from which, without the slightest interruption, he continued his march to the walls of Rome.[1]

State and population of Rome.

When the capital of the western world was first besieged by Alaric, its inhabitants amounted to not less than twelve hundred thousand, including all ages and both sexes; and as the principal supplies of food were conveyed by water, and usually from a great distance, the miseries incident to an interruption of the usual communication by the Tiber, could not fail to prove extremely distressing. The Gothic general, aware of the circumstances in which the citizens were placed, did not attempt to batter down their walls nor storm their ramparts, but, trusting to the surer operation of famine and disease, satisfied himself with watching their gates and stopping the passage of the river. The Romans, at first indignant that a barbarian should presume to make himself master of their magnificent city, were soon brought to feel that the pride of name and of ancient race is of no avail if unaccompanied with valour; and they had the mortification to perceive that the skill and prudence which formerly distinguished the commanders of the commonwealth, were now inherited by an illiterate Scythian. In their impotent rage they took away the life of Serena, the widow of Stilicho, whom they accused of holding a traitorous correspondence with the enemy, but used no means to drive from before their walls the barbarian host, whose presence they regarded as at once a disgrace and a terror.[2]

Murder of Serena.

The senate proposes to capitulate.

The sufferings which they endured before they would consent to propose terms to the invader, atoned in some degree for the dastardly conduct of the senators in their quality of soldiers and as the natural leaders of the people. Famine had rendered all classes of the inhabitants familiar with the greatest evils which can afflict human nature. Thousands had died from want, or from the use of improper food; and a pestilence, created by the stench of putrid bodies, rapidly thinned the remaining population. In this distressing crisis, a resolution was adopted by the senate to address the clemency or the avarice of Alaric. Two ambassadors proceeded to his camp and made known to him the willingness of the great council of the empire to enter into a treaty with him, founded on such terms as might be

[1] Zosim. lib. v. c. xxxvii.; Sozom. lib. ix. c. vi.
[2] Zosim. lib. v. c. xxxviii.; Philostorg. lib. xii. c. iii.

compatible with the honour of Romans, and with the dignity of an imperial city. They reminded him of the formidable numbers who still peopled the streets of the capital, and of their determination to die with arms in their hands rather than submit to a disgraceful capitulation. The Goth listened to their harangue with a smile of contempt, and coolly replied, the "thicker the hay, the more easily is it mowed." This remark he accompanied with a loud laugh; after which he condescended to return to the question of peace, and informed the envoys that he would remove from their city on condition of receiving all the gold it contained, all the silver, the richest of their furniture, and all the slaves of barbarian extraction. "If you take these things from us," said one of the ambassadors, "what may it be your pleasure to leave us?" "Your lives," rejoined the haughty conqueror. This answer seemed to banish all hope. They requested permission to return to the city to receive further instructions from their constituents. Alaric consented to this proposal, and even granted a short truce, in order that the senate might deliberate in perfect security. Despairing of all assistance from without, and unable to resist any longer the progress of disease within the walls, the magistrates of Rome yielded to the necessity of their situation, and begged to be informed by their enemy on what conditions he would relieve them from his presence. In reply, he insisted upon the immediate payment of five thousand pounds of gold, of thirty thousand pounds of silver, of four thousand robes of silk, of three thousand pieces of fine scarlet cloth, and of three thousand pounds' weight of pepper. Having obtained this costly ransom, he withdrew his army into the Tuscan province, where he intended to pass the winter; having at the same time the satisfaction to find his ranks increased by the accession of forty thousand slaves whom he had liberated from their Roman masters.[1]

A. D. 408.

Reply of Alaric, and the conditions agreed upon.

In the following year, when he saw himself surrounded by a hundred thousand devoted warriors, Alaric might at once have resumed the conquest of Italy, and even aspired to the supreme power over the whole of the western empire. But, instead of following up his advantages with a strong hand, he showed himself ready to listen to terms for a lasting peace. In fact, he had all along declared himself the friend of tranquillity and of Rome, and even in the moment of his most splendid successes he seems to have aimed at nothing more lofty than the appointment of master-general of the Italian provinces. The facility, too, with which he had uniformly opened his ears to the offers of Stilicho, and had withdrawn from the very heart of the country, while the tide of fortune was still running high in his favour, presents a remarkable proof in support of his sincerity; while, on the occasion now more immediately before us, instead of pursuing the course of victory which lay open before him, he proffered to Honorius

Moderation of the Gothic king.

[1] Zosim. lib. v. c. xl.-xlii.; Sozom. lib. ix. c. vi.

A. D. 408. the support of his arms, on the easy conditions of being invested with the military office already mentioned, of being supplied with a small subsidy of corn and money, and of being allowed to exercise a separate command in Dalmatia, Venetia, and Noricum. In point of territory he would even have been satisfied with Noricum alone, rather than involve the empire again in the perils of war.[1]

Conjecture as to his motives.

It is not easy to discover a motive for such conduct on the part of the Gothic prince. That he had his eye fixed on the sovereignty of some portion of Italy, from the first hour that he entered it, is certain from the resolution, which he repeatedly expressed, of finding in it either a kingdom or a grave; and that he continued to cherish this lofty ambition admits of little doubt, from the perseverance with which he renewed his invasion whenever he could find a pretext for attacking Honorius. But it may be presumed that neither his hopes nor his wishes, in the first instance, extended to the occupation of all the Italian provinces; and, moreover, that, either from superstition, or an undefined feeling of reverence for the metropolis of the Roman world, he was desirous to abstain from violating the sanctity of her walls. The city of the Cæsars was already the chief seat of the Christian form of worship, westward of the Adriatic. It was an interesting object, from its many associations connected with the history of religion, as well as with the labours and sufferings of its most distinguished ministers; and it contained many buildings consecrated to the memory of the Apostles. The superstitious respect of the Gothic prince for these externals was fully manifested when he finally obtained possession of Rome; and the fear of sacrilege was found to check the avarice of his followers, in cases where the most rigid military discipline would have been entirely disregarded.

Obstinacy of Honorius. Alaric advances again towards the city.

But the moderation of Alaric, from whatever cause it may have proceeded, produced not its proper effect on the weak ministers of Honorius. Viewing the invader's abstinence as a proof of weakness, they received his proposals with contempt, and answered them with insolence; and, in order to bind themselves to an undeviating system of hostility, they swore by the life of the emperor that they would not in any circumstances listen to any terms of peace with the barbarian who had dared to dishonour them by offering to treat on a footing of equality. The Gothic ruler had the means of revenge in his own hands. The emperor and his court, it is true, were defended by the marshes of Ravenna, and, if hard pressed, could make their escape by sea; but Rome was left exposed to the resentment of Alaric, and the whole country, from the Alps to the Straits of Sicily, had neither garrisons nor armies to withstand the progress of his warlike multitudes. Instead, however, of renewing the siege of the city, he resolved at once to cut off its supplies, by taking possession of Ostia, its principal port, situated at the mouth of the river. The

[1] Zosim. lib. v. c. xliv.

terror of famine, on this occasion, brought the inhabitants to an immediate submission. At the suggestion of the Goths, they consented to raise Attalus, the præfect, to the throne of the west, and to throw off their allegiance to the son of Theodosius, who had sacrificed their interests through obstinacy and pride.[1] A. D. 408.

Attalus deposed. The Goths still offer peace.

Alaric soon discovered that the tool which he meant to employ in the person of Attalus could not be used either with safety or advantage; and finding, besides, that his elevation to the purple would prove an insuperable obstacle to the pacific arrangements which he professed to have in view, he reduced him once more to a private station. In a large plain near Rimini, and in the presence of a great multitude of persons, Goths and Romans, the new emperor was publicly stripped of the diadem and robe of state, which were sent to Honorius as a pledge of friendship and peace. But no concessions made by the sovereign of the Visigoths could gain the confidence of the imperial ministers. On the contrary, they prevailed upon their master to publish, by the voice of a herald, that the guilt of Alaric could never be effaced, and that it had for ever excluded him from the most distant hope of accomplishing an alliance with the head of the Roman empire.[2]

Alaric marches to Rome the third time, takes, and sacks it. A. D. 410.

The indignant prince immediately turned the van of his army, for the third time, towards Rome, where he meant to punish the arrogance of Honorius and the infatuation of his counsellors.[3] The senate, aware of the provocation which had been heaped upon the invader, made preparations to defend the walls until relief could be brought to them from the nearest military station; from Ravenna, or even from Africa; but the people at large, remembering the horrors of the former siege, and dissatisfied with the conduct of their government, could not be induced to co-operate with this sudden patriotism on the part of the nobles. In the course of the night, one of the gates was opened, by which the Goths rushed in and took possession of the city without resistance; and, consequently, in the first instance, without bloodshed. Their chief had given the most ample permission to seize upon the riches of the vanquished wherever they could find them; but he commanded his soldiers, at the same time, to respect every building and utensil dedicated to the service of religion; and, above all, to spare the lives of those who appeared in the streets unarmed. There is but too much reason, however, to suspect that the enormities usual upon the sacking of a large town disgraced, in some measure, the triumph of Alaric. Among his followers there were many who looked for authority and example to their immediate leaders, who, again, acknowledged but a very slight dependence upon

[1] Zosim. lib. v. c. xlv.; Sozom. lib. ix. c. vii.; Philostorg. lib. xii. c. iii.

[2] Oros. lib. vii. c. xlii.; Soc. lib. vii. c. x.

[3] Oros. lib. vii. c. xxxix.-xlii.; Zosim. lib. vi. c. xiii.; Procop. de Bell. Vandal. lib. i. c. ii.

A. D. 410. the sovereign under whose banners they fought; and hence, whatever might be the humane policy of Alaric, we cannot refuse our belief to the statements of Procopius and St. Jerome, both of whom assure us that the slaughter of the Romans was very great. Thousands, too, were reduced to indigence and servitude; for, in order to prevent murder, liberty was granted to the Goths to expose their prisoners to sale. But, upon the whole, it cannot be denied that the professions of Alaric in favour of peace and of Rome were justified to a great extent by his conduct on this memorable occasion; and it is admitted, on all hands, that the capital of the western empire suffered less from the arms of the Goths than from those of the Gauls, at an earlier period, or even from those of the Germans ten centuries later.[1]

Retrospect on the events now recorded.

Character of the Romans.

In reviewing the principal events recorded in this section, the reader of history is naturally seized with astonishment at the great change of character in the Roman people, as well as with the power, the military skill, and political prudence of the northern nations, by whom they were so often defeated, and finally conquered. The spirit which established the commonwealth, and extended the arms of Rome over the greater part of the ancient world, had, in the days of Honorius, and even of his renowned father, given place to the love of ease, or to a pusillanimous dread of the fatigues and dangers of war. It was found impracticable to recruit the legions raised even for the defence of the Italian frontier, without having recourse to such means as at once disgraced the soldier, and proved that he was unfit for the duties to which he was called. A contemptible superstition, the first fruits of corrupted Christianity, had directed the attention of the thoughtful to mystic dreams and ridiculous rites; while the luxurious mode of living pursued by the great had vitiated the habits of the lower orders, and prepared them to become slaves to their appetites before they were compelled to become servants to the Goths. Rome, in truth, presented within her walls the condensed vice and misery of a large nation. Her nobles, who could squander individually the wealth of a whole province, had palaces, gardens, and even parks in the city, as if there had been no cultivated land beyond the fortifications; while the mass of the inhabitants, on the other hand, who could not find ground on which to erect dwelling-houses, were obliged to rear their buildings to an inconvenient height, piling floor over floor, and thereby exposing their families to disease and accident. Still the amusements and dissipation of the capital presented to the degraded populace so many attractions, that a miserable garret, in a crowded street, brought a higher rent than a villa at a little distance in the country. Such men, it is obvious, were inca-

[1] Oros. lib. vii. c. xxxix. Personat latè in excidio urbis salutis tuba, omnesque etiam in abditis latentes invitat et pulsat. Quanto copiosius adgregantur Romani fugientes, tanto avidius circumfunduntur barbari defensores.

pable of inheriting the glory, or of imitating the virtue of the ancient Romans: they trembled at the sound of the Gothic horn on the banks of the Tiber; and feeling themselves destitute of courage to fight for independence, they made haste to purchase, with the spoils which their ancestors had won, the clemency of their barbarian conquerors.[1] A. D. 410.

Character of the Goths.

The Scythians and Germans, on the contrary, who had profited by the discipline, the arts, and tactics of Rome, were still comparatively free from the enervating effects of luxury. The scanty food and severe climate of their native deserts prepared them for the camp from their earliest days. The rich fields and mild skies of Italy afforded, at all times, an abundant meal and an agreeable canopy under which to repose after the fatigues of the battle or the march; and hence the Gothic armies uniformly preferred the free exercise which they could enjoy in the tented plain to the soft beds and dainty fare of the polished city. In point of morals, again, the few plain maxims which regulated their conduct had a greater efficacy in recommending good and deterring from evil, than the ambiguous system of ethics, which was reared on the doctrines of Cicero and the precepts of Antoninus. Their religion, too, although not very complete in point of tenets, was still unsullied by that pernicious enthusiasm which withdraws the duty of man from the practical affairs of life, and places it on useless penances and mechanical devotion.

Effects of Christianity on their manners and principles.

The rules of the Gospel were made known to them, unconnected with any of those fanciful theories which had misled the judgment of Origen, and sometimes darkened the path of Hieronimus, while engaged in the search of Christian truth. They had learned that Jesus Christ preached humanity, and that His Apostles inculcated forbearance and brotherly love; and these great principles impressed upon their minds, softened the barbarity of their manners, restrained their native ferocity in the field of battle, and opened their hearts to the claims of compassion, even amid the excitement and rage which attend the capture of a city. In fact, the moderation and clemency of the Goths in the sack of Rome have been regarded by several of the fathers as the triumph of Christianity over the worst feelings of our corrupted nature. Tillemont, whose views of history are in general equally just and pious, takes much pleasure in repeating the testimonies of St. Augustin, Orosius, and Jerome on this head; and, in fact, he supplies so many proofs in support of his position, that there is no room left for doubt that the soldiers of Alaric displayed more unquestionable tokens of real civilization than the depraved people whom they subdued.

Sufferings of the fugitives.

But the sufferings of the Romans, although exempted from the extremes of military execution, were such as to excite universal commiseration. Many fled from the city in the first alarm, and took

[1] Vitruv. lib. ii. c. viii.; Olympiador apud Phot.

A. D. 410. refuge in some of the small islands contiguous to the Tuscan shore; others allowed their fears to carry them to a greater distance, to the coasts of Egypt, Syria, and Africa, where they were compelled, by their necessities, to stoop to a voluntary servitude. St. Jerome relates that every day witnessed the arrival, at Bethlehem, of men and women of the highest birth, and who had passed their lives in abundance, who were obliged to beg for food. All the people of the East, says Augustin, mourned the fall of Rome; and in the remotest countries which had acknowledged her sway, the large cities exhibited public tokens of their affliction and pity. The news of this sad event made the tongue of the learned commentator first named cleave to the roof of his mouth, and his pen fall from his hand; while the bishop of Hippo, equally grieved and provoked by the insulting language of the pagans, who ascribed the fate of Rome to the introduction of Christianity, could never banish the recollection of it from his mind as long as he lived.[1]

Effects of the fall of Rome on the Provinces.

[1] Hier. Epist. xii.; Aug. de Civit. lib. i. c. xxxii.



The Latin Gate. *Overbeke, Les Restes de l'Ancienne Rome.*



Imperial Costume of the Lower Empire. *Montfaucon.*

CHAPTER XX.

FROM THE SACK OF ROME BY THE GOTHS TO ITS SACK BY THE VANDALS.

FROM A. D. 410 TO A. D. 455.

HAVING granted to his troops the full license of plunder during the greater part of a week, Alaric withdrew them from a scene wherein their morals and discipline were in equal danger of being impaired. Orosius says, that the Gothic prince left Rome on the third day; but other authorities are unanimous in extending his residence in the capital to double that period; various reasons being assigned by the different historians for a step which, however, presented nothing at variance with the policy he had all along pursued. He directed his march southwards through the fertile provinces which extend between the Tiber and the Straits of Rhegium, plundering the country and destroying such of the cities as presumed to oppose his progress. The beauty or riches of Sicily tempted the eyes of his followers; and he resolved to gratify them by the conquest of an island which had contributed so much to the fame and luxury of the Romans. But this enterprise, easy and unimportant when compared with the other exploits of Alaric, baffled the skill of his rude soldiers, and excited among them a degree of apprehension to which they had ever been strangers in the midst of greater perils. At this juncture, too, the death of their renowned chief increased their fears and perplexity. Despairing of success, they relinquished the undertaking, and directed all their cares to the funeral of their king. That his obsequies might be worthy of his character and fortune, they turned

A. D. 410 Alaric ravages Italy.

His death.

A. D. 410. aside the stream of a small river, dug a spacious cavern under its vacant bed, adorned the sepulchre with the jewels and precious stones of which they had stripped the inhabitants of Rome; and when they had deposited the remains of Alaric, they slew the persons employed to construct his tomb, admitted again the waters of the Busentinus, and thereby effectually concealed the spot wherein the conqueror of Italy reposes.[1]

Is succeeded by his brother-in-law, Ataulphus.

The command of the Goths was confided to his brother-in-law, Ataulphus, upon whom was also conferred the regal dignity, which appears to have been at that time strictly elective. Inheriting the moderate pacific views of his predecessor, he at once resumed negotiations with the court of Ravenna to effect a permanent and honourable peace. We nowhere find the details of this treaty recorded; but it is probable that his overtures were favourably received, and that he was even acknowledged as a Roman general, because he immediately afterwards led his army into the southern provinces of Gaul, where he took possession of Narbonne, Toulouse, and Bourdeaux, in the name of Honorius. His alliance with the imperial interests was soon still further strengthened by his marriage with Placidia, the daughter of the great Theodosius, whom he found as a hostage or a captive in the train of Alaric. The pride which might, perhaps, become the successors of Augustus, opposed for a time a serious obstacle to this union of a princess with a chief of barbarians; but, as the wishes of the maiden herself were not averse to the match, the wedding was celebrated with a degree of magnificence and expense which exceed even the fictions of a fairy tale.[2]

Measures for the relief of the conquered provinces.

It is pleasing to observe that the ministers of Honorius, who had neither the courage nor the prudence to avert the calamities of war, had yet enough of feeling and political wisdom to adopt means for compensating those parts of Italy which had suffered the most from the ravages of the Goths. The wasted provinces were gradually restored to wealth and security; the capital was adorned with new buildings, and strengthened by the daily arrival of additional inhabitants; and it was remarked that, after the lapse of a few years, the traces of invasion and conquest could no longer be perceived, either in the city or in the fields. The tranquillity of so extensive an empire, however, could not remain long undisturbed. Count Heraclion, who had so faithfully supported the cause of his master when oppressed by the arms of Alaric, was, in the year A.D. 413, induced by some of his ambitious retainers to display the standard of rebellion in Africa, and to assume the title of emperor. Embarking with a considerable army he landed at the mouth of the Tiber, and proceeded towards Rome; but being met by Constantius, one of the

Insurrection of Heraclion. A. D. 413.

[1] Jornand. de Reb. Get. c. xxx.; Idat. Chron. Oros. lib. vii. c. xliii.

[2] Philostorg. lib. xii. c. iv.; Zosim. lib. vi. c. xii; Olympiador. apud Phot. p. 185.

imperial commanders, a battle ensued, in which the rebel was completely routed, and compelled to seek safety in a disgraceful flight. If we may credit Orosius, the armament with which he left Carthage consisted of more than three thousand ships; but his retreat was so precipitate, that he returned to his province with only a single vessel and very few attendants. The Africans, who had instantly repented of their treason, despised the pusillanimity of their governor, and regretted not to see his crime punished by the sacrifice of his life. He was beheaded in the temple of Memory, his private fortune was confiscated, and his public deeds cancelled from the national record.[1] A. D. 413.

Revolt and death of Jovinus.

The feeble administration of Honorius naturally provoked insurrection in the remoter provinces, where his name was neither feared nor respected. We have already mentioned the revolt of Constantine in Britain, and the subsequent commotions in Gaul. No sooner was his rebellion quashed by the valour of Constantius, than Jovinus, another usurper, assumed the purple in Germany, whence he advanced with a powerful army to the banks of the Rhone, and claimed the allegiance of the contiguous provinces. The general of Honorius temporized, and the king of the Goths looked on with apparent approbation. Meanwhile Jovinus associated his brother Sebastian in the empire, and prepared to assert his pretensions on both sides of the Alps. At length Ataulphus, enraged at the favourable reception of Sarus, the hereditary enemy of his house, in the camp of the usurpers, took the field against them, defeated them in battle, and sent to the emperor, at Ravenna, the heads of the two brothers. Thus, in the space of five years seven pretenders yielded to the fortune of a prince who was incapable of leading a cohort to action, or even of presiding in the deliberations of his council.

Fidelity of Ataulphus. A. D. 414.

If the fidelity of Ataulphus ever wavered, it was completely restored by the issue of the war against Jovinus. The allegiance of Gaul was the first fruit of his victory; immediately after which he prepared an armament for the recovery of Spain from the arms of the Vandals and Suevi, who had been induced to pursue their success beyond the limits of the Pyrenees. He began by reducing Barcelona, where he took up his residence, and where also he had the satisfaction to be informed of the birth of a son, whom he named Theodosius, after the renowned father of Placidia. His rejoicings, however, were not of long duration, for the infant died at the age of a few weeks, and he himself was assassinated in the palace of the same city by one of the followers of Sarus, whom he had taken into his service. To complete the misfortunes of his family, Singeric, the brother of Sarus, who was raised to the Gothic throne, signalized the commencement of his reign by murdering the six children of his predecessor, born to him by a former wife. Placidia, likewise,

His death. A. D. 415.

[1] Theod. Cod. lib. xi. tit. xxvii.; Oros. lib. vii. c. xlii.; Zosim. lib. vi. c. viii.–x. Philostorg. lib. xii. c. v. vi.; Sozom. lib. ix. c. xii. xiii.

A. D. 415. endured much suffering and indignity, being compelled to march on foot among a crowd of captives, and do reverence to the barbarian who had assassinated her husband; but the Goths soon avenged the cause of humanity, for, being disgusted with the tyranny of their new sovereign, they put an end to his life on the seventh day after his accession to the kingly power.[1]

Is succeeded by Wallia.

The Gothic sceptre was next placed in the hands of Wallia, whose talents and ambition pointed him out as worthy to succeed the great Alaric. As soon, accordingly, as he found himself at the head of a powerful army, he opened his mind to magnificent schemes of universal dominion. He overran Spain, and then cast his eyes upon the wealthy provinces of Africa, which stretched along the opposite shore; but failing in an attempt to transport part of his troops, he was the more inclined to listen to the proposals of the Roman government, which was desirous to secure his services at almost any price. To strengthen their arguments, the ambassadors from Ravenna informed him that Constantius was on his march to attack the Goths with an overwhelming force. The pressure of famine, too, had already begun to afflict the soldiers of Wallia, and prepared them to receive the overtures of Honorius with less reluctance. A treaty was completed in due form, by which were stipulated, on the one side, the restoration of Placidia to the court of her brother, and the military allegiance of all the Goths in Gaul and Spain; and, on the other, the immediate delivery of 600,000 measures of wheat, and a regular supply of pay, arms, provisions, and clothing for the future.

A. D. 416.

Who recovers Spain to the empire.

No sooner did Wallia pledge his faith to the empire, than he directed the whole force of his warlike followers to effect the delivery of the Spanish provinces from the domination of the German invaders. In the course of three years he exterminated several tribes, and compelled the remainder to acknowledge the sovereignty of Honorius. The Alani, who lost their king in battle, sought protection among the Suevi and Vandals, who, in their turn, were glad to shun the victorious arms of the Goths, and seek for shelter among the fortresses of the highest mountains. The successes of Wallia were duly reported to the emperor, who was induced to celebrate them by a triumphal entry into his capital, eight years after it was sacked by the hands of the same people whose victories had just re-established his authority in the fairest provinces of his transalpine dominions.[2]

A. D. 417.

The Goths settle in Gaul.

But whatever might be the effect of the Gothic triumphs on the happiness and stability of the general government, they produced no advantage to the unfortunate provincials. A change of masters, and a slight difference in the mode of exacting tribute, were the only

A. D. 418.

[1] Oros. lib. vii. c. xli.; Jornand. de Reb. Get. c. xxxiii.

[2] Olympiador. apud Phot.; Oros. lib. vii. c. xliii.; Jornand. xxxi. xxxii.; Oros. *ubi supra*; Olympiador. Chron.

circumstances which varied the oppression to which they had been long accustomed. The soldiers of Alaric, who, like himself, preferred the mild climate and rich plains of the south to the severer sky and barren regions whence they emigrated, were disposed to settle in the countries which they had overrun; and it would appear that, among the other conditions granted to Wallia, when he embraced the imperial cause in Spain, was permission to choose lands for his veterans in a favourite province of Gaul. The maritime district which stretches between the Garonne and the Loire was conceded to him; whereupon he issued an order to displace the original occupants, or, at least, to seize the best of their fields for the use of his people. Proceeding under the mask of law and even of friendship, the Gothic colonists denominated themselves the guests of the proprietors whose grounds they took, and whose houses they entered; and, while they pillaged the subjects of Honorius, they failed not to magnify his authority, to boast of their own allegiance, and to place their greatest honour in acting under his commission. Gaul, Spain, and Germany, in short, were oppressed and dismembered by barbarian chiefs, who, acting as the lieutenants of the emperor, ventured not to assume an independent authority; while he, satisfied with a nominal sovereignty over provinces which had long been wrested from his actual government, permitted the foundations to be laid of several powerful kingdoms, which have since eclipsed, in wealth, science, learning, and all the higher qualities of social life, even the mighty republic over which it was his fortune to reign. A. D. 418.

The middle of the fifth century presents to the historian and lawyer many subjects of the greatest interest; for, at that period, several of those institutions which distinguish the polity of modern from ancient nations are known to have assumed a silent origin, and to have arisen, in fact, from the peculiar circumstances into which the decline of the Roman state, and the ascendency of the Gothic interests, had thrown the greater part of the south of Europe. The comparative freedom which prevailed in the camps of the northern nations extended gradually to the government of the cities and territory which fell into their hands; and hence, even in the latter years of Honorius, we perceive the rudiments of the representative system assuming a somewhat regular form, and applied to the administration of considerable provinces. In those districts of Gaul, for example, which are bounded by the western Pyrenees and the Atlantic Ocean, an annual assembly, under the authority of the emperor, was held for the framing of laws, for the equal imposition of taxes, for interpreting and executing the imperial edicts, and for consulting, generally, on the public affairs of the country. The constituent members were the Prætorian præfect, the provincial governors, the magistrates and clergy of about sixty cities, and a certain number of the occupiers of State of Gaul.

A. D. 418. land. Here were the elements of a free constitution generated the weakness and tyranny of a despotic government; and noth was wanting but zeal and mutual confidence to restore the power Rome to a higher pitch than it had reached even in the days Augustus. The Romans, however, were incapable of appreciati the advantages which were thus held out to them. The repres tatives of the national council, who could derive from it neith honour nor gain, refused to sacrifice their time to idle deliberation and, although their attendance was compelled by a heavy fine, th still showed much reluctance in accepting the boon for which, Honorius reasonably expected, they ought to have expressed t deepest gratitude.[1]

State of Britain. A. D. 418–420.

Similar advances towards political improvement were observab even in Britain. After the usurper Constantine withdrew the legion to prosecute his ambitious schemes in Gaul, the natives, who ha borrowed from their Roman masters the knowledge of letters and civil institutions, laboured to perfect the plan of municipal govern ment which they had established in the principal cities. It is no easy to determine the precise period at which the armies of th empire left this island as conquerors; whether they at any tim afterwards visited it merely as allies, and whether, in the final wa against the Picts and Caledonians, they attempted to recover th province for themselves, or only to secure it entire for their late tribu taries, the Britons. But it, nevertheless, admits not of any doubt that the inhabitants of the larger towns, in the reign of Honorius, had attained to a considerable degree of political importance, and even attracted the respect of the imperial court. During the period between the retirement of the Romans and the invasion of the Saxon pirates, the hereditary chiefs of the ancient British families reassumed some portion of the influence and dignity which had belonged to their ancestors, repaired their castles, and placed themselves at the head of their followers; while, in the larger cities, the clerical order, already risen to authority, with the council of magistrates and free men, now annually elected, maintained the weight which was due to the best-informed classes of the people. But we must not allow these reflections, on a state of things which so soon passed away, to divert us from the main object of this section, which is to give an outline of the military and political events which preceded the sub version of the western empire.[2]

Honorius, who never waged any foreign war, was exempted from the alarms of domestic insurrection during the latter years of his reign. His sister Placidia, to whom fortune had presented herself under so many various aspects, became, at length, the wife of the

[1] Sidon. Apollin. p. 147.

[2] Procop. de Bell. Vandal. lib. i. c. ii.; Zosim. lib. vi. c. xi.; Rutil. Itiner. p. 126.

brave Constantius, a faithful counsellor and an able general. His services entitled him to this mark of imperial favour; and as the widow of Ataulphus had been accustomed to the titles and privileges of royalty, she prevailed upon her brother to accept a colleague in the person of her new husband. But the death of Constantius, which took place soon after his accession to power, left the son of Theodosius once more the sole possessor of the Italian throne; upon which, becoming impatient of the ascendency which Placidia had acquired at court and among the Gothic soldiers who surrounded the palace, he compelled her to seek an asylum in the territories of her nephew, the emperor of the east. She met with a cordial reception at Constantinople from the young Theodosius, who eagerly embraced the opportunity of renewing some connection with the politics of the west; for, as Honorius had no children to succeed him in the government of Rome, and as Valentinianus, the son of Placidia, by Constantius, was still a mere infant, he could not fail to anticipate a crisis which might call for the exercise of his authority, and, perhaps, add to the boundaries of his empire. Accordingly, a few months only elapsed when the throne of the west became vacant by the demise of his uncle. It was seized, indeed, by the principal secretary, John (better known in history as John the Notary), and an attempt was made by the usurper to maintain, by arms, the power which he had assumed; but a numerous army, commanded by the best generals of Theodosius, and accompanied by Placidia and her children to the banks of the Po, defeated the tumultuary levies which were brought against them, deprived the traitor of life, and removed all obstacles to the accession of the legitimate heir, Valentinianus III.[1]

A. D. 421.

A. D. 421.

Death of Honorius. A. D. 423.

To secure the advantage of connection, we will pursue a little longer the history of the west before we resume the narrative of eastern affairs, which was interrupted by the death of Arcadius. After the lapse of a few years a common danger, the invasion of the Huns, unites for a time the interests of the two great divisions of the Roman world, and presents a point at which their annals naturally converge. Till we arrive at that epoch, therefore, our attention shall be restricted to the events which occurred under the regency of Placidia, who, in the name of her son, governed the provinces westward of the Adriatic during the space of twenty-five years.

When the rebellion excited by the usurpation of John was completely subdued, the emperor Theodosius consented to place on the throne of Ravenna his young cousin Valentinianus. The very natural desire of uniting once more under one sceptre the spacious dominions possessed by his ancestors seems to have distracted for a

Accession of Valentinianus III. A. D. 425.

[1] Olympiador. apud Phot. p. 192–200; Sozom. lib. ix. c. xvi.; Soc. lib. vii. c. xxiii.; Philostorg. lib. xii. c. x. xi.; Procop. de Bell. Vandal. lib. i. c. iii.; Theophan. in Chron. p. 72.

A. D. 425. moment the councils of the eastern monarch; but the prudential motives which were addressed to his consideration by the most experienced of his ministers, induced him to relinquish the empty title of ruling distant countries which had long abjured all allegiance to the government of Constantinople. He satisfied his ambition by detaching from the Italian crown the Western Illyricum, the maritime districts of Dalmatia, and the provinces of Pannonia and Noricum. To this arrangement no objection appears to have been urged; and it was at the same time stipulated that all laws which might be thenceforth passed by either sovereign should be confined to the limits of their respective dominions.[1]

Administration of Placidia.

Valentinianus was only six years old when he was permitted to assume the title of Augustus, and to succeed his uncle. The administration of affairs was directed by his mother, who confided chiefly in the assistance of Ætius and Boniface, two generals of established reputation. The latter had approved his fidelity to the house of Theodosius when the attempt was made, on the demise of the late emperor, to transfer the succession to the person of a traitor; but the other, more versatile in his attachment, had, it is said, promised to support the claims of John by bringing to his aid a numerous army of Huns from the banks of the Danube. Boniface commanded in Africa; Ætius was master-general of the legions in the provinces of Italy; and, as each was jealous of the influence which the other was supposed to exercise over the measures adopted at court, the empire was doomed to suffer from their quarrels a serious loss both of troops and territory. The fears of the African præfect were industriously raised by the intrigues of his rival, who, by means of false letters addressed to him on the one hand, and to Placidia on the other, contrived to destroy their mutual confidence, and, finally, to drive the unsuspecting soldier into actual rebellion.[2]

The generals Ætius and Boniface.

A. D. 426.

Vandals invade Africa.

A. D. 428.

The Vandals and Suevi, although greatly reduced in number by the repeated victories of the Goths, still retained a footing in the mountainous parts of Spain. The first-named of these tribes, which had received the remains of the Alani into their camp, had also added to its strength by compelling the submission of the other, as well as by a decisive triumph over a Roman army sent against them by Honorius. Boniface despatched to the king of this warlike people a trusty messenger, who was desired to make an offer of a strict alliance, as also of an advantageous settlement in the richest parts of Africa. The Vandals listened to the flattering proposal; and no sooner did the course of hostilities bring their wandering bands within sight of the sea, than they seized the ships which they found

[1] Sozom. lib. ix. c. xvi.; Philostorg. lib. xii. c. x. xi.; Procop. de Bell. Vandal. lib. i. c. iii.; Olympiad. apud Phot. p. 192.

[2] Cassiodor. Varior. lib. xi. Epist. 1; Philostorg. lib. xii. c. xii.; Olympiad. apud Phot. p. 196.

at Carthagena, transported themselves to the island of Majorca, and, finally, displayed their standard as the allies of Count Boniface on the southern shores of the Mediterranean.[1] A. D. 428.

Genseric wages war with the Romans. A. D. 429.

Genseric was king of the Vandals when they landed on the coast of Mauritania. The character of this prince, which combined the ambition of Alaric with the austerity of Attila, inspired terror rather than respect; and when he first appeared among the natives of Africa, they viewed him as an enemy who had come to deprive them of their lands, and not as a confederate on whose co-operation they might rely. Jornandes describes him as passionate and revengeful, of a deep and impenetrable mind, capable of lofty designs, and altogether unscrupulous about the means which might be necessary to accomplish them. He could court the alliance of tribes which he hated, provided their assistance were useful to his immediate purposes, and scatter among his enemies the seeds of contention and war. In the present instance, he clearly foresaw that he would soon have to contend in the field of battle with the very general who had solicited his alliance, and either to retain as a conquest the lands which he had been invited to occupy, or to cultivate them as a slave. Under this impression, he laboured to gain the affection of the Moors, the natural enemies of the Roman name, and to increase his ranks by putting arms into the hands of the savage multitude which traversed the desert between the sea and Mount Atlas.[2]

Boniface defeated.

Boniface, who in the meanwhile had discovered the treachery by which he was seduced, soon repented of the rash step by which Africa had been thrown open to the Vandals. He had no difficulty in recalling to their duty the citizens of Carthage and the Roman soldiers who served in different parts of the province; but he could not induce the crafty Genseric to reimbark his barbarian forces, nor to pledge his faith that they should be employed only in the service of the empire. Finding argument of no avail, he marched against him at the head of his best troops, with the view of compelling him to relinquish his prey; but the Vandals greatly outnumbered the regular soldiers of Boniface, and were, therefore, able at once to repel his attack, and to visit him with a severe defeat. On a sudden, the whole country from Tangier to Tripoli was overrun by the conquerors, who laid waste the face of the soil, rooted up the olives and other fruit-trees, murdered their prisoners, and afflicted the inhabitants with every species of indignity and torture. The fierce spirit of Genseric was so irritated by opposition and inflamed by religious bigotry, that he resolved to avenge his losses by the ruin of every city which refused to open its gates; and so fully in this respect did

[1] Chron. Prosp. et Idat.

[2] Jornand. de Reb. Ext. c. xxxiii.; Procop. de Bell. Vandal. lib. i. c. v.; lib. ii. c. vi.

A. D. 429. he realize his savage pnrpose, that Carthage, Cirta, and Hippo, were the only places of strength which could resist his arms.[1]

Siege of Hippo, and second defeat of the Romans.

Into the last of these cities did Boniface retire, after having been defeated by the Vandalic forces. He was immediately besieged by Genseric, who knew that, as long as the count lived, his possession of Africa could not be secure. But the ignorance of the Vandals in the art of reducing fortifications, and a free access to the ocean, whence abundant supplies were obtained, enabled the defenders of Hippo to foil the efforts of their barbarian foes during the long period of fourteen months. Famine, at length, compelled the assailants to withdraw from before its walls; and, in the mean time, Placidia importuned her nephew Theodosius to send a reinforcement of men and ships to co-operate with her troops in the defence of the African provinces. A large armament sailed from Constantinople under the command of Aspar, an experienced officer, who had rescued Italy from the usurpation of John, and paved the way for the accession of the young monarch. As soon, then, as the forces of the east and west were united under Boniface, it was resolved to try once more the fortune of war. A great battle ensued, in which the soldiers of Genseric were again victorious, and the conquest of Africa was completed. The Roman general threw himself on board a ship and set sail for Italy; where, soon afterwards meeting with Ætius, his personal enemy, and the author of his unfortunate disaffection, he challenged him to single combat and died on his spear.[2]

Sufferings of the provincials under Genseric.

A miserable scene of proscription, plunder, and death, was witnessed in Africa during the succeeding ten years. The arms of Genseric, which were successful against the legions of Rome, could not protect him from the more dangerous enemies who lurked in his own camp, and who either envied his greatness or impatiently tolerated his severe command. He had risen to the throne by violating the rights of two nephews, the sons of his brother Gonderic; and to secure the power which he thus unjustly acquired, he afterwards put them and their mother to a violent death. Unable to resist the pressure of invasion which was directed against him from all the ports of Italy and Spain, he consented to negotiate for a treaty of peace, and even to deliver up his son Hunneric as a pledge for the sincerity of his engagements. Still he felt himself exposed to incessant conspiracies, which his cruel policy could neither prevent nor subdue; and, although more Vandal blood is said to have been shed by the hand of the executioner than by the sword of the enemy, the throne of Genseric did not appear to rest on a stable foundation.[3]

Reduction of Carthage.

At length, however, the reduction of Carthage gave him the command of the sea, and supplied him with the means of resisting as

[1] Procop. de Bell. Vandal. lib. i. c. v.; lib. ii. c. vi.
[2] Ibid. lib. i. c. ii. iii.
[3] Victor. Viten. de Persecut. Vandal. lib. ii. c. v.

well as of retaliating the naval expeditions with which he had been so frequently assailed from the opposite shores. Five hundred and eighty-five years had elapsed from the memorable epoch when the younger Scipio put an end to the ancient republic of the Carthaginians, and levelled their walls. But a new town had arisen from the ruins of the old, and arrived at such a degree of wealth and splendour as to be entitled to rank next to Rome among the cities of the west. Carthage received the treasures, the arms, and the industry of six opulent provinces, and was regarded as the mistress of the fertile territory which stretched along the shores of the Mediterranean, a journey of ninety days. Nor was Genseric ignorant of the great value of the prize which had thus fallen into his hands. He divided the best of the lands among his followers, enriched them with the spoils of the provincials, and taught them to look towards Italy itself as the scene where they were finally to obtain the full reward of their labours, and an ample gratification of their revenge. He issued an edict, enjoining all persons to deliver up to the officers whom he had appointed for that purpose all the gold, silver, precious stones, and costly furniture in their possession; giving notice, at the same time, that the attempt to keep back any part of the property therein specified would be punished with death and torture, as an act of treason against the state. Allowing his avarice to be further stimulated by sectarian bigotry, he prosecuted, by fines and banishment, all who would not embrace the tenets of the Arian heresy, or, at least, abjure those which were held by his theological opponents. Thousands of both sexes fled from the dominions of the tyrant, and threw themselves upon the compassion of their countrymen in Italy, Egypt, Greece, and Syria. The calamities which attended the sack of Rome were repeated in Africa; and, although the range of suffering might be bounded by narrower limits, the savage character of the conqueror made them more severely felt.[1] A. D. 429.

Ulterior designs of Genseric.

The determination of Genseric to create a naval power was most steadily pursued. Behind him were the woods of Mount Atlas, which afforded an abundant supply of timber; while he found at Carthage and the neighbouring ports a sufficient number of carpenters to construct ships, and of seamen to equip and navigate them. His Vandals, whose courage was equal to the most daring enterprise, condescended to learn from their slaves the important resources of the nautical art; while the Moors and other native Africans, desirous to revenge the oppression which they had endured under the Romans, eagerly listened to the invitation of the conqueror, and presented themselves in crowds to man his fleet. Once more the squadrons of Carthage were about to claim the sovereignty of the Mediterranean, and to carry conquest to the shores of Europe. The able prince who directed their movements first tried their skill and prowess against

[1] Chron. Idat. *sub ann.;* Chron. Prosp.; Isidor.; Marcel.

A.D. 429. the island of Sicily and the adjacent coast; and finding, from the reduction of Palermo, that he could trust to their efficiency in more important undertakings, he already held himself master of Rome.

But as the design of Genseric on the western empire might not have been realized without the co-operation which he received from a strong power that had already shown itself on the frontiers of the Lesser Asia, we must now return to the history of Constantinople under the successors of Arcadius.

State of the eastern empire. Government of Pulcheria.

It was in A.D. 408 that the son of the great Theodosius left the throne of the east to a child of the same name, and the actual government of his dominions to a woman. The minority of the prince was, indeed, faithfully directed by the wisdom of Anthemius, the præfect, whose excellent abilities were not unequal to the arduous task which was committed to his care. He repelled the first aggressions of the Huns, strengthened the fortifications of the capital, and established a respectable force along the banks of the Danube. But he found it expedient, either with the view of removing jealousy, or of gratifying the ambition of Pulcheria, the sister of the young emperor, to associate her in the management of affairs; for although she was only two years older than Theodosius, her mind was much more mature and vigorous, and in all respects better fitted to take a share in the duties of government. At the age of sixteen, accordingly, she was saluted with the title of Augusta. Yielding to the impression of the period in which her lot was cast, Pulcheria made choice of a life of celibacy, and even prevailed upon her sisters, Arcadia and Marina, to unite with her in the establishment of a religious society, in which, removed from the vexations and frivolities of the world, they might spend the greater part of their time in study, devotion, and other spiritual exercises. The avocations of piety, however, were not allowed to interfere with the more important claims of business. Avoiding the ostentation of sovereign power, she continued to influence all public measures; and it was remarked that, though arrayed in female attire, she was the only individual among the descendants of Theodosius who exhibited any tokens of his manly spirit. She superintended, at the same time, the education of her brother, whose mind she soon discovered to be incapable of rising above the mere forms of polished life; and for this reason alone, it



Pulcheria.

has been candidly supposed, she limited her instructions to those external observances which might qualify him to represent the majesty of the East, while the real authority and patronage of office might still be retained in her own hands. She even chose a wife for him in the person of Eudoxia, an Athenian maid, who first presented herself at court as a supplicant, and who, as the consort of Theodosius, was destined to experience a great variety of fortune.[1] A. D. 421. A. D. 421.

Fourteen years had passed away under the mild government of Anthemius and Pulcheria when a dispute in the east threatened the tranquillity of the empire. Some Christians resident within the Persian boundary were accused of destroying a Pagan temple dedicated to the Sun. The worshippers of fire resented the injury, and raised a persecution against the adherents of the Gospel; and the altercation, at length, proceeded so far as to excite hostilities between the rival empires. Armies on both sides took the field; various battles were fought; several cities were taken; and splendid victories were claimed and celebrated at Susa as well as at Constantinople. After a fruitless war of two years' duration, a conference was held on the limits of the two nations by deputies authorized to treat in the name of their respective sovereigns; on which occasion a truce of a century was stipulated and solemnly ratified by the ambassadors; who thereby bound their absent masters to abstain from all aggression, insult, and violence, during their own lives, and to transmit a pacific disposition to their successors on the throne. Persian war.

Few treaties have been more faithfully observed than that between Varanes and the younger Theodosius. The interests of Armenia, at one period, threatened to interrupt the good understanding which it had established between the two governments. The unfortunate capitulation which followed the death of Julian threw the greater part of that country into the hands of the ambitious Sapor; but the friends of the house of Arsaces soon recovered the western division for their native prince, and placed themselves and him under the protection of the Roman emperor. For a time Armenia had two kings, one the vassal of Persia, and the other of Constantinople. On the death of the latter, the ministers of Arcadius advised him to suppress the regal government altogether, and to reduce the Armenian provincials to the condition of Roman subjects; while, at a somewhat later period, a similar policy induced the Persians to dethrone the successor of Chosroes, and to incorporate his dominions with their own. Thus the descendants of Arsaces were deprived of the royal dignity which they had enjoyed nearly six hundred years; and their inheritance was divided between the two great monarchies which had alternately oppressed and defended them, rendering their Settlement of Armenia.

[1] Sozim. lib. ix. c. i.-iii.; Soc. lib. vii. c. xxii.

A. D. 445–450. fine country, on many occasions, the scene of mutual contention and the pretext for bloody wars.[1]

History of the Huns. First period, A. D. 445–450.

But an enemy was at hand who soon afterwards fully avenged the cause of Armenia, and of all the other nations which had felt the heavy pressure of Roman or Persian ascendency. The Huns, deriving their origin from the extreme East, had pushed before them the Goths, Vandals, and other Scythic hordes, to the confines of Europe, and had now themselves advanced to the banks of the Danube and the shores of the Euxine sea. Finding an ample territory in the district which has since borne their name, they confined their depredations for several years to the remotest provinces of the empire, and contented themselves with exercising their arms on such of the barbarian tribes as might dispute their occupation of the fertile plains of Hungary. Under Rugilas, the uncle of the celebrated Attila, an army of sixty thousand men had approached the frontiers of Italy, in order to support the usurper John, who, as we have already mentioned, seized the vacant throne of Honorius. The death of the secretary rendered their aid unavailing; but Rugilas insisted that the service of his Huns should be rewarded by the cession of Pannonia, a condition to which Ætius, who had invited them, found it necessary to yield. In this position, and commanding the passage of the Upper Danube, the new settlers soon rendered themselves formidable to both empires. The court of Constantinople deemed it wiser to purchase the forbearance of Rugilas than to incur the hazard of war; and, accordingly, conferring upon the king of the Huns the title of general, he consented to pay for the nominal duties which attached to that office an annual salary of three hundred and fifty pounds of gold.[2]

The only chance of safety that remained for Rome arose from the divisions which prevailed among the Huns themselves. The authority of Rugilas was so far from being universally acknowledged by all who followed his standard, that the chiefs of four tribes claimed the privileges of an independent command; showing, on some occasions, a greater desire to intrigue with the court of Constantinople than to prosecute the plans of conquest in which they professed to engage. In such circumstances the barbarian monarch could not fail to perceive that his power would derive its firmest support from a lasting peace with the Romans, provided the emperor should confine the negotiation to him as the generalissimo of the Huns, and reject the pretensions of his rivals as sovereign princes. Ambassadors were, accordingly, named to form and ratify a treaty; but the death of Rugilas, which occurred before the terms of amity could be adjusted, interrupted and, finally, put an end to this friendly intercourse.[3]

Death of Rugilas. A. D. 433.

[1] Theodoret, lib. v. c. xxxix.; Soc. lib. vii. c. xviii.–xxi.; Mos. Choron. lib. iii. c. lix.–lxv. [2] Soc. lib. vii. c. xliii.; Theodoret, lib. v. c. xxxvi.
[3] Jornand. de Reb. Get. c. xxxiv.; Soc. lib. vii. c. xliii.

The throne of the Huns was immediately ascended by Attila and Bleda, the nephews of Rugilas; who, instead of negotiating through the medium of accredited ministers, proposed, at once, a personal interview with the representatives of Theodosius. Near Margus, a city of the Upper Mœsia, the young kings, who refused the condescension of dismounting from their horses, dictated to the envoys of Constantinople the conditions on which their master might enjoy peace, if he shrank from the chances of war. They insisted that the annual salary, or tribute, paid to the leader of the Huns should be doubled; that a greater facility of trade on the Danube and in the neighbouring provinces should be secured to them; that the Romans should deliver up all the captives who had escaped from the camp of Rugilas, or submit to a fine for every one who could not be recovered; and, in the last place, that the emperor should withdraw his faith from every engagement entered into with the enemies of the Huns. It does not appear that the imperial ministers acceded to terms so humiliating to their country, nor is it probable that Attila expected such compliance; but he thereby gained the twofold object of impressing the eastern Romans with the terror of his name, and of inspiring his followers with contempt for a people to whom he could with impunity address propositions which bore a greater resemblance to the laws of a conqueror than to the conditions of a voluntary and equal alliance.[1]

A. D. 434. Accession of Attila and Bleda.

Their demands on the emperor.

The history of Attila, whose short stature, swarthy complexion, flat nose, and large head, proclaimed his affinity to the Tartar race, is one of the most remarkable even in the annals of Asia, where, above all other parts of the world, the influence of individual character has been felt in changing the face of society and the forms of government. His ambition, which all along pointed to the highest objects, is supposed to have obtained assistance not only from his invincible courage and warlike talents, but also from the arts of superstition which gained for him at once the confidence and the veneration of his countrymen. He had the good fortune to acquire possession of the fabled sword of Mars, which, in the eyes of the rude herdsmen of Scythia, pointed him out as the certain conqueror, and the rightful master of the whole world; and hence when he first buckled on his celestial armour to extend the dominions of the Huns, he saw his standard surrounded by thousands of warriors who longed to share in the triumphs and spoils which they firmly believed were destined to fall into his hands.[2]

Early history of Attila.

Finds the sword of Mars.

Before Attila directed his arms against the empire, he had subdued the most powerful nations in Scythia and Germany. The Goths and Vandals, to escape from his savage warfare, had in various places precipitated themselves across the Danube, the Rhine, and the Alps;

Previous conquests of the Huns.

[1] Priscus, Excerpt. de Leg.; Theod. lib. v. c. xxxvi.

[2] Priscus, p. 39, edit. Paris; Jornand. c. xxxv.

A. D. 433. and, in order to avoid the calamities of conquest, they had invaded the provinces of Italy and Gaul, where they either perished or conquered a settlement among the subjects of Honorius. The Huns successively occupied the lands which the others found it necessary to evacuate; and Attila, either in person or by his lieutenants, had already left tokens of his victories on the shores of the Baltic and of the Western Ocean, on the borders of France and of Holland, on the Euxine and Caspian Seas, on the limits of Persia, and even in the remote territories of Upper India and China.[1]

Attila resolves to attack the Eastern empire.

A. D. 445–450.

Having his forces thus spread along the whole breadth of Europe and the provinces of Western Asia, the king of the Huns could attack, at pleasure, either division of the Roman empire, or even the dominions of the house of Sussan. The ministers of Constantinople had hoped that Attila would waste his resources by invading the Persians, and in an attempt to push his conquests into Arabia and Egypt, the riches of which, on a former occasion, had excited the avarice of his countrymen; but Genseric, the Vandal, who found his position in Africa threatened by the combined armies of Theodosius and Valentinianus, prevailed upon the Huns to break the truce which confined them to the banks of the Danube, and to pour down upon Thrace and Macedonia. A pretence soon occurred for consummating the treachery suggested by the Vandal prince. A quarrel among the dealers who frequented the markets of the North supplied to the Huns an occasion for attacking the provincials with fire and sword; immediately after which the main body of their forces in that quarter was put in motion by the master-genius of Attila himself, who soon carried conquest and desolation to the gates of the Eastern capital.

Devastation of the empire and defeat of armies.

The danger of the state, which could not withdraw Theodosius from his usual pursuits of amusement or piety, compelled him at least to recall the troops which had been assembled for the recovery of Africa, to summon the legions from the Eastern frontier, and even to collect the garrisons from the forts in Illyricum and Dalmatia. But the soldiers of the empire, now unaccustomed to the discipline which had enabled them to conquer, and no longer guided by able commanders, could not resist, in the field of battle, the impetuous valour of the Huns. In three successive engagements, fought in different parts of Thrace, the fortune of Attila prevailed; and so great were the losses sustained by the vanquished, that their numbers were altogether insufficient to check the ravages of the barbarians, who wasted the whole of the surrounding country. The walls of Constantinople protected the emperor and his ministers; but the approach of famine and the murmurs of the people imposed on them the necessity of soothing the victor, and of purchasing from him a short interval of peace. Seventy cities had already sunk before his arms, the buildings of which were levelled with the ground, and the inha-

[1] Jornand. c. xlix.; Priscus, p. 64.

bitants either massacred or sold into captivity. The capital itself might, at no distant period, share the same fate; for although Attila might retire to the neighbourhood of the Danube to recruit his army and obtain provisions, there was no doubt that he would return in order to complete the conquest of Greece and even of Asia Minor.[1] A. D. 445–450.

When the king of the Huns was solicited to grant a suspension of arms, he assumed the right of dictating the conditions upon which the treaty was to be founded. He insisted that the emperor should resign an extensive territory situated on the southern bank of the Danube, and which stretched from Singidunum as far as Novæ in Thrace. The breadth was defined by the vague measurement of fifteen days' journey, and was determined by limits satisfactory to Attila. He next demanded that the annual subsidy, first paid to his uncle Rugilas, should be augmented from seven hundred pounds of gold to two thousand one hundred, besides an immediate payment of six thousand pounds of gold, as an indemnity for the expenses of the late war. In the last place he stipulated that all the Huns taken in war should be released without ransom,—that every Roman captive who had escaped should be compelled to purchase his freedom at the price of twelve pounds of gold,—and that all the deserters from his standard should be unconditionally delivered up to military justice.[2] Theodosius solicits peace: the conditions on which it was granted.

Attila soon found reason to complain that the ministers of Theodosius, either from want of honour or want of treasure, did not fulfil the terms on which he had been pleased to withdraw his troops from their territory. He therefore sent repeated embassies to Constantinople, urging an immediate compliance with the stipulations to which they had pledged their faith, and more especially that they should deliver up all the fugitives and deserters who had taken refuge within their walls. To mollify his resentment, it was resolved to despatch to his camp a courtier of considerable rank, who might explain to the Hunnic sovereign the reduced state of the public revenue, and the fidelity with which they had sought out every individual who owed allegiance to his crown. Maximin was the name of the envoy who was charged with this important commission, and he was accompanied on his journey by Vigilius, by Priscus the historian, who was attached to him by the bonds of friendship, and by Orestes and Edecon, the ambassadors of Attila. The camp of the Huns was stationed on the southern bank of the Danube, at the distance of about six hundred miles from Constantinople, whither the representatives of the two nations proceeded, by the way of Sardica and Naïssus.[3] Embassies on both sides.

While Edecon was at the court of Theodosius, he was introduced to the chamberlain Chrysaphius, who, by promises of unbounded Conspiracy against Attila.

[1] Priscus, p. 331; Procop. de Edific. lib. iv. c. v.; Chron. Prosp. Tyro. and Marcell. [2] Chron. Prosp. Tyro. Priscus, p. 34. [3] Priscus, p. 69–72.

A. D. 445–450.

wealth and favour, seduced him so far from his duty as to listen to a proposal for assassinating Attila. Vigilius, who was appointed to attend Maximin, was privy to this disgraceful plot, and engaged to assist in its execution; but Edecon, either repenting his base design, or, it is more probable, never having had any serious intention to accomplish it, revealed the secret to his master before the Romans were admitted into his presence. The Hun restrained his indignation, or only gave expression to it in such terms as could affect the conscious feelings of Vigilius, who trembled at the implied menaces which reached his ears. Maximin, who was ignorant of the conspiracy, and consequently of the import of the remarks which alluded to it in the speech of Attila, confined his endeavours to the furtherance of the public business on which he had been commissioned; but the barbarian, either to mortify the pride of the emperor or to gratify his own vanity, declared that he could come to no determination until he had met the ambassadors of the Western Empire also, who were on their progress towards his capital, on the northern side of the Upper Danube. A journey of several days, through a wasted or barren country, was accordingly undertaken by the Romans, who were entertained at the successive stages with sincere hospitality, and in one place by the widow of Bleda, the brother of Attila, whom the latter, in a divine impulse as it was esteemed, had put to death with the sword of Mars.[1]

The court of Attila.

The royal village of Attila, situated somewhere between the Danube and the Carpathian mountains, presented a singular spectacle to the eyes of the luxurious inhabitants of Constantinople. The palace of the king himself was constructed of timber, and covered with straw or reeds, and the houses of his principal officers did not rise above the rank of huts, such as were used by the shepherds of the great Indian desert when encamped in their summer pasturages. The interior, it is true, was decorated with much rude magnificence, displaying the gold and silver vessels which they had taken from the Romans, as well as the swords and splendid harness on which they lavished the greater portion of their wealth. The wives of Attila were arrayed in the rich garments which had been fabricated for the ladies of the Eastern court; their robes were embroidered with the most costly materials, and their shoes were studded with gold and precious stones. The monarch alone despised the finery of the nations which he had subdued, and retained in his dress, his arms, and the furniture of his horse the plain simplicity which had distinguished his ancestors. His table was covered with wooden dishes; his food was simple flesh without bread or seasoning, and he drank out of a vessel which may have been formed in the wilds of Tartary.[2]

[1] Priscus, p. 49–70.

[2] Priscus, p. 56. Hæ sedes regis barbariem totum tenentis, hæc captis civitatibus habitacula præponebat.

A. D. 445–450.

During the audience which he had granted to the ambassadors and Vigilius on the banks of the Danube, he insinuated against the latter the guilt which he had meditated in conjunction with Edecon. The interpreter, who could not be ignorant of the allusion, did not, as might have been expected, seek safety in flight; and even when he was brought before the tribunal of Attila, he persevered in asserting his innocence, till the threat of inflicting instant death upon his son drew from him a full discovery of his criminal intentions. The king of the Huns, on this occasion, put to shame by his magnanimous conduct the low arts adopted by Theodosius and his ministers. He declared that if his hands were not bound by the respect which he felt for the law of nations, he would nail the deceitful interpreter to a cross, and leave his body to be devoured by the birds of the air. He would not, therefore, put him to death, but treating him like a captive whom he had taken in battle, he should estimate his life at two hundred pieces of gold. He reserved for the ear of the emperor himself a message of remonstrance, admonition, and reproof, which his consent to the conspiracy of Chrysaphius very naturally suggested. "Theodosius," said he, "is the son of an illustrious father, and so am I; but by consenting to pay me tribute, he has fallen from his greatness, and has become my servant. It is not, therefore, right that he should forget his duty, and like a wicked slave enter into treasonable designs against my life."[1]

Attila discovers his knowledge of the conspiracy.

The envoy, who pronounced this reproof in the presence of Theodosius was further instructed to demand the head of Chrysaphius, the author of the plot. The emperor, whose resentment was overcome by his fears, warded off the impending storm by promising to send to the court of Attila ambassadors of high rank, and invested with full power to settle all the matters in dispute between the Huns and Romans. With this view he selected Nomius the great treasurer, and Anatolius the master-general of the army, whom he loaded with gifts to soften the enraged barbarian, and through whom he conveyed the most positive assurances that all the articles of the late treaty would be most punctually observed. These concessions on the part of Theodosius, the magnificent presents with which they were accompanied, and, above all, the dignified order from which the ambassadors were chosen, flattered the vanity of Attila, and disposed him to moderation and clemency. He consented that Chrysaphius should live, and that Vigilius should be restored to favour; binding himself at the same time, by a solemn stipulation, to preserve inviolate all the conditions of the peace, to release a certain number of captives, and to restore part of the territory which he had claimed by right of conquest.[2]

A new embassy.

It has been made a question by a distinguished author whether

Policy of Attila.

[1] Priscus, pp. 38, 39. [2] Jornand. de Reb. Get. c. xxxvi. xxxvii.

A. D. 445–450. Attila, in acceding to this treaty, was actuated by moderation or by selfishness. He maintains that in all such resolutions he only followed the maxims of his nation, which led him to subdue the more wealthy states of Europe and of Asia, but not to extirpate them.[1] The question, perhaps, might be found to resolve itself into a more profound policy than the king of the Huns ever assumed for his guide, either in peace or in war; and as the balance of power was constantly in his own hands, he had no occasion to adjust the relative preponderance of rival kingdoms, nor to measure with a watchful eye the precise extent to which it might be convenient to depress his enemies. As long, too, as he possessed the means of extorting from the emperors of the East and of the West the treasure or lands which were from time to time required by his followers, he was a greater, or at least a more independent, monarch in his royal village beyond the Danube, than if he had taken his seat on the throne of Rome or of Constantinople.

Death of Theodosius. A. D. 450. While these interesting events engaged the attention of the Roman world, Theodosius met his death by a fall from his horse in hunting. As he left no heirs to the throne, his sister Pulcheria was invested with the supreme power, and proclaimed empress of the East. To obtain assistance in the duties of government, she gave her hand to Marcianus, a senator of high reputation both in civil and military life, whom, however, she received as a colleague rather than as a husband, having devoted herself to celibacy under the obligation of a religious oath.

Accession of Marcianus. No sooner was Marcianus raised to the imperial dignity, than he gave proof of the great talents and mild disposition which had recommended him to the daughter of Arcadius. He increased the number and improved the discipline of the soldiers; he reformed the abuses of administration; while his example, which was adorned with piety and virtue, checked the licentious manners of the higher classes in the capital.

His resistance to the aggressions of Attila. To repair in some degree the evils produced by the timid counsels of the late reign, he resolved to brave the hazards of war rather than to submit longer to the arrogant claims of Attila, who not only demanded, in a tone of insufferable insolence, the payment of the annual subsidy, but desired that it might be viewed as the tribute of a vanquished people to their conqueror, or as the acknowledgment of vassals to their liege lord. He informed the king of the Huns that he was disposed to reward with becoming liberality the friendship of a faithful ally; but reminded him, at the same time, that the empire still possessed ample means of defence, and that if gold must be lavished to procure military service, it were wiser to distribute it among the subjects of Pulcheria than to bestow it upon the troops of Attila. He added, through his ambassador, that if the barbarians

[1] Montesquieu, Considerations, &c. p. 232.

attempted to disturb the public peace, they should be encountered by an army not less able than desirous to punish their aggression.[1] A. D. 450.

Rage of Attila.

Unaccustomed to such language, Attila gave utterance to his passion in the most haughty terms imaginable. He resolved to subdue both empires, and to find a palace in the capital of each; he instructed his ministers to make known his determination at Ravenna as well as at Constantinople, and to assure both Valentinianus and the successor of Theodosius that he would chastise their tardy obedience in the heart of their dominions. His plan of conquest required that he should begin with Italy and Gaul, an arrangement which carries us once more to a brief recapitulation of the affairs of the West.[2]

State of the Western empire.

The death of Boniface threw the government of Valentinianus almost entirely into the hands of Ætius, who soon succeeded in recovering the confidence of Placidia. The deceit practised by this commander against his rival had involved Italy in confusion, and deprived the empire of a valuable province; but a seasonable peace, which he contracted with the king of the Vandals, removed for a time the fears of invasion, while his able conduct in Gaul and Spain had extended the imperial authority over the greater part of those fine provinces. It was the fortune of Ætius, too, in early life, to spend a long period in the camps of the Goths and Huns, to both of whom, at different times, he had been delivered as a hostage. He had entered into an intimate friendship with Attila, to whose care he subsequently committed the military education of his son; and during a long intercourse in war as well as in peace, the two commanders never entirely forgot the kindness which had passed between them in the tents of Rugilas. It is probable that the influence which the general of Valentinianus could thus exercise over the impetuous temper of the Hun, delayed his meditated irruption into Gaul; but the resistance which was now systematically made to the demands of the latter had so far inflamed his resentment, that Ætius was convinced the storm could no longer be averted either on the Alps or on the Rhine. For this reason he laboured to strengthen the interests of the empire among the various tribes of Gothic or German extraction, who already occupied a large portion of Gaul.[3]

The Visigoths.

The Visigoths were now under the government of Theodoric, the son of the renowned Alaric, and occupied that district in the southern part of Gaul, of which Thoulouse is the capital. About fifteen years prior to the period at which our narrative has arrived, the young king made several attempts to extend his dominions, which were all defeated by the vigilance and military skill of Ætius. At length a just appreciation of mutual advantage led Theodoric and the Roman general to establish a lasting peace; and the arms of the former would have

[1] Procop. de Bell. Vandal. lib. i. c. iv.; Evagrius, lib. ii. c. i.; Chron. Pasch. *sub ann.*

[2] Priscus, c. xxxix.

[3] Vict. Viten. De Persec. Vandal.; Chron. Marcel. and Idat. *sub ann.*

A. D. 450. instantly been turned against Genseric, the chief of the Vandals, had not the menaces of Attila confined the attention of the new allies to the defence of Gaul.

The Franks.

The Franks, after an unavailing contest with the Romans and the experience of several defeats, were content to limit their kingdom to the province which extends from the Rhine to the Somme. On the death of Clodion, one of the earliest sovereigns of the first race, a dissension took place between his two sons, one of whom implored the protection of the Roman government, while the other solicited the aid of Attila. The Hun, who had resolved to attack the Western empire, eagerly availed himself of so favourable an opportunity for accomplishing his object, under the specious pretence of vindicating the rights of an injured prince who courted his alliance.

Besides the Visigoths and a large body of the Franks, the lieutenant of Valentinianus had secured the services of a detachment of the Alani, which still possessed a part of Gaul, and of an army of Huns, who had separated themselves from the main camp on the Danube. There was some reason for doubt, indeed, whether, when opposed to Attila in the field of battle, their national predilections would not overcome their more recent attachment to the cause of the empire; and it required besides no small degree of address to prevent their hereditary dislike of the Goths, Franks, and Burgundians from precipitating all the provinces south of the Rhine into the desolation of a civil war. But no extent of preparation could save that fertile country from the projected inroad of the Huns. After a march of seven hundred miles from his head-quarters in the plains of Hungary, Attila mustered his formidable host on the frontiers of Gaul, where, after being joined by those Franks who supported the claims of the elder son of Clodion, he began hostilities by attacking the nearest towns and by laying waste the fields whence they drew their supplies.[1]

Attila invades Gaul, and lays siege to Orleans.

A. D. 451.

The history of this invasion of the Huns presents the usual description of havoc, ruin, and individual wretchedness which marked the path of those savage warriors in all the countries which they overran. Most of the cities north of the Loire were besieged and stormed, and generally given up to military execution; in which case the massacre of the inhabitants was promiscuous, involving the aged sire and the infant at the breast, the helpless female, and the priest before the altar. Orleans, the walls of which had been recently strengthened, had the resolution and skill to make a successful resistance. Ætius, it should seem, had promised to relieve it, and entreated the brave defenders to keep the enemy at bay until he could bring up an army sufficiently strong to combat the Huns. But the time necessary to accomplish this object somewhat exceeded his first calculation. The bishop, whose name was Anianus, encouraged meanwhile the perse-

[1] Jornand. de Reb. Get. c. xxxvi. xxxvii.; Chron. Idat.

verance of the garrison, and exhorted the people to lend their aid in repelling the furious assault of the barbarians, assuring them that, before the close of another day, the expected succour would arrive, and their ancient city would be saved. He sent a messenger to the highest tower to see whether there were any appearance of troops in the distant horizon; but it was not till after he had been twice disappointed that the welcome intelligence was announced to him of a small cloud of dust rising at the remotest verge to which the eye could reach. "It is the aid of God!" exclaimed the pious prelate, and his words were instantly repeated in shouts of joy by all the citizens. Every eye was now fixed on the distant object which had revived their hopes, and no long time elapsed before they could clearly distinguish the banners of the empire mixed with those of Theodoric, the king of the Visigoths, moving on rapidly for the relief of Orleans.[1] A. D. 451.

Attila, whose ranks had been thinned by the active service in which his army was engaged since he crossed the Rhine, saw the danger of risking a battle in the very heart of a country where he had neither friends nor allies but such as were within the limits of his camp. He therefore immediately raised the siege, and retreated towards the extensive plains of Châlons; in which, should he find it necessary to come to an action, his cavalry he imagined would secure him a great advantage over the foot soldiers of the Roman general. The Visigoths meanwhile, under Torismond, the eldest son of their king, pressed upon his rear so closely, that he could not prevent several bloody contests, in one of which not fewer than fifteen thousand of his barbarians fell by the sword; and hardly had he arrived in the open country where he had determined to make a stand, when he found himself opposed by a powerful host, recruited from five or six different nations, but all animated with one spirit, and directed by the prudent valour of Ætius. He could not, had he been inclined, pursuit his retreat any further. Resolving, therefore, to fight, he laboured to revive the drooping courage of his Huns, by reminding them of their former exploits, and by holding out the certainty of a decisive triumph in the approaching combat. He had indeed consulted his priests, who found in the entrails of their victims indications of disaster to the Scythian warriors, but who, at the same time, could assure the king that the success of his enemies, if it occurred, must be purchased by the death of their principal leader.

Orleans relieved by Ætius and Theodoric, king of the Visigoths.

Whatever might be his impressions, he began the conflict with his usual intrepidity, and used every argument which could affect the pride or superstition of his men to induce them to follow his example. A frightful scene of carnage ensued. The fortune of battle seemed to waver between the bravery of the contending armies, and the issue was long doubtful. Theodoric, the sovereign of the Visigoths,

Battle of Châlons, and defeat of Attila.

[1] Sidon. Apoll. lib. viii. Ep. xv.

A. D. 451. received a mortal wound, and was trampled under the feet of the horsemen; but his son, the gallant Torismond, soon revenged his death by advancing at the head of his nation, and throwing the whole weight of a united charge upon the exhausted lines of the Huns, who were compelled to turn their backs. The approach of night enabled Attila to withdraw his troops within the entrenchment of waggons, which usually formed his camp, while the victors, unwilling to irritate the despair of so determined a character, did not attempt to expel him from his temporary fortress. In truth the slaughter, which amounted to a hundred and sixty-two thousand, had weakened both sides so much, that the battle was not renewed; and it was only because Attila dreaded some ulterior movement on the part of his able adversary, by which his communication with the Danube might be intercepted, that he resolved upon returning across the Rhine and relinquishing all his conquests in Gaul.[1]

Attila invades Italy.

A. D. 452. In the following year the inundation, which had rolled back from the provinces beyond the Alps, desolated the fairest parts of Italy. The king of the Huns, whose prey was snatched from his hands by the military talent of Ætius, augmented his forces during the winter, and was ready, in the early months of spring, to pass the mountain barrier which protected the land of the Cæsars, and to resume his course of victory within sight of the walls of Ravenna. The siege of Aquileia first occupied his arms, and, owing to the ignorance of his men in the art of reducing fortresses, delayed his progress more than three months. The resolution and skill displayed by the defenders exhausted the patience of Attila: his provisions were consumed, and his troops were becoming clamorous; the season for active operations was fast passing away, and time was given to the imperial generals to reinforce the Italian armies, and to arrange their plans for a vigorous campaign. These considerations had induced him to issue orders for raising the siege, when the simple circumstances of seeing a stork leave its nest, built on one of the walls, and fly away towards the country, revived the confidence of the invader, and inspired new hope into his followers. A furious assault was made on the fortifications; the Huns effected an entry; and Aquileia soon ceased to exist but as a heap of ruins. A similar fate awaited the other cities on the coast of the Adriatic, as far as the river Po, including Altinum, Concordia, Padua, Vicenza, and Verona. Milan and Pavia, which opened their gates on the first approach of the conqueror, and which could soothe his avarice by the surrender of their wealth, were allowed to preserve their public edifices, and even to retain the greater part of their inhabitants. But, in general, the unhappy people were stripped of their property, deprived of their dwellings, and compelled to seek safety in distant flight. Thousands of them took refuge in those small islands which stud the upper

[1] Jornand. de Reb. Get. c. xli.

extremity of the Adriatic sea; and there, by exercising the industry which had already begun to adorn and enrich the towns from whence they were expelled, they laid the foundations of the Venetian commonwealth.[1] A. D. 452. Origin of Venice.

Ætius, meanwhile, exerted all the influence which belonged to his commanding character to raise an army that might enable him to repeat, in the plains of Italy, the noble triumph which he had gained the former year in the neighbourhood of Chalons. He urged Valentinianus to call his people into the field, and solicited the emperor of the East to send a powerful reinforcement from Pannonia and Illyricum; so that, by cutting off the retreat of the barbarians through the passes of the Alps, they might complete the destruction of their main body, and terminate for ever the career of Attila. But the son of Placidia was a stranger to the alarms and duties of war; and rather than expose his person to the danger and fatigue of protracted hostility, he would have consented to abandon the finest part of his empire to the ravages of the Huns. That he might have the means of escaping into Gaul, whenever the advance of Attila should render his position insecure, he left the strong fortress of Ravenna, and removed his court to Rome. In such circumstances all the efforts of Ætius proved unavailing. At the head of the small body of troops who were attached to his interests, and who preferred death to the dishonour of their country, he hovered round the camp of the Huns, attacked their outposts, and harassed their march. But as the mass of the Romans were now unacquainted with the exercise of arms, and had long ceased to feel those generous emotions which rendered their ancestors invincible, the liberator of Gaul, so far from being supported in his patriotic endeavours, was charged with betraying Italy to its ferocious invaders.[2] Conduct of Ætius.

No sooner had the emperor arrived at the capital, than it was suggested by his counsellors that an attempt ought to be made to deprecate the wrath of Attila, and to procure peace. The king of the Huns had for several years claimed Honoria, the sister of Valentinianus, as his wife; and even after that princess was married to another, he demanded to be put in possession of the dowry or territorial rights which were supposed to belong to her as the granddaughter of Theodosius. The Roman senators, employed to negotiate the treaty, informed him that his claims were now fully recognised by the imperial government, and that if he would withdraw his army beyond the Alps, the wealth of Honoria should be put into his hands. The barbarian chief was gratified with this concession, as well as with the respect shown to his character in the selection of the embassy; for he beheld in his camp, as suppliants from the emperor, The Princess Honoria. Peace obtained by the Romans.

[1] Procop. de Bell. Vandal. lib. i. c. iv.; Jornand. de Reb. Get. c. xlii.
[2] Chron. Prosp. and Idat.

A. D. 452. Avienus and Trigetius, men of consular dignity, and who had discharged the highest offices in the state, as also Leo, the bishop of Rome, an ecclesiastic of great celebrity. He granted the peace, which was asked in a manner so flattering to his vanity, and accepted the treasure bestowed in the name of Honoria; but so far was he from relinquishing his imaginary right to her person that, if she were not delivered up to his ambassadors within a limited period, he threatened to renew the invasion of the empire at the head of a more formidable army than had yet appeared under his banners.[1]

Death of Attila.

A. D. 453. But the final term of his conquests and of his life was now nearly expired. Upon his return to the royal village beyond the Danube, he solemnized his marriage with Ildico, a beautiful maiden, whom he chose to add to the number of his wives, and he was found dead in bed the morning after the festivity. The bursting of a blood-vessel deprived the Huns of their warlike monarch, and put an end to their power in Europe. The various nations which had assembled under his standard, and acknowledged his supremacy, immediately separated, and turned their arms against one another; while the sons of Attila, instead of striving to perpetuate the unity of their father's empire, quarrelled about the succession, and partitioned his territories. The Gepidæ, the Ostrogoths, the Alani, the Suevi, and the Heruli, after losing the best of their warriors in a succession of battles, seized the provinces on either side of the Danube, and spread out their colonies from Pannonia to the shores of the Euxine. The remainder of the Huns retired into Scythia, and laboured to preserve their name among a kindred people; but the fortune of war still proving unfavourable, they were compelled to give way to a more powerful horde from the north, and finally to resign all pretensions to an independent sovereignty.[2]

Valentinianus murders Ætius.

A. D. 454. Three years before the death of Attila, the mother of Valentinianus paid the debt of nature, and left him to the intrigues of the eunuch Heraclius. This unworthy minister succeeded in stirring up in the weak mind of his master a deep feeling of jealousy towards Ætius, the main protector of his country. The reputation which he had acquired in the war with Attila, his great wealth, and the attachment of the army, did, no doubt, confer upon the patrician a degree of power incompatible with the rank of a subject. But the victor of Châlons had on all occasions employed his influence for the welfare of the state and the security of the throne, and had studiously rendered his ambition subservient to the honour of a Roman and to the duty of a commander. Animated with the consciousness of innocence, or regardless of the danger with which he was threatened, he went to the palace to remind the emperor of a promise in favour

[1] Priscus, p. 56; Jornand. de Reb. Get. c. xlii.
[2] Jornand. de Reb. Get. c. xlix. l.

of his son; and while he was urging his claim with some degree of vehemence, Valentinianus drew his sword and plunged it in the breast of the general, to whom he had been twice indebted for the preservation of his country.[1] A. D. 454.

To this horrible crime the son of Placidia soon added another, which brought upon him the punishment of both. Having fraudulently enticed the wife of Petronius Maximus into the palace, he accomplished by force that which he had not been able to gain by all the arts of seduction, and thereby entirely alienated from him the minds of all the noble families resident in Rome. Maximus did not allow his revenge to slumber; and finding fit agents among the friends of Ætius, he stimulated them to an act which their affection for their late patron invested with the character of justice and gratitude. Seizing an opportunity afforded by the presence of Valentinianus at some military games in the Campus Martius, they rushed upon him with arms in their hands, and stabbed him to the heart. In this manner fell the last emperor of the house of Theodosius, despised for his weakness, and abhorred for his crimes; one whose conduct in his latter years, and especially towards Ætius and Maximus, fully justified the comparison made in his hearing by an honest courtier, who likened him to a man who cuts off his right hand with his left.[2] Death of Valentinianus. A. D. 455.

Petronius Maximus, whose domestic injury had rendered vacant the throne of the West, was immediately summoned by the shouts of the people to receive the imperial dignity. His birth was illustrious, his fortune was ample, and he had already filled the highest offices which could be discharged by a subject. To the reputation which he had acquired by his able conduct in public life, he added the wise enjoyments of literature and elegant society at home; and till the moment that he permitted himself to be arrayed in the purple, his condition might be regarded as a rare instance of human felicity. To strengthen his government, indeed, he procured the marriage of his son with the eldest daughter of the late emperor; and with the same view, perhaps, he insisted on Eudoxia, the widow of Valentinianus, becoming his own wife. But the means which he thus employed to insure a happy reign, and to transmit to his family a hereditary right to the empire, proved the occasion of bringing his days to a close, and of involving his country in misery and disgrace. The empress, indignant at the violence which had been inflicted upon her feelings, and suspicious that Maximus had planned the murder of her former husband, resolved to be revenged on the usurper, although this solace to her injured affections should be purchased at the expense of the Roman people. She invited Genseric to undertake the Petronius Maximus ascends the throne.

[1] Procop. de Bell. Vandal. lib. i. c. iv.; Chron. Marcel. Idat. and Prosp.; Sidon. Panegyr. Avit.

[2] Procop. *ubi supra*.

A. D. 455. invasion of Italy, an object for which he had long been making preparations, and waited only for a plausible pretext to cover the ambition and avarice which mingled with his other motives.[1]

Eudoxia invites the Vandals.

No sooner had the king of the Vandals landed at the mouth of the Tiber than the fate of Maximus was decided. The soldiers joined with the populace in their detestation of a prince who was only bold to avenge his private wrongs, and had taken no steps to secure the public safety. He was overwhelmed with a shower of stones in the streets of Rome, and his body thrown into the river; the domestics of Eudoxia, and the adherents of the late emperor, being among the most active of the assailants.

Death of Maximus.

The Vandals advance to Rome,

Genseric advanced towards Rome, prepared to contend for the prize which it contained, with the army which had been formed during the active administration of the patrician Ætius. But the capital of the world no longer trusted for her defence to the arms of her soldiers. The barbarian auxiliaries, who had taken the place of her legions, felt no interest in the protection of a city with which they were not connected by any recollections of ancestry or sentiments of honour. The Vandals, accordingly, met with no opposition as they approached the walls; but, as they drew nearer, they saw issuing from the gates a procession of priests and anchorites, headed by the bishop, coming forth to implore the clemency of the invader, to entreat that he would spare the helpless multitude within, and to save the buildings from fire. The voice of Leo again soothed a conqueror; and Genseric, like Attila, consented to reverence the supposed seat of religion, reserving to himself, however, the infliction of such punishment on the luxurious and the wanton as the justice of heaven might direct him to administer.[2]

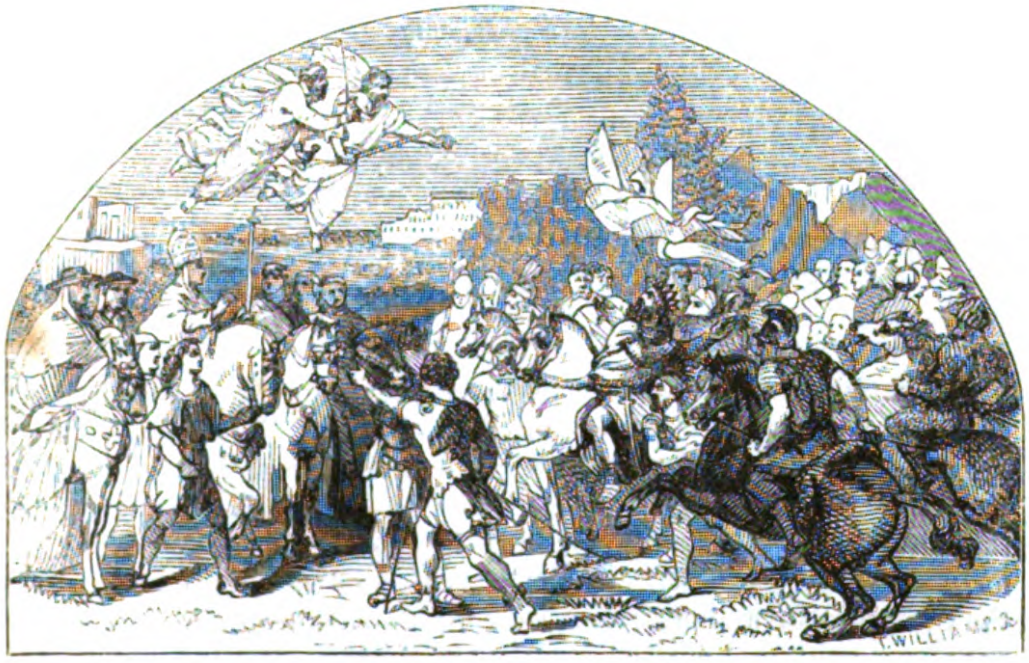
sack it, and carry off the plunder to Carthage.

The Vandals and Moors, not feeling themselves bound by the scruples of their leader, pillaged the city, and carried off to their ships whatever wealth had been left by Alaric, or had been accumulated during an interval of nearly fifty years. The precious ornaments of the Capitol were torn down and removed, and the spoils which Titus brought from the temple of Jerusalem, the golden table, and the candlestick of seven branches composed of the same material, were hurried on board and conveyed to Carthage. The rich furniture of the palace, the massive plate, and the rare jewels which decorated the ensigns of office, were seized by the rude hands of the soldiers, and classed with the common booty. Nor were the persons of the highest rank in the state protected from robbery and violence. Even Eudoxia herself, who had expected to meet a friend in Genseric, was deprived of her most costly ornaments, and, with her two

[1] Sidon. Apoll. lib. i. Ep. xiii.; Sidon. in Panegyr. Avit. v. 441; Procop. de Bell. Vandal. lib. i. c. iv.

[2] Evag. lib. ii. c. vii.; Chron. Idat. Prosp. Marcel. *sub ann.*; Vict. Viten. lib. i. c. viii.

daughters, compelled to join the train of the conqueror, and to accompany him to Africa. Thousands of meaner captives were, in like manner, forced into domestic servitude, or sold for slaves in the streets of Carthage; many of whom, from change of climate and the hardships of the voyage, sank under the pressure of disease, and thus surrendered in a foreign land the life which had been deceitfully spared in their own country. A. D. 455.



Attila repulsed by St. Leon.—*G. F. Sargent, after Raphael.*



Gothic Chief. – *Montfaucon, Antiq. Expliquée.*

CHAPTER XXI.

FROM THE SACK OF ROME BY THE VANDALS TO THE EXTINCTION OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

FROM A. D. 455 TO A. D. 476.

A. D. 455. Inactivity of Marcianus.

THE inactivity of the emperor of the East, during these misfortunes of Rome, cannot be regarded without surprise. Few of the sovereigns who filled that throne have left to posterity a more unblemished reputation, or appear to have been more attentive, than Marcianus to the happiness of their subjects; and it is difficult to assign a motive for his seeming indifference to the calamities of the sister empire. In the deficiency of authentic materials for the history of his reign, we have been presented with a legend, which, nevertheless, when stripped of its marvellous accompaniments, may not be without a foundation of truth. It is said that Marcianus, while acting as secretary of the patrician Aspar during the African war, was taken prisoner by Genseric. The captive was brought into the palace court preparatory to an inspection by the barbarian king, and there, while awaiting his arrival, Marcianus, overpowered by fatigue, fell asleep upon the ground. In this position, and exposed to the burning rays of a tropical sun, the prisoner was not without assistance; an eagle hovered over him while he slept, and expanded his broad wings as a shade. Genseric, who accidentally viewed this occurrence from his apartment, interpreted it as a prodigy; and concluding that his captive was destined to be the future possessor of the imperial dignity, granted him liberty,

upon a stipulation that he would never make war upon the Vandals.[1] The emperor remembered, and adhered to his promise. A. D. 455.

The decease of the empress Pulcheria occurred four years before that of her nominal husband; and her treasures having been bequeathed to charitable uses, she was a successful claimant for the honour of canonization. The festival of St. Pulcheria is still observed by the modern Greeks; and similar honours are partaken by her consort. If, during the six years of his reign, he did not affect the glory of a warrior, he successfully established himself in the affections of his subjects, by innocence and simplicity of manners, by extraordinary piety, and by zeal for religion. Death of Pulcheria, A. D. 453, and of Marcianus, A. D. 457.

Aspar has not escaped suspicion of compassing the death of his sovereign; nevertheless, since from religious scruples he refused to renounce his profession of Arianism, the sole barrier between himself and the imperial diadem, it is probable that he has been unjustly accused. But the power which he was too conscientious or too prudent to accept openly, in his own person, he resolved to wield through that of another. Hereditary command during three generations had placed the armies of the East at his disposal, and the wealth which he had long painfully accumulated, and now lavishly distributed, secured to him the willing suffrages of the capital, which, if it had shown reluctance, he was equally prepared to overawe. His choice fell upon a private individual, of obscure origin, Leo, by birth a Thracian, who hitherto had attained no higher offices than those of military tribune and chief steward of Aspar's household. The new emperor was elected by the unanimous voice of the senate, and his inauguration was attended with an unusual solemnity. Anastatius, the patriarch of Constantinople, placed the crown upon his brows, and established a precedent which, in after-times, has been for the most part adopted throughout all Christian monarchies. Accession of Leo the Great.

The foreign policy of Leo I. is necessarily intermingled with the particulars which are presently to be described of the occurrences in the west. We shall in this place treat only of his more immediate personal history. In his domestic administration he was gentle and munificent, studiously pacific, and a patron of learning and the arts. The chief troubles of his reign were occasioned by those individuals who had raised him to the throne. Ariadne, the eldest of his two daughters, was bestowed in marriage upon Andaburius, the son of Aspar: but the haughty patrician, in his eagerness to elevate his family, forgot those maxims of prudence which had tempered his own ambition when the sceptre was within his grasp. He demanded the title of Cæsar for his son, and having urged upon his prince the heavy debt of obligation which was his due, and the powerful means which he possessed of enforcing his demands, he crowned his importunities by an act of gross personal affront. Laying hold of the im- Presumption of Aspar.

[1] Evagrius, p. 284.

A. D. 457. perial robe, he shook it with indignation, and added, "It is not fit that he who wears the purple should stoop to a falsehood."[1] The emperor replied with dignity and moderation, "Neither is it fit that he should surrender his judgment, like a slave, to the will of a subject." In spite of this remarkable interview, it is asserted that Andaburius was declared Cæsar; but any reconciliation between the offended prince and his presumptuous general thenceforward must have been confined to outward profession. The populace of Constantinople loudly expressed their discontent at the appointment; and in their hatred of Arianism, they forgot both the splendour of Aspar's military reputation, and the frequency of his largesses. Leo was not backward in profiting by these demonstrations of popular feeling, and he secretly encouraged the dislike which seemed to promise him a release from the insufferable burden of a master. We are ill acquainted with the precise nature of the occurrences which at length placed Aspar in open rebellion. It seems as if a protracted struggle ensued, and that the streets of Constantinople more than once were stained with the blood of the contending parties. But in the end the fortune of the emperor prevailed, and Aspar and his son fell by the hands of the eunuchs of the palace. The widow of Andaburius became the bride of an Isaurian, the fortunate Trascalisseus, who exchanged that barbarous sound for the Grecian appellation of Zeno,[2] under which he afterwards ascended the throne of his father-in-law.

His insurrection,

and death.

Accession of Leo II. A. D. 474. The reign of Leo continued seventeen years, and, though undistinguished by brilliant events, historians have concurred in bestowing upon him a title which has rarely been earned at so cheap a rate—it may be added, and the recollection is a melancholy one, at so small a sacrifice of human happiness. It is perhaps chiefly to distinguish him from the many other and more weak sovereigns who have borne the same name, that he is known as the Great. Before his death he associated with himself in the empire, the infant son of Zeno and his daughter Ariadne, a child scarcely six years of age. A single year after the decease of his grandfather terminated the rule of this unhappy boy. The title of Cæsar had already been bestowed upon Zeno, and the premature death of his son opened the way to a succession, contrary to the order of nature, and creating a very natural suspicion of the means by which it had been secured. The turbulent scenes which followed will find a more convenient place in another part of our narrative. We now return to the transactions of the Western Empire.

and of Zeno.

Avitus is raised to the throne by Theodoric, the Visigoth. A. D. 455. The next emperor owed his elevation to the partiality of the Gauls, and to the power of Theodoric, the king of the Visigoths. Maximus, to relieve his Italian government from the care of the provinces beyond the Alps, had nominated Avitus, a native of that country, to the command of the army, as well as to the administration of civil affairs,

[1] Cedrenus, p. 345. [2] Gibbon, c. xxxix.

in all the districts south of the Rhone and the Loire. The new master-general soon discovered that the Visigoths exercised, in the Gallic assembly, a degree of influence which entirely superseded the authority of the emperor, and, consequently, that it was more for his interest to stand well with the court of Toulouse than with the senate of Rome. Theodoric was at this time the sovereign of the Goths, having put to death his elder brother, the brave Torismond, who contributed so much to the success of his countrymen at the battle of Châlons. When the news reached Gaul that Maximus had fallen the victim of popular fury, the Gothic prince urged Avitus to assume the purple; promising not only to assist him with his arms in subduing the reluctance of the Romans, but also to promote his interests in Gaul and Spain, by waging war with the Suevi, and the other barbarous nations within the Pyrenees, who still refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the empire. The general hesitated until the consent of Marcian could be obtained; after which he allowed himself to be announced as the successor of Maximus, and, in due time, crossed the Alps to receive the congratulations of his people.[1] A. D. 455.



Avitus.

The short reign of this monarch derived its sole glory from the triumphs of Theodoric over Rechiarius, the king of the Suevi. Several sanguinary conflicts took place between these rivals, which ended in the entire defeat and death of the latter; but the success which attended the ally of the Romans did not materially strengthen their interests on either side of the Pyrenees, for the sovereign of the Visigoths looked rather to the extension of his own dominions than to the perpetuity of the imperial government. Avitus, on the other hand, possessed neither ambition nor activity sufficient to excite his vigilance or carry him into the field in person. He plunged, with an avidity unbecoming his age, into the luxuries and even the dissipation of the capital, and thereby soon dissolved the slight bonds which had united him with the affections of his people. The feelings of the senate, who had not been consulted in the elevation of the master-general of Gaul, were readily penetrated by Count Ricimer, the grandson of Wallia, king of the Visigoths; who, after having displayed his valour against a fleet of Vandals, which threatened the

Victories of Theodoric in Spain. A. D. 456.

[1] Sidon. Panegyr. Avit. v. 550; Sidon. lib. ii. c. ii.; Greg. Tour. lib. ii. c. ii.

A. D. 456. court of Italy, had just returned to Rome amidst the shouts of the populace. He was dissatisfied with the feeble administration of a prince who, on that side of the Alps, could not be viewed but as a usurper: for which reason he intimated to Avitus that it were wise for him to retire from the toils of government, and enter once more upon the enjoyment of a private life. The emperor was easily induced to exchange his throne for the chair of a bishop in the church of Placentia; but soon afterwards, when attempting to escape into Gaul, he was overtaken either by disease or by the hand of an assassin, and died before he could descend from the mountains into his native province of Auvergne.[1]

Death of Avitus. A. D. 456.

Elevation of Majorianus. A. D. 457.

Ricimer, whose barbarian origin might still have been viewed as an obstacle to the highest preferment, consulted the interests of his adopted country, by raising to the throne a true patriot and a distinguished soldier. Majorianus had been bred in the school of Ætius, to whom he was sincerely attached by the deepest sentiments of gratitude and respect, and to whose military reputation he had greatly contributed by his steady valour and professional knowledge. He had been recently appointed to the high office of master-general of the army, and was so much esteemed by all classes of the Romans, that the grandson of Wallia resolved, since he himself durst not aspire to the sovereign power, to gratify the wishes of the senate and people by supporting his election.[2]

The short reign of Majorianus is a bright spot amid the general gloom which dimmed the evening of the western empire. His contemporaries are loud and unanimous in his praise, and the panegyrics of the orators of the Court, which might not be admittted without very reasonable suspicion, are corroborated by the less-doubtful eulogies of disinterested historians. The epistle which the new emperor addressed to the senate, on his investiture with the purple at Ravenna, is still extant, and gives a fair promise of the exercise of those royal virtues in which Procopius assures us that the monarch in truth excelled all his predecessors.[3] In this letter he entreats assistance from the gods to guide him in his administration of that power to which indeed he had not aspired, but which he would have been forgetful of civic duties if he had refused when tendered. He calls upon the conscript fathers for support, and urges them to aid the prince whom they had created, and to join their efforts with his own in promoting the happiness of the empire. His sole denunciations are addressed to the base rabble of informers (*delatores*), who had long fattened on the richest blood of Rome. These he had condemned as a subject, and as a prince he determined to punish. "You now

His epistle to the senate.

[1] Jornand. de Reb. Get. c. xliv.; Sidon. Apoll. lib. ix.; Ep. xvi.; Chron. Idat. *sub ann.*; Greg. Tour. lib. ii. c. ii.; Sidon. Panegyr. Anthem. v. 302.

[2] Procop. de Bell. Vandal. lib. i. c. vii.; Sidon. Panegyr. Majorian. v. 107.

[3] De Bell. Vandal. lib. i. c. vii.

understand," concludes Majorianus, in this address worthy of the better times of his country, "the maxims of my government; you may confide in the faithful love and sincere assurances of a prince who has formerly been your companion, who still glories in the name of senator, and who is anxious that you should never repent of the judgment which you have pronounced in his favour."[1] A. D. 457.

His wise laws, and patriotic exertions.

The labours of Majorianus to revive the authority of law, to rekindle among the youth of Italy a martial spirit, and to arrest the decay of the imperial city, manifested a disposition which, had he succeeded immediately to the great Theodosius, might have preserved, during another century, the splendour of Rome and the integrity of the empire. But good laws were of little avail when opposed to universal corruption of manners; and the example of a warlike prince made no impression upon the minds of a people who were said to tremble at the sound of the trumpet. He was more successful in his endeavours to lessen and equalize the taxes, which in most places had become disproportionate to the ability of the inhabitants, as also in the plans which he adopted for restoring the coin to its proper weight and standard. The severest of his laws were directed against the dilapidation of the public edifices in Rome, which had lately suffered more from the hands of the citizens than from those of the barbarian conquerors; and he attempted, by similar means, to enforce the duties of marriage and of chastity, in order that the republic might be supplied with numerous subjects, trained up in virtuous maxims, and with a veneration for the manners of purer times.[2]

He prepares to invade Africa.

He carried his arms into Gaul, and gained several advantages over Theodoric, whom, however, he treated more like an ally than an enemy. He pursued his course across the Pyrenees, and restored to the obedience of the empire several nations of barbarian origin which affected independence. But his main object was the recovery of Africa, which was still held by Genseric and his Vandals; for he well knew that the Romans continued to regret exceedingly the loss of a province from which they had derived so much of their wealth and luxury. To accomplish this important end, Majorianus prepared a large fleet in the harbour of Carthagena, and collected a formidable army from among the Ostrogoths, the Rugians, the Burgundians, the Suevi, and the Alani, which he intended to embark with the first fair wind. But Genseric, who had tried all the arts of negotiation without success, was delivered from impending destruction by treachery on the part of the Romans themselves. Some disaffected individuals offered their service to the king of the Vandals, and enabled him to attack by surprise the immense flotilla which had excited his fears, and to destroy the greater number of the ships. This event contributed to shorten the reign of Majorianus. His various efforts to reform the abuses of the times had created in many quarters a strong

[1] Novel. lib. iv. p. 34. [2] Ibid. Majorian. tit. vi. ix.

A. D. 457. feeling of enmity; and Ricimer, who found his own power diminished by the genius of the emperor, agitated the inconstant passions of the people and urged them to demand an abdication. He had reached the foot of the Alps on his return towards Italy when the sedition which broke out in his camp dictated the step which it behoved him to take. He laid aside the purple without regret; and his death, said variously to have been the effect of disease, or of poison administered by command of Ricimer, followed at the distance of only five days.[1]

His abdication and death, August, A. D. 461.

Accession of Libius Severus.

The count again exercised his influence in the appointment of a sovereign; but remembering the error which he had committed on the former occasion, he selected a person who would neither oppose his measures nor eclipse his talents. Libius Severus is hardly mentioned in history except as the tool which Ricimer employed to cover his ambition and to accomplish its objects. It is not stated even how long he lived nor what was the manner of his death; but it is probable that he survived till A. D. 467, when Anthemius, recommended by the emperor of the East, was invited to occupy the Italian throne. The veil which Ricimer threw over his plot was so thin and transparent that his selfish motives were fully appreciated by most of the principal officers at home and in the provinces. Marcellinus in Dalmatia, for example, and Ægidius in Gaul, refused to acknowledge the authority of a prince who possessed no freedom either of thought or of action.

Insurrection of Marcellinus,

The former, who had not renounced paganism, exclusive of the ascendency which he had established by great military prowess, and by learning extraordinary in a soldier, was regarded with a superstitious reverence by the adherents of the abolished worship, as being gifted with mysterious powers of divination. Prompted more, doubtless, by his natural sagacity than by any supernatural assistance from the gods whom he supported, Marcellinus had early placed himself beyond the reach of the tyranny of Valentinianus. The mild sway of Majorianus had retained him in nominal obedience to the empire; but the death of that prince, and the treacherous artifices by which Ricimer endeavoured to seduce his mercenaries from their fidelity, at length compelled him to assert his independence, and quitting his government of Sicily, he established himself as sovereign of Dalmatia. The Adriatic was swept by his fleets, and his power was acknowledged by an embassy from Leo, who prevailed upon him to leave the Romans unmolested. Ægidius, the master-general of Gaul, denounced Ricimer as the murderer of his sovereign. Beyond the Alps he remained in security, and, during an interval of four years, he presented the singular spectacle of a Roman king on the throne of the Franks, that people having elected him on the banish-

and of Ægidius.

[1] Procop. de Bell. Vandal. lib. i. c. viii.; Idat. Chron. *sub ann.*; Sidon. lib. i. Ep. ii.

ment of Childeric. The restoration of the native prince terminated the royalty but not the power of Ægidius, and he continued to defy the open violence with which Ricimer was desirous to overwhelm him, till, as was confidently believed by his friends, he fell a victim to the secret and more sure arts of poison. A. D. 461.

Piracies of the Vandals.

But the evil which pressed with the greatest severity on the government of Severus was the incessant hostility of the Vandals; who, being masters of the sea and accustomed to live on plunder, equipped every year a predatory armament and laid the shores of Italy under contribution. Having no fleet, Ricimer could not meet the pirates before they landed, nor even anticipate the spot against which they might direct their force; and as the barbarians generally embarked horsemen as well as foot soldiers in their ships, they spread their ravages along the coast with incredible rapidity, and set at defiance the most diligent movements of a regular army. It was a consideration of these circumstances which induced the count to apply to Leo, then on the throne of Constantinople, to assume the administration of the west, or to nominate a prince with whom he might be pleased to co-operate in the defence of the Italian provinces.[1] This step appeared the more necessary, as Genseric, whose eldest son had obtained the hand of Eudoxia, the daughter of Valentinianus, perpetrated his attacks on the Roman territory under the specious claim of an hereditary right now vested in his family.

Accession of Anthemius. A. D. 467.

Leo, whose importance was not a little increased by this application, made choice of Anthemius, an officer of great wealth, and who had married one of the daughters of the emperor Marcianus. The election of the Eastern monarch was approved by the senate of Rome, and Anthemius, who repaired to his capital with great pomp, was solemnly inaugurated in the month of April 467. Ricimer, the malign influence of whose ambition had blasted the prosperity of the two former reigns, was gratified by becoming the son-in-law of the new sovereign; an event which was regarded by all as likely to prove a firm basis of security and happiness to the state.[2]

Expedition into Africa.

Preparations were now made in both empires for the reduction of the Vandalic power in Africa, which the enterprising spirit of Genseric had rendered so formidable. Constantinople sent forth eleven hundred and thirteen ships, on board of which the number of soldiers and mariners amounted to more than a hundred thousand. Marcellinus, too, who made haste to offer his allegiance to Anthemius, appeared in the Adriatic with a considerable fleet, well manned with experienced sailors. But the command of this important expedition was intrusted to Basiliscus, the brother-in-law of Leo, whose want of ability or of heartiness in the cause rendered the whole abortive. He landed at a convenient fort about forty miles from Carthage, where,

[1] Sidon. Panegyr. Anthem. v. 317; Procop. de Bell. Vandal. lib. i. c. vi.
[2] Sidon. Panegyr. Anthem. v. 67.

A. D. 467. being supported by Marcellinus and by the præfect Heraclius, who had crossed the Desert from the borders of Egypt, he gained several advantages over the Vandals. Had he pushed on to the capital and availed himself of the consternation into which the inhabitants were thrown, he might have terminated the campaign by extinguishing the kingdom of Genseric; but being betrayed by the wily barbarian into a negotiation, he gradually forfeited all his advantages, saw the natives recover their confidence, while his own soldiers were surrounded with difficulties which increased every day. At length the plan, meditated by Genseric during this hollow truce, was ready to be accomplished. The wind shifted round to a favourable point; when, having filled some of his largest vessels with combustibles, he ran them, under the cloud of night, into the centre of the imperial fleet, and produced a general conflagration. A fearful carnage ensued both on board the galleys and on the adjoining shore, and thousands escaped from the flames only to fall into the hands of an infuriated enemy. Basiliscus himself, with part of his ships, reached the straits of the Hellespont, where he was received with the utmost indignation and scorn. More than half of the seamen and troops whom he had under his command were left on the coast of Africa, either to perish in an unequal war with barbarians, or to linger out a miserable life in the most revolting servitude. The brother of the empress took refuge in one of the churches of Constantinople, until her tears had softened the resentment of Leo, who saw, in the triumph of the Vandals, the disgrace of the east and the speedy extinction of the western empire. The brave Heraclius fell back into the Desert, and effected his retreat to the province of Cyrene; while Marcellinus, whose fleet appears to have suffered less than that of the Greeks, sailed back to the island of Sicily, where he was soon afterwards assassinated.[1]

Defeat of the Romans.

Policy of Genseric.

This attempt to subdue the Vandals only added to their strength and increased their enmity. They immediately resumed their piratical war along the coasts of Italy, Greece, and the Lesser Asia, subjected the islands of the Mediterranean to their dominion, and extended their establishments on the African shore towards the mouth of the Nile. But the policy of Genseric did not confine itself to the resources of his own kingdom. He entered into an alliance with the Visigoths in Spain, whose ambition he frequently directed to the accomplishment of objects closely connected with his peculiar interests. His marriage with a daughter of Theodoric, the successor of Alaric, admitted him to the councils of the court of Toulouse; while his power at sea recommended him as a useful ally in every attempt made by his brothers-in-law on the Spanish provinces, which they eagerly desired to incorporate with their territory at the foot of the Pyrenees.[2]

[1] Procop. lib. i. c. vi.; Theophanes, p. 99; Zonar. lib. xiv.
[2] Procop. de Bell. Vandal. lib. i. c. vi.

A. D. 467. Progress of the Goths in Gaul and Spain.

After the death of Majorianus the power of the Visigoths extended rapidly both in Gaul and in Spain. The unpopularity of the government exercised by Ricimer, during the reign of Severus, had alienated from the empire the important district which was placed under the inspection of Ægidius; and the accession of Anthemius, so far from reviving the authority of Rome beyond the Alps, rather gave spirit to the Goths and increased the despair of the provincials. Euric, the third son of the first Theodoric, had ascended the throne of Toulouse by the murder of his brother, and already made great progress in the reduction of Spain. Having crossed the Pyrenees with a large army, he defeated the chiefs of the various nations into which that country was then divided; and carrying his conquests to the shores of the Western Ocean, he laid the foundations of the Gothic monarchy, the fortunes of which form so interesting an episode in the history of Europe. His success in Gaul was hardly less brilliant; and had he not been opposed by the fortifications of some of the stronger cities in the south, he would have rendered himself master of all the frontier provinces, and thereby cut off the connection between Rome and the best of her Transalpine dependencies.[1]

Disputes between Anthemius and Ricimer.

The weakness of the imperial government was still further increased by the dissensions which prevailed between Anthemius and his son-in-law Ricimer. The latter, who seemed determined to rule, whoever should be on the throne, finding himself thwarted by the obstinacy of the emperor, withdrew from Rome and fixed his head-quarters at Milan, where he might be ready to intrigue with his warlike countrymen who occupied the extensive region between the Alps and the Danube. To avert the evils which could not fail to attack a divided country, the Bishop of Pavia interposed his good office with the view of effecting a reconciliation; but although both parties professed a readiness to sacrifice personal feeling to the public good, it was obvious that neither was sincere, and that each would embrace the earliest opportunity for crushing the other. Ricimer, accordingly, as soon as his plans were matured, advanced towards the capital with an army of barbarians, prepared to depose Anthemius and to establish a successor.[2]

Ricimer proposes Olybrius as emperor.

The candidate selected on this occasion by the factious count possessed some claims to the dignity to which he was taught to aspire. Olybrius, for this was his name, had married Placidia, the youngest daughter of Valentinianus, who was carried away captive from Rome by Genseric A. D. 455, and afterwards restored with her mother Eudoxia to the court of Constantinople. His pretensions were supported by the Vandals, who had suddenly become the advocates of hereditary right, and by Leo, who, for some reason which is not recorded, had withdrawn his favour from Anthemius. But the senate

[1] Jornand. de Reb. Get. c. xliv. &c.

[2] Zonar. lib. xiv.

A. D. 467. and people, jealous of the restless spirit of Ricimer, and unwilling that their ancient sceptre should be transferred from hand to hand at his pleasure, shut their gates against him, and expressed their resolution to submit to the horrors of a civil war rather than to his haughty dictation.[1]

Siege of Rome, and death of Anthemius. A. D. 472.

The siege of Rome, which continued three months, terminated once more in the sack of the city and in the death of the emperor. Cruelty and intemperance disgraced the triumph of Ricimer; and the successor of Anthemius ascended the throne amidst the tears and execrations of the whole people. Nor did Olybrius long possess the dignity which was purchased by him at the expense of so much blood and desolation, for about three months after his entry into the capital over the bodies of the citizens, he was carried out a corpse, leaving only one child, a daughter, the offspring of his marriage with Placidia. The turbulent Ricimer had paid the debt of nature a short time previously; but as if with the view of perpetuating the power of his family and the means of disturbing the government, he left the command of the army to his nephew Gundobald, a Burgundian prince, who had assisted him in the reduction of Rome.

Death of Olybrius. Accession of Glycerius, A. D. 473,

In virtue of the right which thus appeared to descend to him, the young soldier elevated to the supreme authority an obscure person whose name was Glycerius, and who possessed none of the qualities which could recommend him to the nation over which he was appointed to rule. But in the mean time the court of the East had chosen for the successor of Olybrius a relative of the empress and a nephew of Marcellinus, and sent him at the head of a respectable force to demand

and of Julius Nepos, A. D. 474.

the allegiance of his Italian subjects. Julius Nepos, upon his arrival at Ravenna, found that the active policy of Gundobald had anticipated the more leisurely decisions of Leo, and that it might be necessary to fight for the occupation of a throne which he had been invited to accept. It soon appeared, however, that as Glycerius had not acquired any hold upon the affections of the Romans, and as the Burgundian prince was called away by the duties of his station beyond the Alps, the dangers of the field might be averted by a private negotiation. The emperor of the West accepted the bishopric of Salona, and willingly resigned to Nepos the cares and perils of royalty.[2]

The new reign promised happiness and security to the empire, and began to remove those painful apprehensions which clouded the views of every patriot relative to its independence and perpetuity. The Visigoths, it is true, pursued their course of victory in Gaul, and had already seized upon the finest provinces of that country; but as their ambition was soothed in the mean time by the cession of Auvergne, a sacrifice which could no longer be withheld, it was hoped that they

[1] Priscus, Excerpt. Legat. p. 74; Procop. de Bell. Vandal. lib. i. c. vi.
[2] Sidon. lib. v. Ep. xvi.

would, in return, prove a barrier against the inroad of more hostile barbarians who continued to advance from the North. These visions of tranquillity were not realized. The mixed army, raised for the defence of Italy and recruited chiefly in the countries between the Alps and the Danube, was always more ready to obey the command of one of their own blood than that of any puppet which might be set up to occupy the imperial throne. Orestes had served under Attila, and even represented his sovereign in repeated embassies to the court of Constantinople. Upon the death of that renowned autocrat, the Pannonian chief transferred his allegiance to the kings of Rome, to whose fortunes he adhered with laudable constancy, and even received from the hands of Nepos himself the dignity of patrician and the office of master-general of the troops, cavalry and infantry. It is extremely doubtful whether the seditious impulse began with the commander or with the soldiers; but before any assistance could be procured from the East, Orestes was on his march towards Ravenna to terminate the reign of the effeminate Greek. Julius fled to Dalmatia, where he appears to have resumed, during two or three years, the government of his principality, and afterwards to have fallen by the hand of an assassin.[1]

A. D. 474.

Insurrection of Orestes.

Death of Julius Nepos.

Orestes, now the master of Italy, refused the purple, which, however, he allowed to be conferred upon his son Augustulus, the last emperor of the West. But although the general might be satisfied with his distribution of honour and power, the troops who accomplished the revolution complained that their interests had not been consulted in the settlement of affairs. They, therefore, insisted that one-third part of Italy should be assigned to them as a permanent residence,—a grant which they maintained to be necessary to place them on an equal footing with their countrymen in Gaul, Africa, and Spain. Orestes, who figured to himself the misery which must result from the expatriation of so large a number of the inhabitants, refused to comply with the demand of his barbarian mercenaries; upon which they turned their eyes to Odoacer, an ambitious partisan, who encouraged their importunity and promised them success.[2]

Accession of Augustulus. A. D. 475.

Odoacer was the son of Edecon, the ambassador of Attila, who at the court of Theodosius listened to the proposal of Chrysaphius to take away the life of his master. It must for ever remain doubtful whether the colleague of Orestes, on that remarkable occasion, was seduced even for a moment from his duty to the king of the Huns, or whether he did not, from the very first, intend to expose the duplicity of the imperial ministers. At all events the subsequent conduct of Edecon justifies the more favourable alternative, as he adhered to the cause of Attila when it was most depressed, and fell in battle with the flower of his tribe in a last effort

Conduct of Odoacer.

[1] Ennod. in Sirmon. tom. i. p. 1665; Malch. apud Phot.

[2] Procop. de Bell. Goth. lib. i. c. i.

A. D. 475. to support the family of his sovereign against the overwhelming power of the Ostrogoths. His two sons Onulf and Odoacer became soldiers of fortune, and obtained an honourable service in the armies of the empire. The latter, in particular, rose to a high rank in the Guards, and was at length appointed general of those united bands, the Heruli, the Alani, the Scyrri, and the Rugians, which at the period in question constituted the military force of Italy. When opposed by Orestes in their demand for a grant of territory, they assembled round the standard of Odoacer, and marched to attack the patrician in the palace of his son. Orestes fled to Pavia, whither he was pursued and

His success. finally put to death. A battle was fought near the walls of Ravenna, in which the loyal troops were beaten or dispersed, and Augustulus was obliged to throw himself on the clemency of the conqueror.[1]

We are unacquainted with the reasons which induced Odoacer to decline the gift of sovereign power, which his triumphant followers urged him to accept. The melancholy fate of all the successors of Valentinianus might indeed have taught him that the throne of the West could no longer be held with safety, except by a prince who should lead his life in a camp and convert his subjects once more into Roman soldiers. The jealousy, too, of imperial authority, which had sunk deeply into the minds of the barbarian chiefs, and which was certainly the reason why Ricimer and Orestes chose to rule through the medium of a second person, might have no small influence in deterring the son of Edecon from an experiment which had proved so fatal to others. But he had resolved that no one else should enjoy the preferment which he deemed it expedient to refuse. He provided liberally for the youth whom he had stripped of the purple, and bestowed upon him one of the villas of Lucullus, on the beautiful coast of Campania; after which he made known his determination that Augustulus should have no successor, but that the imperial

Extinction of the Western empire. dignity in the West should be brought to a close. The Eastern emperor, after some hesitation, acceded to this proposal, allowed

A. D. 476. himself to be addressed as sole monarch of the Roman world, and finally received from the hands of the ambassadors, sent by the senate, the imperial insignia and the ornaments of the palace, which were no longer required for the more humble office of a deputy or vicegerent.

Odoacer establishes himself in Italy. These envoys were instructed to inform Zeno, now on the throne of Constantinople, that the senators of Rome were decidedly of opinion that one emperor was sufficient for the government both of the East

A. D. 476. and of the West,—that they had the utmost confidence in the talents of Odoacer as a commander and as a statesman,—and that as they now relinquished the privilege of choosing their own ruler, they petitioned that he would be pleased to invest him with the title of patrician, and to intrust to his administration the provinces of Italy.[2]

[1] Ennod. in Vit. Epiphan. tom. i. p. 1669.

[2] Cassiod. Chron. A. D. 476; Malch. in Excerpt. Legat. p. 93.

Were it not that the Romans, towards the end of the fifth century, A. D. 476. had ceased to appreciate or to be worthy of the blessings of liberty, no reader could peruse the narrative which we have just concluded without the deepest emotion. But the spirit of patriotism and the love of independence had been long unknown on the banks of the Tiber, or on the shores of the Adriatic; and the extinction of the Western Empire resembled the death of a man whose vital powers had been gradually oppressed by an irresistible disease, and who at length shut his eyes upon the sun, the light of which he could not any longer endure.



The Ruins of Rome.

CHRONOLOGY OF ROME.

A.D.
69 *Flavius Vespasian* succeeds Vitellius, Dec. 22.
His accession is the commencement of a happy and prosperous period.
[The senate not only conferred upon Vespasian the imperial title, with a specific enumeration of powers, but released him from all the laws from which Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius had been released.]
The Capitol rebuilt.
Purgation of the senate by Vespasian.
Re-establishment of prætorian discipline.
Batavian war, which lasts a year.
70 Cerealis conquers the Batavians under Civilis, Classicus, and Tutor.
Titus succeeds his father in Judea.
Jerusalem taken and destroyed.
Julius Sabinus assumes the title Cæsar in Gaul; he is defeated by the Sequani, and compelled to hide himself (79.)
Several of Nero's laws repealed.
Astrologers banished from Rome.
The Colosseum of Vespasian commenced (80.)
71 Vespasian and Titus celebrate their victories by a triumph.
Temple of Janus closed.
Temple of Peace commenced (75).
Opposition of Priscus to Vespasian.
Flavius Josephus flourishes.
72 Vespasian empowers Pætus to act against Antiochus and Arsaces.
73 Byzantium taken by the Romans.
Rhodes, Samos, Lycia, Cilicia, Thrace, &c., under Roman governors.
Exile and subsequent execution of Priscus.
74 Census—the last made in Rome.
75 Office of Censor abolished.
Completion of the Temple of Peace.
76 Adrian born at Rome, Jan. 24, (117).
77 A pestilence at Rome.—Eusebius.
Agricola elected consul.
Anacletus, bishop of Rome.
78 Rebuilding of the Capitol.
Agricola in Britain (85).
Tacitus marries the daughter of Agricola.
79 Julius Sabinus and his wife Epponina discovered and put to death (70).
Conspiracy of Cæcina and Marcellus.
Death of Vespasian, June 24, aged 69.
Titus Flavius Vespasian succeeds:—he is better known as *Titus*.
He rules with moderation; punishes informers; and relieves the poor.
[Thus his conduct proved an agreeable surprise to those who had anticipated a return of the times of Nero.]
Eruption of Mount Vesuvius, and earthquake; Herculanæum, Pompeii, and Stabiæ destroyed; the elder Pliny suffocated, Aug. 24, aged 56.
A pestilence succeeds the eruption.
80 Fire at Rome, which lasts three days; the Capitol is again destroyed.
The Colosseum and baths completed (70.)
Games of Titus for 100 days.

A.D.
80 Splendid Paintings in Titus's bath.
Several public works; the Capitol, Thermæ aqueducts, roads, &c.
81 Titus dies of fever, Sep. 13; his brother *Flavius Domitian* succeeds, by whom the censorship is re-introduced (75.)
The "*Judicia Majestatis*," revived (23).
Epictetus, Quintillian, Flaccus, Martial, Apollonius, Juvenal the satirist, Tacitus the hist., and others, fl. about this time.
Ignatius and Papias flourish.
82 The Capitol is again restored.
Silius Italicus, the historical poet, flourishes.
83 War carried on in North Britain.
Domitian's expedition against the Chatti.
84 Triumph of Domitian, called Germanicus.
Plutarch lectures at Rome.
85 Agricola recalled from Britain.
Amphitheatre of Verona, so capacious that it accommodates 22,000 persons.
86 Revival of the Capitoline games (387).
War with the Dacians and others.
Birth of Antoninus Pius at Lanuvium, September 19, (138.)
88 War with the Marcomanni.
The secular games celebrated.
89 Quintillian teaches at Rome.
90 Domitian makes peace with the Dacians, &c.
Expulsion of the philosophers from Rome.
Statius, Dio Chrysostom, &c., flourish, (81.)
91 Triumph of Domitian at Rome.
Revolt of L. Antonius in Germany suppressd.
Clement, bishop of Rome.
Cerinthus denies the divinity of Christ.
92 The vestal Cornelia buried alive.
93 *The Sarmatian War.*
Death of Agricola, Aug. 23, aged 55.
Death of Josephus, the Jewish hist., aged 56.
94 Epictetus, the Phrygian Stoic, flourishes.
95 Conspiracy of Celsus, the jurist.
Second persecution of the Christians.
John banished to the Isle of Patmos.
Domitian puts the consul Clemens, his own cousin, to death for *Atheism*, *i.e.* a rejection of Paganism.
His wife is banished for the same crime.
The Jews are also persecuted.
96 Assassination of Domitian by Stephanus.
Nerva succeeds to the purple.
Informers persecuted; the poor relieved; retrenchments in the expenditure of the State; making of Eunuchs forbidden, &c.
Evaristus, bishop of Rome (? 100.)
97 Nerva adopts Trajanus M. Ulpius.
Martyrdom of Timothy.
Return of John from Patmos.
98 Sudden death of Nerva, Jan. 25 or 27.
Trajan succeeds (97.)
[Though not a man of letters, Trajan had good sense, a knowledge of the world, and a sound judgment.]
Deification of Nerva.
The profession of buffoon in the Roman theatre abolished by Trajan.

98 Birth of Irenæus.—Dodwell (140.)
Christian assemblies prohibited.
Christmas-day first celebrated.
99 Restoration of the Roman Constitution:—the *Judicia Majestatis* abolished (23.)
Plutarch, Trajan's preceptor, flourishes.
Public schools and libraries; care of the poor; State bounty for children.
The Ulpian Library founded.
100 Banishment of Priscus.
Martial removes to his native place (43.)
Death of St. John at Ephesus.
The three Schools of Gnostics, viz., Syria, Asia Minor, and Egypt, at this time.
Saturninus, the Syrian Gnostic, flourishes.
Post-chaises in use.—Aurelius Victor (7.)
101 Revolt of the Dacians.
"Life of Agricola," by Tacitus; also
The "Panegyrics" of Pliny the younger.
103 Public works:—circus enlarged; public roads; harbour at Civita Vecchia, &c.
Pliny proprætor of Pontica.
Official report of Pliny to the emperor respecting the persecution of the Christians.
Nero's golden palace burnt (64.)
The Dacians subdued; peace granted to Decebulus (106.)
Trajan's triumph; great rejoicings in Rome; 1000 gladiators fight.
104 Second Dacian war.
Forum Trajanum, Segovian aqueducts, splendid edifices, bridges, and other works—Apollodorus, of Athens, architect.
105 New coinage; bridge over the Danube; road across the Pomptine marshes commenced; theatres; private mansions; and other extensive works in progress.
Palma's victories in Arabia Petrea.
Appian, the historian, flourishes.
106 Final subjugation of the Dacians; death of Decebulus (103.)
Daciæ becomes *a Roman province.*
Second triumph of Trajan.
War with Parthia and Media: Trajan proceeds to the East.
Plutarch, the moralist, &c., still flourishes.
107 Armenia and part of Arabia Petrea conquered (105.)
Public works of Trajan continued.
Earthquake in Asia and Greece; eight cities destroyed.
Third persecution of the Christians.
109 Alexander I., bishop of Rome.
Rise of the sects—Nazarenes and Ebionites.
113 Trajan's Pillar in the forum at Rome.
114 The Teutones in Illyria subdued.
The Parthian War (116.)
P. Ælius Adrianus, legate (76, 117.)
115 Earthquake; Antioch destroyed.
Armenia and Mesopotamia conquered, and formed into a Roman province (117.)
The martyrdom of Ignatius at Antioch; he is torn by wild beasts.
Victories of Trajan over the Assyrians and Parthians.
Rise of the sect "Elcesaitæ."
Sedition of Jews in Egypt and Cyrene.
116 Ctesiphon seized; Parthia subdued.
Revolt of Parthia and Assyria.
The Jewish sedition suppressed (115.)
117 Trajan dies in Cilicia on his return from Arabia, Aug. 9, aged 65.

117 *Adrian* succeeds Trajan, Aug. 11.
[He was superstitiously devoted to divination, magic, and pagan ceremonies.]
Adrian makes peace with the Parthians.
Suetonius, Adrian's secretary and historian, flourishes.
Armenia and Mesopotamia declared indep.
The title *Pater Patriæ*, conferred upon Adrian by the Senate, not assumed by him till 126 or 128.
118 Triumph of Adrian at Rome.
Peace with the Roxolani, &c.
Conspiracy against Adrian frustrated.
He endeavours to conciliate the favour both of the people and of the Senate.
Fourth persecution of the Christians.
119 Sixtus I., bishop of Rome (128.)
Basilides, the Egyptian Gnostic, flourishes.
120 Remission of public debts.
Death of Euphrates, the Stoic philosopher.
Adrian commences a tour of the provinces: Gaul and Germany.
121 Adrian's tour: Britain, Spain.
Birth of Aurelius Antoninus on the Cælian hill, April 20 (161.)
122 Adrian's tour: Africa, Asia.
Carpocrates, the Gnostic, founder of the Carpocratians, flourishes at Alexandria.
123 Adrian's tour: Western Asia, &c.
End of the Emperor's provincial tour.
Adrian at Athens till 126; he gives new laws to the Athenians, and promotes the welfare and grandeur of the city.
Birth of Cleionus Commodus, son of Aurelius Verus, Dec. 15.
Ptolemy, the geographer, flourishes (138.)
126 Adrian at Rome—*Pater Patriæ* (?128.)
Birth of Pertinax (193.)
Earthquake in Cesarea, Nicea, Nicomedia.
128 Trajan assumes the title *Pater Patriæ* (117.)
Telesphorus, bishop of Rome (139.)
129 Adrian dedicates the temple of the Olympian Zeus at Athens.
He proceeds on a journey to the East.
Birth of Aristides at Adriani.
130 Wise, just, and humane measures of Adrian on his eastern tour.
Adrian in Syria; he provokes a rebellion of the Jews by founding the colony of Ælia Capitolina in Jerusalem.
Godfathers and godmothers first introduced at baptism. (?)
Birth of Galen, the physician (152, 200.)
131 Adrian arrives at Rome.
He builds the temple of Venus.
132 The *Edictum Perpetuum*, compiled by Salvius Julianus, and published by the authority of the Emperor Adrian.
Florus, Roman historian, flourishes.
Rebellion of Barchochebas in Judea.
Adrian conciliates the Albanians.
Adrian at Athens.
133 Conversion of Justin Martyr.
Agrippa, Castor, and Polemo flourish.
134 Adrian in Egypt, Palestine, &c.
135 End of the Jewish war.
Adrian rebuilds Ælia Capitolina, and erects a temple to Jupiter on Mount Calvary, and a temple to Adonis over the "Manger of Bethlehem." (See Palestine.)
Verus adopted by Adrian.
Arrian governor of Cappadocia.

136 Adrian adopts Commodus, the father of Aurelius Verus (161.)
137 Servianus and Fuscus put to death.
The festival of Christmas is begun to be observed on the 25th December (98.)
138 Death of Verus on the 1st of January (135.)
Adrian adopts I. Æ. Antoninus, Feb. 25.
Death of Adrian at Baiæ, July 2, aged 62.
Antoninus Pius succeeds, July 10.
[The reign of this prince, which lasted 22 years, was characterized for great national prosperity—the result of his wise, equitable, and peaceable policy.]
139 The title of Pope first assumed by the bishop of Rome.
Hyginus, bishop of Rome (142.)
Valentinus, of Egypt, the Gnostic, fl.
Marriage of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina, daughter of the emperor.
Annual fasts, as Lent, &c., first introduced into the Christian church.
140 Death of Plutarch about this time.
Birth of Irenæus.—Massuet (97.)
[Dodwell's date is, without doubt, too early, and it is probable that Massuet has placed the event too low. ? 120.]
141 Death of Faustina (139.)
Roman conquests in Britain.
Cerdo, the Italian Gnostic, comes to Rome.
142 The Christians persecuted.
Pius I. bishop of Rome (157.)
Justin Martyr flourishes; he writes his first "Apology" about this year (? 151.)
143 Herodes and Aristocles (Greeks) flourish.
145 Diodorus, Phlegon, and Ptolemy (Gr.) fl.
146 Birth of Severus in Africa, April 11.
147 Tribunitian power assumed by Aurelius.
Celebration of the nine hundredth A. U. C.
148 The Decennalia celebrated by Aurelius.
Hermogenes, of Tarsus, born.
149 Marcion broaches strange opinions (see 156.)
150 Telephus, the grammarian, flourishes.
151 Justin Martyr's first "Apology."—Clinton.
152 Antoninus's rescript to the proconsul of Asia in favour of the Christians.
Galen, of Pergamus, the celebrated physician, flourishes at Rome (130.)
Hegisippus, ecclesiastical historian, fl.
Council of Pergamus agt. the Colorbasians.
153 Lollius Urbicus governs in Britain.
Arrian, Aulius Gellius, Justin, flourish.
The Adamites, Sethians, Cainites, Prodicians, and Ophites, lesser sects of Gnostics, have their rise about this time.
154 Justin Martyr's "Dialogue with Trypho, the Jew," probably about this time.
Birth of Bardesanes, the Gnostic, July 11.
155 Birth of Dion Cassius, the historian.
156 Conspiracy and death of Atilius Titianus.
Marcion, the Italian Gnostic, native of Sinopë, Asia Minor, and disciple of Cerdo (141), founds the sect of Marcionites.
157 Anicetus, bishop of Rome (168.)
158 Ptolemy, of Alexandria, the greatest astronomer and geographer of his time, still fl.
159 Varus of Perga; Hephæstion, grammarian; Philager and Alexander, sophists (Gr.) fl.
Return of Galen to Pergamus (152.)
160 Secundus, Marcus, Ptolemy, Heracleon, and Colobarsus, disciples of the Egyptian Gnostic, Valentinus, flourish (139.)
161 Birth of Commodus at Lanuvium (180.)
161 Death of Antoninus at Lorium, March 7, aged 75; he is succeeded by
Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, the philosopher.
L. Aurelius Verus (Ceionus Commodus) is associated in the government.
Outbreak of the Parthians.
Aristides and his preceptor, Alexander of Cotiæum, visits Rome. The ten years'
Sickness of Aristides begins this year.
162 The Parthians carry on war against Rome.
Irruption of the Chatti on the Rhine.
Justin Martyr's second "Apology."
Verus goes against the Parthians.
The Roman jurist, Caius, flourishes.
[Author of the "Institutes," from which the Justinian code was chiefly compiled.]
163 Death of Ptolemy, of Pelusium.
Polyænus, the jurist (Greek) flourishes.
164 Verus comes to Ephesus to meet his bride, Lucilla, daughter of Antoninus.
Birth of Macrinus, the emperor (217.)
Justin Martyr's death.
Galen again at Rome.
165 Seleucia sacked and burnt.
War against Parthia terminated.
Lucian and Apuleius, satirists (Greek) fl.
Nicostratus and Iamblichus flourish.
166 Triumph of the two emperors.
Pillar of Antoninus erected.
Approach of the Marcomanni; they come as far as Aquileia.
The emperors proceed against Rome.
Sextus, the Stoic of Chæronæa, flourishes.
Martyrdom of Polycarp.—Fynes Clinton.
167 Slaughter of 400,000 persons in Seleucia, by order of Cassius, Roman general.
Submission of the Marcomanni.
Pestilence in Rome.
Martyrdom of Polycarp (? 166.)
Tatian, the Assyrian, returns to Syria, and founds the Gnostic sect, "Encratitæ."
Baptismal fonts (baptistires) introduced.
[Before this period baptism was performed in lakes, ponds, streams, or rivers.]
168 The two emperors at Rome.
Soter, bishop of Rome.
Lucian and Apelles, Italian Gnostics, disciples of Marcion (156) flourish.
169 War with the Marcomanni.
Death of Verus at Ætinum.
The emperor Antoninus prosecutes the war.
Straitened circumstances of the empire, from the continuance of war.
171 Montanus, founder of the "Montanists," begins to publish his opinions in Phrygia.
172 Herodian, the grammarian, flourishes.
173 Apollinaris, of Hierapolis, in Phrygia, fl.
Council of Hierapolis, agst. the Monatists.
174 Defeat of the Quadi; the miracle of the thundering legion.
Peace with the Marcomanni.
Pausanias, the first writer of travels, &c. fl.
Plague and famine in Europe and Asia.
175 Rebellion of Cassius in Syria, resulting from the intrigues of Faustina.
Assassination of Cassius.
Death of the empress Faustina.
Aurelius Antoninus proceeds to the East.
176 Aurelius Antoninus celebrates a triumph on his return to Rome, in December.
Commodus united in the government.
Alexander, the peripatetic, fl. at Damascus.

177 Marriage of Commodus and Crispina.
General remission of taxes.
Outbreaks in Germany; the emperor and his son proceed thither.
Phrynicus and Pollux flourish.
Horrid persecutions of the Christians at Lyons and Vienna; martyrdom of Pothinus, bp. of Lyons; Irenæus succeeds him.
Eleutherus, bishop of Rome (189.)
The "Apology" and death of Athenagoras, an Athenian philosopher, who had become a Christian.
178 War with the Marcomanni.
Ælian, the historian, flourishes.
Athenagoras's treatise on the Resurrection.
179 The Marcomanni defeated.
Chrestus and Adrian, the sophists, flourish.
180 The "Antonines," or *philosophic emperors*, cease with Marcus Aurelius.
Death of M. Aurelius at Sirmium, March 17, aged 59; his son
T. Commodus, succeeds—in whose reign Rome becomes a military despotism; as the prætorians obtain almost exclusive power to dispose of the empire to the highest purchaser.
Inroads of the Bastarnæ, Alani, and other barbarians into Dacia.
The imperial plate sold for carrying on the wars; the finances in disorder; Commodus's peruke is powdered with gold dust.
181 Three works by Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, dedicated to Antolytus.
Five books against Heresies, by Irenæus.
Severus, the Syrian Gnostic, and founder of the sect "Severians," flourishes.
Rise of the "Millenarii," sect of Montanists.
182 Roman arms successful against the revolters in Britain and Dacia.
Irenæus's two letters:—on "Schism" to Blastus, and on "Monarchy" to Florinus.
Hermogenes, an African heretic, flourishes.
183 Plot of Lucilla against the life of the emperor (her brother) frustrated; she is exiled and put to death.
From this time the conduct of Commodus is almost unparalleled for cruelty, debauchery, vanity, and folly.
184 Victories in North Britain.
Herodian, the historian, begins to flourish.
Scripture Concordance, by Theophilus.
185 The sophists, Pausanias of Cappadocia, and Athenedorus, flourish.
Birth of Origen in Egypt.
[His works were so numerous that some assert he wrote 6000 volumes.]
186 Commodus sacrifices Perennis at the instigation of the British legions (F. C. 185.)
Miltiades, a Christian writer, flourishes.
187 The Abaci (side-boards) first introduced into Rome from Asia.
"On the Ogdoad," and "On Knowledge," two tracts, by Irenæus (178.)
188 Birth of Bassianus (Caracalla) son of Septimus Severus, April 6 (211.)
Theodotus, a tanner of Byzantium, founds the sect of the Theodotians (208.)
189 Birth of Geta at Milan, May 27 (212.)
Cleander, the appointed successor of Peresinis in Britain, is torn in pieces by the Roman populace.
Victor I. bishop of Rome (202) ? 192.
190 Rise of the *Eclectic* sect of philosophers:—Potamo flourishes at Alexandria.
191 Fire at Rome, by which some of the works of Galen and other writers are destroyed.
Name of Hercules assumed by Commodus.
192 Murder of Commodus, Dec. 31.
Roman civilization declines—succeeding to the decline in morals and religion.
Birth of Philostratus of Lemnos.
Demetrius, of Alexandria, and Seraion, of Antioch, flourish.
193 *P. H. Pertinax* reluctantly accepts the imperial throne, Jan. 1.
He proposes reforms obnoxious to the licentious and brutal soldiery.
Murder of Pertinax and the chamberlain, Eclectus, March 28.
M. Didius Julianus purchases the throne from the prætorian guards, April 13.
Severus declared a public enemy.
The prætorian guards submit to Severus.
Julianus put to death by command of the senate, June 1, aged 63.
Septimus Severus, emperor.
The murderers of Pertinax put to death; largesses freely bestowed, &c.
Pescennius Niger proclaimed emperor at Antioch in Syria.
Pretensions of Clodius Albinus in Gaul.
Severus proceeds against Pescennius.
Byzantium besieged by Severus (196.)
Galen, now in his 64th yr., delivers lectures.
194 Defeats of Pescennius at Nicea and Issus.
He and all his family put to death at Antioch.
Clemens Alexandrinus, presbyter, fl.
195 Severus ravages the countries bordering on the Euphrates.
Apollonius, of Athens, and Heraclides, fl.
Hermias on the ignorance of the pagan philosophers concerning the soul.
196 Byzantium taken and destroyed (193.)
Clodius Albinus procl. emperor in Gaul.
The senate declares him a public enemy.
Severus marches an army against him.
Council of bishops held at Ephesus.
197 Defeat of Albinus near Lyons; he dies by his own hand, Feb. 19.
Hippodromus, the sophist, flourishes.
Disputes respecting Easter.—Hieronymus.
Council at Rome, convened by Victor, to discuss, and if possible to settle, this disputed subject (Easter.)
Works of Clemens Alexandrinus about this time:—"Exhortation to the Gentiles." "Pedagogue," "Stromata," and "Institutes" or "Sketches."
198 Severus and his sons in Asia.
War with Parthia; fall of Seleucia, Babylon, and Ctesiphon.
Severus repulsed by the Arabs.
Tertullian, a native of Carthage, fl. (40.)
199 Antipater, the sophist, Ammonias Saccas, and Alexander, of Aphrodisias, flourish.
200 Severus visits Palestine, Arabia, Egypt, and other eastern provinces.
The temple of the sun at Baalbec, and other splendid buildings—also at Palmyra.
Death of Galen, aged 70 (130.)
Council at Carthage, respecting the disputed question of the baptism of heretics.
201 Zephirinus, bishop of Rome (218.)
202 Return of Severus to Rome.

202 The Decennalia celebrated; also the Marriage of Caracalla and Plautilla. Magnificent shows, largesses, &c. Triumphant arch of Severus. Edict of Severus against Jews and Christians; hence the *Fifth persecution* of the Christians, in which Leonides, the father of Origen, Perpetua, Victor, Felicitas, Potamena, and Irenæus are put to death.
203 Origen succeeds Clemens in the Catechetical school at Alexandria (194.) Tertullian's "Apology" about this time.
204 Ludi Seculares celebrated.
205 Birth of Heliogabulus at Emesa (218.) Birth of Plotinus, the philosopher, at Lycopolis in Egypt (251, 270.)
207 War again in Britain. Travels of Origen in Arabia, &c.
208 Severus proceeds into Britain. Alexander Severus born in the temple of Alexander at Arce, Oct. 1 (222.) Rise of the Theodotian sects of the "Artemonists" and "Melchizedechians" (188.)
209 Severus penetrates into Caledonia. "The Lives of the Philosophers," by Titus Laertius, about this time. Oppian, also Mimicius Felix, a lawyer, author of the Dialogue "Octavius," a work on Destiny, flourish.
210 The wall of Severus in Britain. Origen's "Hexapla and Tetrapla." Tertullian's works:—"de Pœnitentia," "de Oratione," "de Baptismo," "ad Uxorem," "ad Martyras," &c.; five books "Adversum Marciononem," "Apologia," "ad Nationes," "Adversus Hermogenem," &c.
211 Death of Severus at York, Feb. 4. *Caracalla* (a dissolute and cruel prince.) Geta declared heir to the throne. The number of the prætorian guards increased four-fold.
212 Geta, the emperor's step-brother, assassinated in his mother, Julia's arms, April 4. Papianus, the jurist, put to death; and The lives of about 20,000 sacrificed, to glut Caracalla's blood-thirstiness. Caracalla's cruel and oppressive tour of the eastern provinces. The profligate, Epagathus, exercises great influence over Caracalla (228.) Aurelian born at Sirmium (270.) Wars with the Catti and Allemanni. The "Thermæ" of Caracalla.
213 Caracalla visits Gaul. Antipater, Philiscus, and Philostratus, fl. Praxeas, founder of the sect "Patripassians," fl. at Rome; afterwards in Africa.
214 Churching of women commenced. The Allemanni attacked by Caracalla. He visits Dacia and Thrace.
215 Caracalla in want of money to pay his soldiery, extends the privileges of citizenship to all the subjects of Rome, for payment. Improvement of the finances from this time, now that the provinces are liable to the taxes on inheritances and enfranchisemts. Italian farmers quit their lands and come to reside in Rome. Caracalla visits Antioch and Alexandria.
216 Expedition of Caracalla agt. the Parthians.
217 Caracalla assassinated near Edessa, by Martialis, April 8; and is succeeded by *M. Opelius Macrinus*, præf. of the præt. Diadumenus, son of the emperor, associated in the government. Caracalla's tax of a tenth, reduced to one-twentieth, and other reforms. Peace with Parthia purchased, after a signal defeat at Nischis. Death of Julia at Antioch. Rome becomes dependent upon the provinces for a proper supply of food. Council at Carthage on church discipline.
218 Revolt and false claims of Heliogabulus, grandson of Julia Mæsa, at Antioch, May 16. Macrinus defeated and put to death. *Heliogabulus* assumes the purple in Nicomedia, where he winters. The worship of the sun introduced (192.) Wanton extravagance, depravity, and horrid cruelty of the emperor. Silk clothing introduced by Heliogabulus. Calixtus, bishop of Rome (223.) Origen visits Mammæa, the mother of Alexander Severus, at Antioch. Consecration of places of burial begun by Calixtus, bishop of Rome.
219 Ulpian, the Roman lawyer, fl. Origen's treatise on the "Resurrection." Ammonius Sacras, *Eclectic* philosopher, fl.
220 Julius Africanus, chronographer, fl. Hippolytus, bishop and martyr, flourishes. [His writings have been lost.] Origen's Commentaries on the Scriptures:—*Scholia*, *Homilies*, and *Volumes* (?226.)
221 Heliogabulus adopts Alexander Severus; but soon after endeavours to kill him.
222 Murder of Heliogabulus by the prætorian guards, in his eighteenth year; he is succeeded by his cousin, *Alexander Severus*, March 11. He reforms the senate, and introduces severe discipline into the army.
223 Ælian, and Pisander of Laranda, flourish. Urban I. bishop of Rome (230.) Death of Tertullian about this time.
224 Churches built by the Christians.
225 Severus contemplates building a temple to Christ, but is strenuously opposed by the juris-consults and the pagan priesthood.
226 Revolt in Persia under Artaxerxes. Origen returns to Alexandria from Cesærea; his ten books of "Stromata" appear about this time; and his "Commentaries on the Scriptures" are commenced.
228 Epagathus secretly put to death at Crete, by order of Severus (212.) Origen goes to Achaia, *via* Palestine, where he is ordained priest.
229 Dion Cassius and Aspasias, flourish. Origen returns to Alexandria, and is persecuted by his former bishop, Demetrius. Origen's treatise "de Principiis."
230 Severus departs for the East. Pontianus, bishop of Rome (235.) Sixth persecution of the Christians.
231 Severus at war with Artaxerxes. Council of Alexandria to condemn Origen. Origen, being banished from Alexandria, retires to Cæsarea. Heraclas succeeds to the office of catechist.

231 Councils or synods, against the baptism of heretics, held at Synnada and Iconium.
232 Severus's successful campaign in Mesopotamia; Artaxerxes defeated.
233 Severus triumphs at Rome.
Origen deposed and excommunicated.
Birth of Porphry, *Eclectic* phil., at Tyre.
[He was the most distinguished of the Plotinian Eclectic school of philosophy.]
234 Revolt in Gaul; the emperor heads his army and proceeds thither.
235 Severus in Germany. His soldiers complain that the severity of his discipline is unbearable; they murder him.
C. Julius Maximinus succeeds.
He issues a decree against the bishops and other chiefs of the church.
War against the Germans; they are forced to retreat across the Rhine.
Anterus, bishop of Rome (237.)
Earthquakes in Cappadocia and Pontus.
The Christians persecut. in those provinces.
Council respecting Ammonius at Alexand.
Origen's *letter* of encouragmt. to Ambrose.
236 Maximinus's successful campaign in Germany.
Fabianus, bishop of Rome (250.)
237 Maximinus retires to Sirmium in Pannonia.
Conspiracy against him discovered.
Horrid rapacity and cruelty of the emperor.
238 *Gordian* I. and his son,
Gordian II., proclaimed emperors in Africa; approved by the senate.
Maximinus marches against Rome.
Capellianus defeats the Gordians; the younger Gordian is killed, the elder commits suicide.
The senate proclaims as emperors,
Pupienus and *Balbinus*.
The popular choice falls on Gordian.
Maximian lays siege to Aquileia; but is beheaded by his soldiers before the walls.
Strife between the Roman populace and the prætorian guards; by whom
Papienus and Balbinus are slain.
Gordian III. (15 years old) succeeds.
239 Censorinus, the grammarian, flourishes.
Renewed travels of Origen in Arabia, &c.
240 Sedition in Africa suppressed.
Gregory Thaumaturgus flourishes.
Council agt. Privatus at Lambesa in Africa.
241 Marriage of Gordian and Sabinia Tranquillina, daughter of Misitheus.
Reforms in the court.
242 Gordian carries war into the East.
Plotinus, the *Eclectic* philosopher, in Persia.
Epistles of Origen:—to Severa and others.
Council agnst. Berillus at Bosra in Arabia.
243 Death of Misitheus, the father-in-law of Gordian, prætorian prefect.
Philip, the Arabian, made prefect.
244 Gordian murdered at the instigation of Philip, the prætorian prefect.
Philip succeeds to the empire.
Decius sent to suppress an insurrection in Pannonia.
Peace concluded with Sapor.
Philippolis, in Thrace, founded.
245 Birth of Diocletian at Salona in Dalmatia.
Council against Noetus at Ephesus.
Origen's *epistle* to the Emperor Philip.
Death of Ammonius Sacras (219.)
246 Origen's work against Celsus.
[Some date it at 249. It is esteemed his best; and it was his last production.]
Conversion of Cyprian, bp. of Carthage.
Cyprian's work on the vanity of idols.
Herennius and Origen, *Eclectic* philosopher, flourishes.
Amelius Gentilianus, a Tuscan, and disciple of Plotinus, the *Eclectic* philosopher, fl.
247 Censorship of public morals revived.
Persecution of the Christians.
War with the Scythians, &c.
248 Magnificent celebration of the Ludi Sæculares, in commemoration of the founding of Rome, 1000 years before.
Revolt of Jotapinus and Marinus in Syria and Mysia.
Schism of Novatus and Felicissimus at Carthage, in opposition to Cyprian (252.)
Council in Arabia, against those who maintain the dogma that the soul dies (? 247.)
Gregory Thaumaturgus's panegyrical oration on his teacher, Origen.
249 Decius proclaimed emperor by the legions in Pannonia, against his will.
Philip defeated and slain near Verona.
Trajanus Decius, emperor.
Birth of Constantius (305.)
250 *Gothic invasion*; Ostrogotha leads his hordes across the Danube.
Decius defeated near Philippolis.
Flourishing state of the law school at Berytus in Syria till 570.
Decius proposes finally to extirpate Christianity; hence
Seventh persecution of the Christians; Origen and others tortured; flight of Cyprian, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Dionysius, of Alexandria, &c. Escape of
Paul to Thebais, where he lives a hermit.
[The instruments of persecution included—the sword and fire, wild beasts, talons of steel, the wheel, red-hot iron chairs—in short, every variety of torture which the most exquisite cruelty could invent.]
Death of St. Ambrose.
Seven missionaries proceed into Gaul.
Council agnst. making eunuchs at Achaia.
251 The Goths sue for peace; refused.
Battle of Abricum; Romans defeated, and Trajan (Decius) and his son are slain.
Gallus and his son, *Volusian*, emperors.
Hostilian associated in the government.
Peace with Goths; Gallus returns to Rome.
Cornelius elected bishop of Rome (252.)
Novatian opposes Cornelius (252.)
Council of Carthage confirming the election of Cornelius, bishop of Rome; Canons passed for the re-admission of apostates into the church; condemnation of Felicissimus.
Council of Rome; Novatian condemned.
Longinus, the *Eclectic* philosopher and critic, and author of a work on the Sublime, flourishes.
Plotinus, the founder of the *New Platonic* philosophy, flourishes (205, 270.)
252 Hostilian murdered by order of Gallus.
New Gothic invasion, repelled by Æmilianus in Mœsia.
His troops proclaim him emperor.
Valerian sent against Æmilianus.

252 Pestilence throughout the empire.
Lucius, bishop of Rome (253.)
Cyprian's tract to Demetrian.
Novatus comes from Carthage and joins Novatian (248) in forming a sect.
Rise of the sect of the "Novatians."
Fabius's council at Antioch, agt. Novatian.
Council of Carthage against schismatics and heretics—Novatus, Privatus, and others.
253 Peace with the Goths purchased.
Gallus and Volusian proceed against the rebel Æmilianus.
Civil war averted by the assassination of the emperor and his son.
Æmilius Æmilianus succeeds, May.
He dies suddenly in August; (? put to death, according to F. Clinton, see 276.)
Publius Licinius Valerian succeeds.
He favours the Christians.
Stephen, bishop of Rome (257.)
Death of Origen (185.)
[The crown of martyrdom for which this learned, pious, humble, unassuming, and persecuted man panted, he never attained.]
Cyprian convenes a council at Carthage, respec. the baptism of infants and heretics.
254 *Gallienus* is associated in the government.
War with the Parthians, Franks, Goths, Allemanni, &c.
Valerian obtains several victories.
Council convened by Cyprian at Carthage, on the deposition of two bishops in Spain.
Cyprian's treatise on "Good Works."
Tryphon, a disciple of Origen, flourishes.
255 Disputes among the Christians concerning the baptism of heretical pastors.
Council at Carthage on the same subject.
The empire greatly distressed; it is invaded on all sides by the barbarians.
Death of the jurist, Paulus, the author of a large portion of the Justinian Pandects.
256 Irruption of the Franks into Spain.
Cyprian's book "on the advantages of Patience," early this year.
Cyprian's third and fourth councils (confirmatory) at Carthage, on the baptism of heretics (253, 255.)
Council of Stephen at Rome.
257 Victory of Aurelian over the Goths.
Valerian's conduct towards the Christians is changed; he enacts severe measures against their teachers.
Sixtus II., bishop of Rome (259.)
Banishment of Cyprian, Dionysius of Alexandria, and other Christian teachers.
Cyprian "on Emulation and Envy;" other works—"Dress of Virgins," "The Lapsed," "Unity of the Church," "Exhortation to Martyrdom," &c. &c.
258 Valerian proceeds towards the East.
Postumus sent into Greece.
Trapezus taken by the Goths.
Large assemblies of Christians, whether in churches or at the tombs of the martyrs, prohibited.
Council at Rome, against the heresy of Noetus, by Sixtus.
Second edict of Valerian against bishops, presbyters, and other exalted Christian personages; hence
Eighth persecution of the Christians.
Martyrdom of St. Cyprian, Sep. 14.
258 Martyrdom of Sixtus, bishop of Rome (259.)
259 Bithynia ravaged by the Goths.
Valerian advances into Cappadocia.
Rebellion of nineteen lieutenants.
The Thirty Tyrants from this time; Cyriades, the first.—Trebellius Pollio.
Dionysius chosen bishop of Rome (269.)
260 Defeat of Sapor (Shahpoor); rash pursuit by Valerian, who is made prisoner.
Gallienus reigns alone (254.)
Council at Rome, before which Dennis, of Alexandria pleads his cause.
Temple of Diana, at Ephesus, burnt.
Postumias, tyrant of Gaul (259.)
Editions of the Scriptures issued by the Christians about this time.
Paul, of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, fl.
261 Regillianus, tyrant of Pannonia (259.)
Splendid military achievements of Odenatus, king of Palmyra, in the East.
Macrianus assumes the purple.
Origen's Octapla published.
262 Macrinus and his sons put to death.
The Germans approach as far as Ravenna, committing dreadful ravages.
Saturninus, tyrant of Egypt (259.)
Famine, pestilence, and earthquakes.
Roman army repulsed by Persians in Asia Minor; Antioch surprised and plundered.
263 Gallienus celebrates the decennalia.
Porphyry visits Rome, being abt. 30 yrs. old.
264 Odenatus, kg. of Palmyra, creat. Augustus.
First council at Antioch against Paul, of Samosata (see 260, also 269.)
Works of Gregory Thaumaturgus:—"Paraphrase on Ecclesiastus," "Canonical Epistle," "Sermons," "On the Soul."
Birth of Eusebius of Cesarea.
Era of Plotinus, Aurelius, Longinus, Marcellus, Callinicus, Lupercus, &c.
265 Postumus associates Victorinus in his usurpation of the government in Gaul.
Death of Dionysius of Alexandria.
266 Aureolus, tyrant of Illyria (259.)
Porphyry, *Eclectic* philosopher, fl. (263.)
267 Odenatus murdered by his cousin, Mæonius, with Zenobia's concurrence.
Zenobia (widow of Odenatus) ascends the throne of Palmyra.
The Heruli repulsed by Dexippus.
Tetricus usurps in Gaul (274.)
Tetricus, the younger, made Cæsar.
268 Gallienus at war with Aureolus (260); he is killed before Milan by his soldiers.
Claudius II. (Gothicus) succeeds, Mar. 24.
He defeats the Allemanni.
Aurelius defeated and made prisoner.
269 The Gothic fleet lands 300,000 men in Macedonia and Illyria.
Battle of Naissus; the Goths are routed by Claudian, and 50,000 of them are slain.
Aurelian (270) signalizes himself as a warrior; he is called "hand-on-sword."
Egypt conquered by Zenobia.
Last council on Paul of Samosata.
Felix I., bishop of Rome (275).—F. C. 270.
Council at Antioch; deposition of Paul of Samosata; election of Domnus (264.)
270 Death of Claudius at Sirmium.
According to his dying request Aurelian, his chief commander at Sirmium, is appointed to succeed him.

270 *Aurelian*, assumes the purple.
Quintillus, Claudius's brother, claims the empire, and is proclaimed in Italy. His soldiers desert him, upon which he commits suicide at Aquileia.
Aurelian's successful campaign against the Goths and Alemanni.
Death of Gregory Thaumaturgus (240.)
Death of Plotinus, the philosopher (205.)
271 The Marcomanni in Italy, and the Alemanni on the Danube, are defeated.
Peace granted to the Vandals.
Rebuilding of the walls of Rome commenced.
272 War with Zenobia; fall of Ancyra, Antioch, Emessa, and Tyana; after which
Zenobia shuts herself up in Palmyra.
Birth of Constantine the Great, at Naissus in Mœsia (306.)
Ninth persecution of the Christians.
Noetus, of Smyrna or Ephesus, Berillus, bishop of Bozrah in Arabia, and other heretics, flourish.
Manes, the heresiarch, flourishes.
273 Palmyra besieged and taken, and its queen, Zenobia, made prisoner. Her adviser, Longinus, is put to death (251.)
"The ruins of Palmyra"—Palmyra razed.
War of Aurelian with the Caspi in Thrace.
Revolt of Firmus in Egypt suppressed.
War against Tetricus, tyrant of Gaul (259.)
274 Submission of the Tetrici in Gaul (267.)
Temple to the Sun at Rome, founded by the Emperor Aurelian.
Preparations for war against the Persians.
275 Edicts against the Christians prepared; but their execution is prevented by the
Assassination of Aurelian in Illyra, at the instigation of Mnestheus, his private secretary, a freedman, March.
M. Claudius Tacitus succeeds in Sept.
Eutychianus, bishop of Rome (283.)
276 Tacitus proceeds against the Goths, but dies at Tarsus of fever (? killed), in April.
Florianus is proclaimed in Italy; but
Probus (East) is the choice of the army.
[He is deemed by historians one of the bravest, purest in morals, and most generous in disposition, of all the Roman emp.]
The sophist, Proæresius, is born.
Death (? suicidal) of Florianus at Tarsus.
277 Successful campaigns of Probus, against the Persians, Goths, and Germans.
Sabellius founds the "Sabellian heresy."
[His followers called "Patripassians."]
Council of Caschar in Mesopotamia; Archelaus (bishop) disputes with Manes.
278 Probus builds a wall and a line of forts from the Danube to the Rhine.
Several towns rebuilt.
Syncellus, the historian, and Pierius, fl.
279 Saturninus visits Alexandria, where he is proclaimed emperor.
Cyril of Antioch, and Archelaus, bishop of Mesopotamia, flourish.
280 Saturninus killed by the soldiers of Probus.
Revolt of Bonosus and Proculus in Gaul suppressed.
281 Probus employs his soldiers in draining the swamps around Sirmium.
They grow dissatisfied with the emperor.
282 Probus murdered by a mutinous body of soldiers at Sirmium.
282 *Carus* is chosen emperor by the army.
Carinus and Numerianus, sons of Carus are appointed Cæsars.
Carus defeats the Goths.
Apollinaris and Nemesianus, poets, flourish.
283 Carus and his son, Numerianus, proceed against the Persians.
Carus is killed near Ctesiphon by lightning, or, according to some, by poison.
Retreat of Numerianus.
Caius, bishop of Rome (296.)
284 Murder of Numerianus by Arrius Aper, his father-in-law, præfect of the prætorians.
Diocletian succeeds Carus.
The *Diocletian Era, or Era of the Martyrs*, begins August 29.
[From this period the woollen toga, adorned with purple, as worn by the emperors from the time of Augustus, was exchanged for one of silk, covered with gold and jewels.]
Diocletian murders Arrius Aper (283.)
Arnobius, of Pamphilus, flourishes.
Eastern mode of government adopted.
Carinus assumes the purple, and proceeds against Diocletian.
285 Battle of Margus; Diocletian defeated.
Carinus assassinated by his own officers while pursuing his enemies.
[Of Carinus it has been observed, that in him the sensual enormities of Heliogabulus (218) and the cold ferocity of Domitian (81) were combined.]
St. Anthony's first seclusion, aged 34.
286 *Maximian* associated in the government; he is proclaimed Augustus, April 1.
Diocletian assumes the title *Jove*, and Maximian that of *Hercules*.
Diocletian's baths; containing more than 3000 benches of marble, splendidly ornamented with gold, paintings, &c.
Maximian conducts the war against the Alemanni and Burgundians.
Rebellion of Achilleus (tyrant) in Egypt, and of Julian at Carthage.
Diocletian's campaign against the Persians.
287 Maximian defeats the Gauls, Jan. 1.
Usurpation of Carausius in Britain (259.)
288 Death of Ulpian, the celebrated *jurist*.
Preparations of Maximian for the subjugation of the tyrant, Carausius of Britain.
289 Several ineffectual attempts to reduce Carausius to obedience.
The first hermit, Paul, the Theban, fl.
Trebellius Pollio and Flavius Vopiscus, fl.
290 *Carausius* acknowld. as the third Augustus.
Methodius, bishop of Olympus, fl. (227.)
Works of Methodius:—"Banquet of Virgins," Dialogues "on the Resurrection," "on Free-will," "on Valentinianism;" treatises against Porphyry and Origen, on created things; sermons, &c.
The Gregorian civil law published.
291 Conf. of Diocletian and Maximian at Milan.
Ælius Spartianus, the historian, flourishes.
Period of the Jewish Talmud and Targum.
Hierax, the founder of the "Hieracites," flourishes at Leontopolis in Egypt.
Christian churches enlarged and new ones erected throughout the empire.
292 C. Galerius chosen Cæsar by Diocletian.
Constantius Chlorus made Cæsar by Maximian; proclaimed in Nicomedia.

Adoption of Pagan ceremonies into the services of the Christian church.
Defeat of the usurpers, Julian in Africa, and Achilleus in Egypt.
Allectus (tyrant) murders Carausius, the third Augustus, in Britain, and seizes on the government (259.)
Rise of the Christian hierarchy into civil importance; favours conferred upon them.
Council on ecclesiastical discipline at Elvira in Grenada.
The Carpi defeated (? 294.)
Victory of Asclepiodotus, general of Constantius, over Allectus in Britain.
Dissensions and corrup. among Christians.
Division of the empire into four sovereignties for its better preservation:—
Maximian has Italy, Sicily, Africa, and the islands; capital, Milan.
Diocletian rules over Asia, Syria, Egypt; capital, Nicomedia.
Galerius—Thrace, Illyria, and along the Danube; capital, Sirmium.
Constantius—Gaul, Spain, Britain, and Mauritania; capital, Treves.
Marcellinus, bishop of Rome (308.)
Achilleus besieged in Alexandria by Diocletian; he is taken and put to death.
Defeat of Galerius in Persia.
The "Codex Gregorianus" from this date.
3 Victories in Persia; extension of the empire eastward to the Tigris by Galerius; five provinces taken from Persia (363.)
Constantius defeats the Gauls at Langres and Vindonissa.
9 The Marcomanni defeated by Diocletian.
Eumenius and Vopiscus flourish.
0 Hermon and Arnobias, of Sicca Venerea, author of "Adversus Gentes," &c. fl.
1 Council of Alexandria; deposition of Miletus, bishop of Lycopolis, for idolatry.
2 Triumph of Diocletian.
Lactantius, rhetorician, and disciple of Arnobius, fl. at Nicomedia in Bithynia.
Juvencus, a Spanish presbyter, author of "Historia Evangelica" and other poems fl.
3 Tenth persecution of the Christians, commenced in Nicomedia by Diocletian, first in the army, on the instigation of the Roman Aruspices.
Demolition of Christian churches, employment of the rack, fire, sword, &c.
Legend of Crispin and Crispianus.
Revolt of Eugenius.
305 Diocletian and Maximian abdicate, May 1.
Constantius, emperor of the west.
Galerius, emperor of the east.
Maximin and F. Severus, Cæsars.
Lactantius (now an old man) tutor to Crispus, son of Constantine.
Council, for the absolution of bishops who had read the Scriptures to the Pagans during the recent persecutions, held at Cirtes in Numidia.
Celibacy and the monastic life first preached by St. Anthony in Egypt.
306 Franks defeated by Constantine in Gaul.
Death of Constantius at York, July 25.
Constantine (the Great) son of Constantius, assumes the purple in Britain.
Marriage of Constantine and Fausta, daughter of Maximian.
306 Socrates, the eccles. histor. begins to write.
Eusebius flourishes at Cæsarea.
Death of the philosopher, Porphyry (233.)
Rebellion of *Maxentius*, assisted by his father, Maximian, who again assumes the purple (305.)
307 The title of Augustus conferred upon Severus, while that of Cæsar only is granted to Constantine by Galerius.
Severus marches upon Rome, but is compelled to retreat to Ravenna.
Maxentius induces Severus to yield to his clemency and honour.
Severus is treacherously put to death.
Galerius makes a fruitless atk. upon Rome.
Licinius appointed Augustus (? 308.)
308 *Maximin* and Constantine Augusti.
Maximian's claims admitted; hence
There are *six emperors at once*, viz.:—
Galerius, Licinius, and Maximin, east.
Maximian, Maxentius, Constantine, west.
Galerius devotes his time and attention to domestic improvements.
Marcellus, bishop of Rome (310.)
309 *Civil war* between Maximian and his son, Maxentius.
Maximian escapes to his son-in-law, Constantine, in Gaul.
Intrigues of Maximian and Maxentius against Constantius discovered.
Martyrdom of Pamphilus of Cæsarea in Palestine, collector of the writings of Origen and other ancient Christian authors.
Agapius succeeds him in the bishopric.
Heladius and Julian, the sophist, flourish.
310 Arles besieged; Maximian taken and put to death by order of Constantine.
[He was strangled at Marseilles.]
The Christians protected by Constantine.
Eusebius, bishop of Rome (311.)
Donatus broaches his peculiar sentiments.
Excommunication of Arius.
Jamblicus, and Onasimus, of Sparta, fl.
311 Galerius taken off by disease while engaged in furthering the public works.
[When taken ill he relaxed in his severities against the Christians, and desired that they should pray for his recovery.]
Civil war; Constantine and Maxentius.
Constantine's vision of the cross.
Melchiades, bishop of Rome (314.)
Vanguard of Maxentius at Turin defeated.
Martyrdom of Methodius (290.)
312 Maxentius defeated at Verona.
Final defeat and death of Maxentius near Rome, Oct. 28.
The prætorian guards disbanded.
The Indiction of Constantinople, Sept. 1.
A general land tax established.
Council at Carthage; Cœcilian deposed by the followers of Donatus.
Constantine makes a public and solemn profession of Christianity.
Christianity from this time gradually becomes the religion of the State.
313 Marriage of Licinius and Constantina, Constantine's sister, at Milan.
Maximin invades Thrace, &c.
Civil war between Maximin and Licinius.
Birth of Constantine II. at Arles, Aug. 7.
Edict in favour of Christians.
Maximin defeated at Heracleia.

313 He escapes to Tarsus and dies.
Death of Diocletian at Salona.
Murder of the widow and children of Maximin by Licinius.
Foreign (barbaric) mercenaries form the chief portion of the Roman army.
Council at Rome against the Donatists.
Sopater, Eumenius, and Ædesius, flourish.
314 *Civil war;* the first between Constantine and Licinius; the latter defeated at Cibilis and Mardia.
Licinius sues for peace—acceded to.
Taxes upon trade and moveable property collected every four years.
Sylvester I. bishop of Rome (335.)
Lactantius still flourishes (305.)
Councils—one at Arles against the Donatists, one at Ancyras, Galatia, on apostacy during persecution, and one at Neocæsarea, Pontus, on discipline.
315 Reduction of the legions from 12,500 to 1500 and 1600 men.
Arian, at Alexandria, denies the divinity of Christ, and is styled a "heretic."
Theological controversies from this time tear asunder the bonds of society.
317 The Donatists in Africa flourish.
Crispus, Constantius, and Licinius (only 19 months old) made Cæsars, March 1.
Birth of Constantius II. at Sirmium, Aug. 6.
Constantine's standing army amounts to 180,000 men (132 legions.)
Constantine shows favour to the orthodox, but persecutes the Donatists, &c.
318 Era of the historians—Spartianus, Capitolinus, Trebellius, Vopiscus, Gallicanus, and Lampridius.
319 Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, author of "Historia Ecclesiastica," "Preparatio Evangelica," "Adversus Marcellani," and Commentaries, Translations, &c.
320 Crispus defeats the Franks.
321 Birth of the emperor Valentinian I. at Cibalis in Pannonia (364.)
Taliessin, the Welsh bard, fl. till 354.
Rise of the Circumcelliones in Africa.
Arius, a presbyter, opposes Alexander, bp. of Alexandria, on the question of Christ's pre-existence; many of the clergy join Arius.
Two councils at Alexandria against Arius; and one at Bithynia and one in Palestine in his favour.
Arius and others are excommunicated.
Arius retires into Palestine.
322 The Sarmatians defeated by Constantine.
Civil war—the second between Constantine and Licinius.
323 Defeat of Licinius by Constantine, before Adrianople, July 3.
Crispus defeats Amandus, Licinius's admiral, in a sea-fight of three days' duration in the Hellespont.
Constantine defeats Licinius at Chrysopolis; the latter flees to Numidia, but soon after surrenders.
Constantine sole emperor; his son, Constantius, is made Cæsar.
Death of Lactantius about this time; his works include, among others, "De Divinis Institutionibus," in seven books; "De Ira Dei," "De Opificio Hominio," &c.
324 Licinius treacherously put to death by order of Constantine (? Fausta's intrigue.)
Another council at Alexandria against Arius (321), also against the Colluthians.
325 I. *General council;* held at Nice, for the suppression of Arianism (381); Hosius, of Corduba, draws up the "Nicene creed."
The chronicle of Eusebius ends this year.
Gladiatorial combats suppressed in the East by Constantine.
326 Crispus banished to Pola, and there put to death by command of his father (317, 322.)
Athanasius succeeds Alexander, bishop of Alexandria; the Arians oppose him.
Birth of Gregory Nazianzen (? 329.)
Basil also born, according to some (? 328.)
327 Fausta detected and put to death (324.)
Helanopolis founded.
328 Birth of Valens, the emperor (364.)
Birth of Basil (the Great) in Cappadocia or Pontus (? 326.)
329 Constantinople founded on the site of Byzantium (196.)
330 Solemn inauguration of Constantinople.
The seat of govt. transferred to Constantinople.
Gradual decline of Rome from this period.
Change in the mode of government.
Christianity the court religion.
The empire divided into four præfectures, governed by prætorian prefects:—
1. *The Eastern* — including 48 provinces, which comprise the five dioceses of Oriens, Ægyptus, Asia, Pontus, and Thrace.
2. *The Illyrian*—comprising the 11 provinces contained in the two dioceses of Macedonia and Dacia.
3. *The Italian*—consisting of three dioceses —Italia, Illyricum, and Africa.
4. *The Gallic*—including the dioceses—Gallia, Hispania, Britannia.

[With the establish. of Christianity by Constantine, a great number of civil and ecclesiastical titles sprung into existence; the court exceeded any thing before known in splendour and costliness, so that the maintenance of its thousands of officers, &c. amounted to a sum much larger than that required for the pay of the legions.]
Council at Alexandria for the ordination of Athenasius, as bishop of the church in that city.
Council at Carthage, for the same object as that of the council of Cirtes, see 305.
Birth of Gregory, bishop of Nyssa, and brother of Basil, bishop of Cesarea (372.)
331 Destruction of the heathen temples.
Julian born at Constantinople, Nov. 17.
In Constantinople 80,000 loaves are distributed daily by Constantine.
Punishment by crucifixion abolished.
Council at Antioch; Eustace deposed by the Arians.
Birth of Hieronymus.
Birth of St. Jerome at Stridon, on the confines of Dalmatia and Pannonia.
Baptizing in churches first practised.
[Before this time baptism was performed in baptistries situated without the walls of churches, from henceforth fonts are erected within their precincts. See 167.]
332 The Goths defeated by Constantine.
333 Constans appointed Cæsar.

334 Revolt of 300,000 Sarmatian slaves.
They are subdued and dispersed throughout the empire.
Defeat of Colocærus by Dalmatius.
Marcellus and Asterias flourish.
Council at Cæsarea; Athanasius denounced by Arians.
335 Dalmatius and Hannibalianus, nephews of Constantine, made Cæsars.
Council of Eusebians, held at Tyre, against Athanasius.
Synod of Eusebians at Jerusalem in favour of Arianism.
336 Mark, bishop of Rome, for 8 months only.
Synod of Constantinople, in favor of Arius.
Banishment of Athanasius (326.)
Sudden and mysterious death of Arius, near the Forum in Constantinople (321.)
Basileus succeeds the deposed Marcellus, bishop of Galatia.
337 Preparations for a war with Persia.
The emperor retires to Nicomedia, where he dies, May 22, having been previously baptized by Eusebius.
Massacre of the two Cæsars and several others of the emperor's family.
The empire divided, Sep. 11:—
Constantine II. reigns in Gaul,
Constans in Italy and Africa, and
Constantius in the East.
Julius, bishop of Rome (352.)
Eleventh persecution of the Christians.
Eusebius is elected bishop of Nicomedia.
338 Death of Dalmatius and others (335.)
War with Persia by Constantius; the Persians besiege Nisibis.
Return of Athanasius from exile (335.)
Death of Eusebius of Cesarea (? 340.)
339 Councils of Arians; at Antioch for the ordination of Pistus in the room of Athanasius, and at Constantinople for the deposition of Paul.
Massacres and other excesses of the Donatists in Africa; Constans sends an army against them.
Battle of Bagnia; the Donatists defeated with great slaughter; Donatus exiled.
340 Constantine demands from Constans certain provinces in Africa and Italy.
Civil war betw. Constans and Constantine.
Constantine defeated at Aquilea, captured, and put to death.
Procæresius, the sophist, and Tuscianus, fl.
Constans reigns over Gaul and Italy.
The Athanasian creed, called "the Catholic Faith," composed about this time. (?)
Council in favour of Athanasius held at Constantinople.
Birth of St. Ambrose (bishop of Milan) at Arles, or Treves, or Lyons (? 333.)
341 Pagan sacrifices prohibited.
War with the Franks.
Earthquakes near Antioch, &c.
Arian synod of Antioch; Athanasius again condemned and deposed; and Gregory appointed in his place.
342 The Franks defeated by Constans.
Sedition in Constantinople suppressed.
Athanasius a resident at Rome.
Council of Rome in defence of Athanasius.
Death of Eusebius, of Nicomedia, the friend and protector of Arius.
Invocation of saints now practised; incense in use, and images of Christ and the apostles, &c. reverenced.
343 Constans at war in Britain; after which he visits Antioch, Hierapolis, &c.
The heresy of Photinus promulgated.
344 Earthquake in Pontus.
345 Earthquakes in Italy and Greece.
Council of Arians at Antioch; new articles of faith drawn up and adopted.
346 Nisibis besieged a second time (338, 350.)
Birth of Theodosius I. (379.)
Jamblicus, of Chalcis in Cœlo-Syria, *Eclectic* phil., a disciple of Porphyry, still fl.
Council of Milan; Nicene creed approved.
347 Synods; one at Sardica, in Illyria, confirming the acts of the council of Nice (325); one at Milan, against Photin, of Sirmich.
St. Chrysostom born at Antioch (? 354.)
Serapion and Triphyllius flourish.
348 Council of Carthage on discipline (? 349.)
Julius Firmicus Matternus, author of "De Errore profanarum Religionum."
349 Councils: at Jerusalem, in favour of Athanasius; at Rome, against Photin; and at Cordova, confirming the acts of that at Sardica (347.)
Didymus, of Alexandria, and Jacobus, of Nisibis, flourish.
Gregory put to death at Alexandria (341.)
Athanasius returns a few months after.
Chanting adopted into Christian worship by Ambrose, from the Pagan ceremonies of the Romans.—Lenglet (602.)
[Date manifesty too early; more probably about the yr. 385. Compare 340 and 374.]
350 Rebellion of Magnentius in Gaul; and flight of Constans to the Pyrenees.
Constans is overtaken and put to death.
Nepotianus proclaimed emperor in Rome; but in twenty-eight days he is slain.
Magnentius also assumes the purple.
Insurrection of Vetranio in Illyria.
Constantius refuses the terms of accommodation proposed by Magnentius; hence
Civil war btw. Magnentius and Constantius.
Nisibis again besieged by the Persians.
Vetranio deposed by Constantius.
351 Submission of Vetranio; he is pensioned.
Elevation of Gallus and Decentius.
Julian professes paganism, 20 years old.
Battle of Mursa; Magnentius is routed.
Council at Sirmich; Photinus deposed.
Lucifer, bishop of Cagliaria in Sardinia, and founder of the sect of "Luciferians," fl.
["Chiefly remarkable for the mischief and dissension wh. he caused in the church."]
352 Gallus Cæsar renders himself odious by his cruelty at Antioch (386.)
Revolt of the Jews at Diocesarea, &c.
Defeat of Magnentius at Mount Seleucus; he escapes into Gaul.
Cyril, of Jerusalem, flourishes.
Liberius, bishop of Rome (366.)
Councils, in favour of Athanasius at Egypt and at Rome.
353 Magnentius's third defeat, and suicide.
Constantius now sole emperor.
Marriage of Constantius and Eusebia.
Rebeln. and cruelties of Gallus in the East.
Lycaonia and Pamphylia ravaged by the Isaurians.

353 Gregory Nazianzen at Athens.
The Arians favoured by Constantius.
Council of Arians at Arles; Athanasius, Photin, and Marcellus, are condemned.
354 Gallus falls, by stratagem, into the hands of Constantius, who has him sent to Pola, where he is put to death.
? Birth of Chrysostom at Antioch (? 347.)
Council at Antioch against Athanasius.
Saint Augustine born at Tagasta, Nov. 13.
Hiliary made bishop of Poitiers.
355 Sylvanus suppresses a revolt in Gaul.
He is charged with treason, whereupon he assumes the purple at Agrippina.
Murder of Sylvanus in the church of St. Severin, Cologne.
Dreadful state of Gaul after these events.
Julian, brother of Gallus, created Cæsar.
He marries Helena, the emperor's sister.
Julian is sent into Gaul.
Synod of Milan; Athanasius condemned.
Edict forbidding (as incest) marriage with a deceased wife's sister.
Synod of Poitiers; secession of several bishops from communion with Saturnin, bishop of Arles.
Felix II. schismatic bishop of Rome (352.)
Hilary, the deacon, a Luciferian—hence sarcastically called "Deucation Orbis" by Jerome, flourishes.
356 Julian is defeated by the Franks and Alemanni near Rheims.
Synod of Besiers; Arians depose Hilary.
Athanasius again expelled Alexandria.
[Constantius sent Syrianus on this errand.]
Athanasius sends from the desert an epistle to the bishops of Egypt and Libya, and an "Apology" to Constantius.
Georgius, of Cappadocia, succeeds.
357 Constantius celebrates a triumph.
Battle of Strasburg; the Alemanni defeated by Julian, and Chonodomarus, their king, taken prisoner and sent to Rome.
Earthquake in Asia, Macedonia, and other places; 150 towns and cities.
Council of Arians at Sirmich, Hungary, for drawing up a new confession of faith.
Synod of Melitena in Armenia; deposition of Eustace, bishop of Sebaste.
358 Julian again victorious in Germany; the Salian Franks defeated.
Aurelius Victor, the historian, flourishes.
Earthquake; Nicomedia destroyed.
Councils: at Cæsarea, for the deposition of Cyril of Jerusalem; at Antioch, for the condemnation of certain terms in the Athanasian creed; and at Neocæsarea, at which Eustace, bishop of Sebaste, is again deposed.
Death of St. Antony (? 357 or 359.)
359 Third successful campaign of Julian in Germany; 20,000 Roman prisoners delivered up by the Alemanni.
Andernach, Bingen, Bonn, Neuss, and other German towns rebuilt.
Birth of Gratian at Sirmium, April 19.
Synods: at Seleucia, at which the semi-Arians protest against the Oetians; and at Rimini (Arian) at which Phæbadius, bishop of Agen, and Servatio, bishop of Tongres, dissent from the Arian declaration of faith.
360 Julian obtains 600 barge-loads of corn from Britain (see 217; also B.C. 76.)
The successes of Julian render him popular with the army; Constantius recalls him.
Julian (the apostate) the last of the family of Constantine, is proclaimed Augustus by his troops at Paris.
Abortive attempts at negociations between Constantius and Julian.
Councils: at Constantinople, Arians against semi-Arians; and at Paris, against the confession adopted at Rimini.
Death of the Empress Helena (355.)
Julian publicly professes his abandonment of Christianity, and adoption of Paganism.
Great consternation among the Christians.
Paganism restored by Julian.
Decree of universal toleration, and recall of the exiled Christian bishops.
Philosophers, &c. in the time of Julian:—Eusebius of Mindus, Ædesius of Cappadocia, Maximus, Priscus, Eutropius, Chrysanthius, &c.
361 Julian leads two expeditions against the Franks and Allemanni.
Dividing his army into two bodies, he proceeds against Constantius.
On the eve of civil war Constantius dies near Mopsocrene in Cilicia, Nov. 3.
Siege and surrender of Aquilea.
Julian's philosophic and other writings.
Sallust, Julian's minister.
Twelfth persecution; Julian compels the Christians to support heathenism, &c.
Gregory Nazienzen ordained priest (389.)
Jerome, Marcella, and Paula, found a monastery at Rome.
Arian synods at Antioch, for the election of Miletus (bishop), and the revision of the Arian formula.
Ephrem Syrus, Titus, Ælius, Pacianus, fl.
362 Julian comes to Antioch; is coldly received; he withdraws to Tarsus.
Valentinian refuses to sacrifice to an idol; he is banished by Julian.
Death of Jamblicus, *Eclectic* philos. (346.)
War with Persia; Julian assembles a large army at Hierapolis.
Procopius and Sebastianus sent agt. Nisibis.
Georgius, of Alexandria, is put to death.
Athanasius again restored to Alexandria.
Synods: at Alexandria, by the followers of Athanasius; and at Theveste in Numidia, at which the violence of the Donatists is made a subject of complaint by Primatius, bishop of Lemella.
Athanasius a third time expelled from Alexandria—now by Julian.
363 Fruitless attempt of the Jews, by permission of the Emperor Julian, to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem.
Persia invaded by Julian in April.
He besieges and takes the city Pirisabor.
Maogamalcha stormed and razed to the ground.
Deepening of old canals; Julian's fleet sails into the Tigris.
Siege of Ctesiphon commenced, but soon raised by Julian, who burns his fleet.
Julian pursues after Sapor.
The Persians routed; Julian is killed while in pursuit, June 26.

363 *Jovian* is chosen emperor by the army.
He professes Christianity.
Retreat of Jovian from Persia.
Jovian concludes a peace with Sapor, by giving up five provinces (297.)
Taxation greatly increased.
Establishment of Christianity; with perfect toleration and protection to all religions.
Third return of Athanasius to Alexandria.
Councils: at Alexandria, concerning Athanasius; and at Antioch (Arian), for the adoption of the Nicene creed.

364 Jovian dies suddenly at Dadastana in Galatia, Feb. 17.
Valentinian elected by the generals, at Nicea, to succeed Jovian, Feb. 26.
Valens created Augustus by his brother, Valentinian, at Constantinople, Mar. 28.
Valentinian, a catholic, emperor of the west.
Valens, an Arian, emperor of the east.
Valentinian restrains many of the excesses of Pagan and Christian ceremonies; but concedes religious toleration to all parties.
Commodianus, author of "Instructionum Opus Adversus Paganos," fl. (uncertain.)
Drama of the Passion of Christ, by Gregory Nazianzen, to counteract the influence of the heathen stage. (!)
Synods at Lampsacus in Mysia, and at Rome, respecting Seleucius's confession of faith.

365 Procopias (tyrant) rebels agt. Valens (259.)
Valens is defeated at Chalcedon; and
Bithynia is conquered—by Procopius.
Valentinian successful in Gaul.
He instigates war between the Allemanni and Burgundians.
An earthquake felt at Alexandria and great depression of the Laconian coast; Valens is in Asia Minor at the time.
The Codex Hermogenianus begins.
Aurelius Victor still flourishes (358.)
Optatus, bishop of Milevi, author of a treatise against the Donatists, and the Apollinarii (father and son) flourish.
Eleusius professes Arianism at a synod held in Nicomedia.

366 Battle of Nacolia; Procopius is finally defeated by Valens, May 27.
He is taken and beheaded.
Valentinian at Paris.
The Romans defeated in Gaul.
Jovinus twice defeats the Allemanni.
Forts built on the Rhine.
Damascus elected bishop of Rome (384.)
Councils, held at Rome and at Tyana in Cappadocia, for confirming the acts of the council of Nice.
Synod on church discipline at Laodicea.
Schism of Ursicinus against Damascus.
[The popular fury on both sides was so great, that the præfect, Juventius, was compelled to provide for his safety by leaving the city. Many lives were lost. At length Ursicinus was expelled Rome.]

367 *Gratian* (8 years old) proclaimed Augustus.
Valentinian marries Justina.
War with the Allemanni.
Maximinus, at Rome, persecutes all who follow magical arts, &c.
Revolt in Britain; Theodosius is sent against the Picts.

367 Valens reduces the taxes one-fourth.
He is baptized into Christianity, and forthwith goes to war against the Goths.
Death of St. Hilary, aged 80; author of "Commentaries on the Scriptures," "History of the Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia," &c.
Athanasius goes a fourth time into exile; but is soon after recalled.
Councils: at Rome, for the trial of Damasias; at Antioch, in favour of Arianism.
Libanius, Themistius, Diophantes, Himerius, Eunapius, &c. flourish.

368 Treves the capital of Valentinian.
Battle of Solicinum; the Allemanni routed by Valentinian.
Nicea destroyed by an earthquake, Oct. 10.
St. Martin of Tours from this time.

369 The Goths, under Athanaric, defeated by Valens, at Noviodunum.
The Rhine fortified by Valentinian.
Ursace and Valens condemned, at a council convened in Rome, by Damasias (367.)
Epiphanius, bp. of Salamus, flourishes (403.)

370 Irruption of the Saxons upon the Roman territory; Severus defeats them.
The aid of the Burgundians is courted by Valentinian.
Victory of Theodosius over the Allemanni.
Troubles increase throughout the empire; a famine prevails in Phrygia, disturbances break out in Rome, owing to the cruelties of the prefect Maximinus, &c.
Constitution against clerical rapacity.
Synod held by Athanasius at Alexandria.
Death of Victorinus, rhetorician, at Rome.
Catholics persecuted at Constantinople.
Valens causes 80 Catholic priests to be put to death in Nicomedia.
Basil ordained bishop of Cesarea (328, 378.)

371 State support of the Roman pontifices.
The Manicheans persecuted.
Ephrem Syrus, of Edessa, author of a "Commentary on the Scriptures," "Tracts," &c. still flourishes (378.)

372 Firman's rebellion in Mauritania.
Gregory consecrated bp. of Nyssa (330, 395.)
Didymus, of Alexandria, author of "Commentaries on the Scriptures," &c. fl.
Councils. at Rome, for the excommunication of Axentius, bishop of Milan; at Antioch, Nicopolis, and in Cappadocia, on church discipline, &c.

373 Valens at war with Sapor of Persia; the Persians are defeated.
Conspiracy against Valens frustrated.
War against Firman continued.
Civil war between Athanaric and Fritigern, generals or chieftains of the Goths
[Athanaric was a Catholic, but Fritigern was an Arian.]
Death of Athanasius (326, 335, 348, 356.)
Among his works are—"Church Discipline, &c." "Adversus Gentes," "De Incarnatione," "Apologia," "Vita S. Antonii."

374 Valentinian's generals at war with the Quadi and Sarmatians.
Eunapius, of Sardis, hist. and phil. still fl.
Treachery of Valens to Para, king of Armenia: he is murdered by Trajan, according to Valens's order.
Athanaric defeated by the Huns.

374 Ambrose, governor of Insubria, Æmylia, and Liguria, chosen bp. of Milan (340.
[He was the first who introduced regular choral music into Christian worship.]
Councils at Valence in Dauphine and at Rome; Apolinarus (the younger) is condemned by the latter council (365.)
Extensive preparations of Valens for war against the Persians.
Valentinian dies in a fit at Bregetio, in Pannonia, Nov. 17. He is succeeded by
375 *Gratian*, and *Valentinian* II. (a child.)
Gratian persecutes the pagans.
Religious meetings of "heretics" intrdictd.
Theodosius suppresses the revolt of the Moors under Firman (372.)
Five synods or councils: at Ancyra, for the deposition of Hypsius, bishop of Parnassus; in Illyria, respecting the Trinity; at Nyssa, for the condemnation of Gregory; at Rome, for the condemnation of Lucius, bishop of Alexandria; and at Puza, for the settlement of the feast of Easter.
376 Peace concluded with Persia.
Re-appearance of the Huns; the Goths, under Fritigern, are defeated; they flee before the Huns.
The Romans endeavour to prevent the Goths from settling on the Danube.
Count Theodosius beheaded at Carthage.
Banishment of Gregory, bp. of Nyssa (372.)
Synod of Cyzica, in favour of the Semiarians and other sectaries.
377 The Goths, irritated by the Romans, rebel; they flee to arms under Fritigern, &c.
Adrianople besieged by the Goths.
The Lenticuses and Allemanni defeated by Gratian's generals—Richomer, &c.
The Apolinarists and Marcellianists condemned by a synod convened at Rome.
378 The Lenticuses (Goths) cross the Rhine.
Gratian sends an army to assist Valens's generals against the Goths.
Battle of Scythia Parva; indecisive.
Franks introduced into court of Gratian.
The confederated hosts of the Allemanni, numbering at least 40,000, defeated with terrible slaughter, at Colmas in Alsace (Argentaria), by Nannienus and Mellobaudes.
The Goth hostages in Asia massacred; Fritigern exacts a terrible vengeance.
Battle with the Goths near Adrianople; defeat and death of Valens.
Councils: at Rome, against the Arians; at Iconia, respecting the Nicene confession.
The Goths approach Constantinople, but are repulsed.
Death of Ephrem of Edessa (372.)
Gregory restored to his see at Nyssa (330.)
Chronicle of Hieronymus and the History of Ammianus ends this year.
379 Gratian bestows the eastern empire on *Theodosius* (called the Great) Jan. 19.
The statues of the heathen gods are pulled down by order of Theodosius.
Theodosius commences a four years' campaign against the Goths.
Gratian's persecuts. render him unpopular.
First appearance of the Lombards (Longobardi) in Italy.
Council at Rome against certain heretics.

379 Death of Basil of Cesarea, Jan. 1.
The Chronicle of Idatius commenced.
Ausonius, Pappus, and Theon, flourish.
Schism in the church at Antioch respecting the relative claims of Paulinus and Meletius to that see (382.)
380 Theodosius is baptized a catholic.
The Arians and Pagans persecuted.
Strife between the Visigoths and Ostrogoths, which Theodosius encourages.
The Apollinarians, Photinians, Macedonians, Priscillianists, Ardæans, and other Christian sects, flourish about this time.
The first ecclesiastical canon promulgated—according to Usher.
Three synods: at Milan, in favour of the virgin Indicia; at Antioch, respecting the admission of certain Arians; and in Africa, against Tichonius.
381 II. *General Council:* held at Constantinople, for the confirmation of the Nicene creed, and against heretics. Several canons are enacted at this council.
Three other councils or synods: at Aquilea, for the deposition of Arian bishops; at Saragossa, against the Priscillianists; and in Italy, against the Apollinarians.
Macedonian, the Arian, flourishes.
Athanaric succeeds Fritigern, as chieftain of all the Visigoths.
Defeat and retreat of Athanaric.
He makes peace with Theodosius, and dies soon after. He is succeeded by
Alaric, king of the Goths.
Gregory Nazianzen fl. at Constantinople.
382 Peace between the Romans and Goths.
Gregory returns to Nazianzen (381.)
Macarius, the ascetic, author of Greek Homilies and Discourses, fl. abt. this time.
The doxology (δοξα, &c.) introduced into Christian worship.
Council, for promoting Unity in the church at Antioch, held at Constantinople.
Synodal letters from Rome to Paulinus.
383 Birth of Arcadius in Spain (395.)
Maximus is made emperor by the legions in Britain; he crosses into Gaul.
Defeat of Gratian near Paris.
Gratian assassinated at Lugdunum (Lyons.)
Embassy of St. Ambrose to Maximus.
Spain, Gaul, and Britain ceded to Maximus, while Italy, Africa, Illyria belong to Valentinian II.
Gregory resigns the bpric. of Nazianzen.
Council, for promoting Unity among the sects, held at Constantinople.
384 Peace made with Sapor III. of Persia.
Valentinian II. is unpopular at Rome, because of his attachment to Arianism.
Maximus persecutes the Arians.
The Priscilianists are condemned by a synod convened at Bordeaux.
Birth of the Emperor Honorius (395.)
Siricius, bishop of Rome (399.)
[Remarkable as the first pope of whom we have any genuine Decretal Epistles.]
Ausonius, the epigrammatist, still flourishes.
385 I. Synod at Treves re-admits the bp. of Ithaca
Arcadius proclaimed Augustus.
Martyrdom of Priscillianus and Latronianus for heresy at Treves.
Exile of Instantius and Tiberianus.

374

The Ostrogoths (Greothingi) under Aletheus return, and are defeated by Promotus.
Death of Cyril of Jerusalem, aged 70; author of "Catechetical Discourses," &c.
Philastrius, bishop of Brescia, flourishes.
Three synods: at Rome; at Carthage and Leptes in Africa, on church discipline.
The Catholics are persecuted in the west.
Eunapius, of Sardis, phil., still fl. (374.)
Maximus aspires to the government of Italy.
He marches upon Valentinian by surprise, and puts him to flight.
Marriage of Theodosius and Galla, sister of Valentinian at Thessalonica.
Theodosius goes against Maximus.
Sedition and anti-tax riot in Antioch.
Claudian, epic writer and poet; Libanius and Ellebichus, orators, &c. flourish.
Death of Monica, St. Augustine's mother.
St. Jerome flourishes.
Death of Pacian, bp. of Barcelona, author of treatises on "Repentance and Baptism," "Epistles," &c.
3 Maximus defeated, captured, and beheaded at Aquilea.
Valentinian sole emperor of the west.
Inroads of the Franks.
Birth of Petronius Maximus (455.)
Palladius, the monk, from this time.
) Triumph of Theodosius at Milan.
Birth of Placidia Galla (423.)
The first king of the Longobards reigns.
Death of Paulinus of Antioch; Evagrius is elected to succeed him.
Two synods; at Nismes and at Antioch.
[At the latter the children of Marcellus, bishop of Apamea, were forbidden to avenge his murder.]
0 Infamous massacre of the inhabitants of Thessalonica, by Theodosius's order.
Penance of Theodosius at Milan.
Destruction of the temple of Serapis at Constantinople, by order of Theodosius.
Death of Gregory Nazianzen (? 389.)
Four synods: at Rome and at Milan, agst. Jovinian; two at Carthage on discipline.
390 Ammonius, of Alexandria, and Symmachus, the statesman, &c. flourish.
391 Usurpation of Argobast in Gaul.
Birth of Marcian (450 Greek empire.)
St. Augustin, bp. of Hippo, fl. (354, 430.)
Three councils: at Antioch, and Sida in Pamphylia, against the Messalians; and at Capua, on the Antiochian schism (379.)
392 Argobast deprived of his command.
Valentinian assassinated, May 15.
Eugenius (the grammarian) made emperor of the west by Argobast; he is called the tyrant of the western empire (259.)
Theodosius begins a two years' preparation for war against Eugenius.
Victories of Argobast over the Franks.
Death of Didymus of Alexandria (372.)
393 Honorius is created Augustus.
Eutropius and Ammianus Marcellinus, Roman historians, flourish.
Epiphanius, of Salamis, Sophronius, Dexter, Theotimus, &c. flourish.
Gildo, governor of Africa.
Three synods: at Sangara in Bithynia, respecting Easter; at Hippo, on discipline; and at Cabarsussi, against Primiam, bishop of Carthage.
394 Theodosius defeats Eugenius, through the treachery of his generals; a storm also contributes to Eugenius's defeat.
Eugenius behead. at the feet of Theodosius.
Suicide of Argobast two days after the batl.
Theodosius sole ruler of the empire.
Death of his wife, Galla, in child-bed.
The *braccari*, or breeches-makers, expelled Rome by Honorius.
Earthquakes in various parts of Europe.
Death of Ausonius (379.)
Theodorus, a friend of St. John Chrysostom, appointed bishop of Mopsuesta.
Synods of the Caverns, and of Vagais in Africa, one against, the other in favour, of Primian, bishop of Carthage (393.)
Council of Constantinople, for the adjustment of differences in bpric. of Bostra.
395 Theodosius dies at Milan, Jan. 17, aged 49.

Division of the Roman Empire between Honorius and Arcadius, sons of Theodosius.

The Western or Roman Empire.

95 *Honorius* (10 years old) succeeds Theodosius, under the guardianship of his chief-minister, Stilicho, a Vandal.
Milan the capital of the empire.
[The empire of Honorius included Italy, Gaul, Africa, Spain, Britain, Western Illyricum, Noricum, and Panonnia; comprehending every climate which is to be fnd. betw. the Grampians and Mt. Atlas.]
Stilicho, on the demand of Rufinus, sends back the eastern troops in Italy.
Stilicho carries on war agnt. the Visigoths, under Alaric, in Thrace and Greece.
Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, fl.
Death of Gregory of Nyssa (372.)
Celebration of the mass in Latin begun.
Augustin appointed bishop at Hippo.
396 Expedition of Stilicho into Thessaly against Alaric.
397 Gildo revolts from Honorius and becomes subject to Arcadius.
His cruelty to the sons of Mascezel.
Stilicho sends Mascezel against his brother, Gildo, in Africa.
Death of Ambrose, bishop of Milan.
Synods at Byzantium and Carthage on ecclesiastical discipline.
398 Marriage of the Emperor Honorius and Maria, daughter of Stilicho.
Battle near Thebeste; Gildo's army routed; Gildo hangs himself.
Stilicho, being jealous of Mascezel, plans and effects his death.
Gainas, tyrant of Asia (259.)
399 Journies of Honorius from Milan.
The Pagans persecuted; their images, temples, and altars destroyed.
Anastasius, bishop of Rome (402.)

400 Alaric ravages the north of Italy.
St. Martin, of Tours, still flourishes (368.)
Bells introduced into Campagna, by Paulinus, bishop of Nola, about this time.
Two synods: at Rome, against the Donatists; at Toledo, for re-admitting certain Priscillianists.
401 Original sin denied by Pelagius.
Two synods: at Carthage and Turin, respecting converted children of Donatists.
402 Alaric's progress in Italy; he invades and ravages Venetia and Liguria.
Innocent I. bishop of Rome (417.)
Synod at Milevia in Africa, for promoting the restoration of the Donatists.
403 Battle of Pollentia; defeat of Alaric.
Battle of Verona; Alaric defeated, retreats to Pannonia; his army suffers greatly.
Death of Epiphanius, at Cyprus, aged 70.
Council at Carthage concern. the Donatists.
404 Ravenna the capital of the empire.
Gladiatorial combats finally suppressed.
[The edicts of Constantine failed in uprooting those inhuman exhibitions.]
405 War with Radogast or Radagaisus (see 406.)
The Vulgate edition of the Bible, by St. Jerome, first issued.
Synods at Carthage and in Italy; the latter in favour of St. John Chrysostom.
406 Invasion of Radogast; he falls, and his followers flee into Gaul.—Marcellinus.
[According to Orosius, they perish of famine at Fiesole (Fæsuæ) in Tuscany.]
[Isodorus and others place the above in 405.]
Death of Maria, wife of Honorius (398.)
Herachanus, tyrant of Africa (259.)
The Vandals, Alans, Burgundians, Suevians, and other barbarous tribes, cross the Rhine on the last day of the year and invade Gaul. [These never returned to their original habitations.]
407 Gaul overrun by the Vandals, &c.
Revolt of Constantine in Britain.
He passes over into Gaul, wh. he subdues.
Pelagius and Cœlestius flourish at Rome.
Council at Carthage on discipline, &c.
Stilicho's designs on the eastern kingdom.
[Though Gaul was inundated and ravaged, and a rebellion broke out in Britain, yet Stilicho's whole activity was absorbed by his schemes upon Constantinople and his intrigues with Alaric.]
408 Marriage of Honorius and Thermantia, daughter of Stilicho (398, 406.)
Stilicho killed by Heraclian at Ravenna.
Persecution of Stilicho's friends; Thermantia is repudiated, &c.
Olympius at the head of affairs.
Alaric again invades Italy; Rome besieged; Honorius makes a treaty with Alaric, who forthwith retires into Tuscany (409.)
Constantine, tyrant of Gaul (259, 407.)
Sarus defeats Justinian and assassinates Nervigastes—generals of Constantine.
Constantine besieged in Vienne by Sarus.
Sarus driven beyond the Alps by Eudobincus and Gerontius—genls. of Constantine.
Constantine establishes himself at Arles.
His son, Constans, in Spain, is victorious over Didymus and Verinianus; who are put to death.
Two councils at Carthage on heresies, &c.
409 Reconciliation of Honorius and Constantine.
Constantine acknowledged emperor.
Honorius violates his treaty with Alaric; whereupon he besieges Rome a 2d time.
Attalus is set up as emperor by Alaric.
Alaric's departure is purchased for 5000 pounds of gold and other presents; he takes with him Placidia as prisoner.
Revolt of Gerontius in Spain; he makes his friend Maximus emperor.
Constantine having mrchd. to Verona, hears of Gerontius's revolt; he returns to Gaul.
Hermenric, king of the Suevi in Spain.
410 Deposition of Attalus; Alaric marches upon Ravenna, but is repulsed by Saros.
Rome captured by Alaric, and subjected to six days pillage.
Constans driven out of Spain by Gerontius.
The Donatists tolerated for a time.
Pelagius and Cœlestius remove to Africa.
Alaric dies at Rhegium, while planning an expedition against Sicily and Africa.
His tomb is sunk in the bed of the river Barentinus—the national custom.
Ataulphus, or Adaolphus, the Visigoth, succeeds Alaric.
Placidia still detained a prisoner.
411 Constans taken at Vienne and put to death by order of Gerontius.
Constantine besieged in Arles by Gerontius.
Approach of Constantius, Honorius's general; Gerontius raises the siege and flies.
Gerontius is attacked by his own troops in Spain; he first defends himself; then kills his wife and servant, and immediately commits suicide.
Surrender of Constantine to Constantius, on condition that his life shd. be spared.
Constantine, and his second Julius, sent into Italy, where they are put to death.
Constantius desires marriage with Placidia.
Revolt of Count Heraclian in Africa (408.)
Conferences between Catholics and Donatists at Carthage, for promotion of union.
412 Revolt of Jovinus in Gaul, at which Ataulphus, the Visigoth, connives (410.)
Sebastian put to death by Ataulphus.
Ataulphus makes a treaty with Honorius, and then retires into Gaul.
Council at Carthage; Pelagius, and his disciple Cœlestius, condemned (410.)
Donatists condemned by a synod at Cirtes.
413 Heraclian invades Italy; he is defeated by Count Marinus; he escapes to Carthage, where he is put to death.
Jovinus is killed by Ataulphus.
Rise of the kingdom of Burgundy.
Gundicar, first k. of the Burgunds in Alsace.
Victory of Boniface over the Goths, (under Ataulphus) at Massilia in Gaul.
414 The Donatists in Africa again persecuted.
Marriage of Ataulphus and Placidia, Honorius's sister (411.)
[This was the first marriage contracted between a Roman princess and a barbarian chieftain. Some of the ecclesiastics "improved" the event, by interpreting it as the fulfilment of Dan. xi. 6.]
Second elevation of Attalus (409.)
War between Constantius and Ataulphus.
415 Assassination of Ataulphus in Barcelona; he is succeeded by

415 *Wallia*, at Toulouse; who makes peace with Honorius.
416 Attalus is banished (409, 410, 414.)
Placidia restored by Wallia (410, 414, 417.)
Synods against Pelagius at Carthage and Milevium (407, 417.)
417 Marriage of Constantius and Placidia, widow of Ataulphus.
War of the Vandals with Wallia in Spain.
Zosimus, bishop of Rome (418.)
Pelagius and Cœlestius again condemned by a council held at Carthage (407, 410.)
418 Victory of the Goths (under Wallia) over the Vandals in Spain.
Return of Wallia and the Goths into Gaul.
Toulouse and the south-western part of Gaul ceded to the Goths (425.)
Death of Wallia; he is succeeded by *Theodoric* I., son of Alaric.
Rebellion of Maximus in Spain.
The followers of Pelagius and Cœlestius are persecuted.
Boniface, bishop of Rome (422.)
Schism of St. Eulalius at Rome.
Five synods in Africa: at Carthage, on Pelagianism; at Macriana, Septimuntia, Suffetula, and Thenes, on church discip.
Birth of Grata Honoria (450.)
419 Birth of Valentinian III. (424.)
The Vandals at war with the Suevi in Spain.
Synod at Ravenna, respecting Eulalius's schism at Rome.
Excommunica. of Apiarius of Mauritania.
420 Paulus Orosius, historian, flourishes.
421 *Constantius* III. receives a share of the government; but soon dies.
422 The revolt of Maximus suppressed.
Successful campaign of Boniface against the Vandals in Spain.
Celestine, bishop of Rome (432.)
The bishop of Fussula deposed by a synod at Hippo.
423 Honorius and Placidia quarrel; the latter escapes to Constantinople.
Death of Honorius, Aug. 27, aged 39, after a disastrous reign of 28 years and 8 mos.
Usurpation of Johannes at Ravenna.
Boniface is disposed to abandon the military profession; but is prevailed on by Augustine to retain his office.
424 Johannes abolishes many of the privileges of the clergy, who consqntly. oppose him.
Valentinian appointed Cæsar at Thessalonica by Theodosius.
Ardaburius and his son Aspar come into Italy to oppose the claims of Johannes.
425 Ardaburius falls into the hands of Johannes.
Ravenna entered, and Johannes taken, by Aspar, whom he sends to Aquilea, where he is put to death.
Invasion of the Huns and Vandals.
The Huns, under Ætius, invade Italy in support of Johannes; a battle ensues, but a peace is purchased by the empire.
Ætius is henceforth employed in the service of the empire.
Valentinian III. (5 years old) under the guardianship of Placidia (419.)
Theodoric, desirous of extending his territories, breaks the peace, by laying siege to Arles; but is compelled to retire by Ætius (418.)
426 The "Constitution of Valentinian," which establishes the authority of all the writings of the great lawyers, promulgated.
Augustin nominates Heraclius his succsor.
427 Ætius ensnares Placidia and Boniface into a distrust of each other; war is the result.
Clodion (? the first) king of the Franks, who now occupy the banks of the lower Rhine.
428 Genseric, the Vandal, settles in Africa, on the invitation of Count Boniface.
Ætius at war with the Franks.
Genseric sucds. Gunderic, kg. of the Vandals.
429 Boniface is reproached by Augustine.
Pelagians condemned by a synod at Troyes.
430 The Jugunthi conquered.
The treachery of Ætius discovered (427.)
Genseric and Boniface at war; the latter escapes to Hippo, where he is besieged by Genseric.
Death of Augustin, bishop of Hippo, during the siege.
431 Boniface flees to Rome; he is pardoned by Placidia and restored to favour.
Preliminary council at Rome, respecting a general council to be holden at Ephesus.
Cassian founds a monastery near Marseilles, and broaches the semi-Pelagian heresy.
St. Hilary, bishop of Arles, introduces the practice of singing set compositions (hymns) in public worship.
Death of Plutarch.
432 Single combat between Ætius and Boniface at Rome; Boniface dies soon after.
Sixtus III. bishop of Rome (440.)
433 St. Patrick preaches in Ireland.
University of Bologna fndd. by Theodosius.
434 The Huns, under Bleda and Attila ("the scourge of God") conquer Germany and Scythia.
Grata Honoria banished for incontinence to Constantinople.
435 Peace made with Genseric.
The Burgundians routed by Ætius in the Belgian provinces.
436 Theodoric again quarrels with Rome; he besieges Narbonne.
Pirates infest the Mediterranean.
Gonderic, king of the Burgunds.
437 Narbonne relieved by Litorius, and Theodoric defeated by Ætius.
Theodoric retreats to Toulouse.
Valentinian and Eudocia married.
Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Noricum given up to Theodosius.
438 War with the Goths under Theodoric.
Peace concluded with Hermeric, king of the Suevi, in Spain, who abdicates in favour of his son, *Rechila*, or Rechilda.
The poet Ammonius flourishes.
439 Genseric, the Vandal, takes Carthage (534.)
Theodoric besieged in Toulouse by Litoricus; the self-confidence of the latter leads to the overthrow of his army, and himself being made prisoner and put to death.
Avitus, the prefect of Gaul, makes peace with Theodoric favourable to the Goths.
Rechila, king of the Suevi, takes Merida.
440 Genseric ravages Sicily.
Leo (the Great) bishop of Rome (461.)
Increasing power and influence, political as well as ecclesiastical, of the bishops of Rome from this time.

440 Contest between the bishops of Rome and Constantin. for supremacy commenced.
441 War with the Vandals.
Church property taxed.
The empire groans under its burdens; and the people hope for relief only in the success of the barbarians.
Death of Hermenric, ex-king of the Suevi.
442 Peace with the Vandals.
443 Attila reigns alone over the Huns, after the murder of his fellow-chieftain, Bleda (434.)
444 Deposition of Celidonius (bp.) at Besançon.
The Manichæans condemned at Rome.
445 Celodonius restored by a Roman synod.
446 The Romans abandon Britain.
"The groans of the Britains"—to Ætius, &c.
The Vandals victorious in Spain.
447 *Rechiarius*, king of the Suevi, in Spain.
Priscillianists condemned at Toledo, Spain.
The bishops of Sicily prohibited alienating church funds by a Roman council.
448 Ravages of the Suevi in Spain.
Meroveus, king of the Franks.
450 Death of Placidia at Rome.
Attila demands Grata Honoria; he is denied her by Valentinian (418.)
Attila crosses the Rhine at Strasburg, and advances upon Orleans; but is repulsed by Ætius.
451 Battle of Chalons de Marne; Theodoric is slain; Attila and his hordes being defeated by Ætius retreat to the Danube.
[This was the last great battle fought by the Romans; there fell on both sides from 250,000 to 300,000 men.]
Thorismund suc. Theodoric, k. of the Goths.
452 Attila returns into Italy; he besieges and demolishes Aquileia, Altinum, Concordia, Padua, Vicenza, and Verona, and spreads ruin in his progress.
Milan and Pavia open their gates.
The expelled inhabitants of those towns flee to the low lands and the islands at the upper extremity of the Adriatic, where they soon establish
The Venetian Commonwealth.
Interview between Pope Leo and Attila; the latter is induced to quit Italy.
Thorismund, the Visigoth, murdered by his brothers, Frederic and Theodoric.
Theodoric II. succeeds Thorismund.
453 The power of the Huns declines.
454 Valentinian treacherously kills Ætius—the main protector of his country.
455 Violence of the Emperor Valentinian to the wife of Petronius Maximus.
Valentinian is assassinated, March 16.
Maximus proclaimed emperor; in a few months he is dethroned and murdered.
Rome subjected to fourteen days' plunder by Genseric, who came on the invitation of Eudocia (437.)
The empress, and thousands of her subjects, are taken captives.
Capua, Neapolis, and Nola, destroyed; and all Sicily in the hands of the Vandals.
Avitus, aided by the Visigoths, assumes the purple; Fronto his minister.
456 Ricimer, sent by Avitus, defeats the Vandals in a sea-fight off Corsica.
Expedition of Theodoric into Spain.
Theodoric defeats the Suevi.
456 First appearance of the Heruli in Spain.
Civil war between Avitus and Ricimer.
Battle of Placentia; Avitus defeated, deposed, and created a bishop.
Death of Avitus at Placentia.
Euthalius, Eucherius, and Prosper, fl.
457 *Majorian* made emperor by Ricimer.
Maldras, king of the Suevi.
458 Majorian defeats the Vandals on the Campanian coast.
Majorian sends a fleet to Africa against Genseric, while he proceeds into Gaul.
Childeric I., king of the Franks.
Assembly of divines to devise means for repairing the dreadful national injuries inflicted by the Huns.
459 War with Theodoric II. king of the west Goths; peace soon succeeds.
Majorian, at Arles, assembles all his forces to go against Genseric.
460 Destruction of the Roman fleet at Carthagena; retreat of Majorian.
Peace concluded with Genseric.
The Mediterranean commerce nearly annihilated by the Vandals, under Genseric.
Frumerius, king of the Suevi.
461 Plot against Majorian; on his return to Rome he abdicates, Aug. 2.
Sudden death of Majorian, Aug. 7.
Severus III. raised to the imperial dignity by Ricimer, Nov. 20.
Revolt of Marcellinus in Dalmatia.
Ejection of Hermes from the church of Narbonne.
Hilary, bishop of Rome (466.)
462 Genseric invades and ravages Italy.
Negociations with the eastern empire.
War with Theodoric II. in Gaul.
The cause of Hermes maintained at Rome.
463 *Remismund*, king of the Suevi.
The Paschal Cycle first calculated for 532 years by Victorinus.
464 Death of Beorgor, king of the Alans.
Defeat of the Vandals in Sicily, by Count Marcellinus.
465 Death of Severus in August (poisoned.)
Interregnum till 467.
466 *Euric* murders his brother, Theodoric II., king of the Visigoths, and succeeds.
Defeat of Euric in Gaul, by Ecdicius, the Roman general.
Chilperic I. king of the Burgunds.
Simplicius, bishop of Rome (483.)
[The bishops of Rome are elected by the united voice of the people and clergy.]
467 *Anthemius*, son-in-law of Marcian, the eastern emperor, assumes the purple.
Ricimer marries his daughter.
468 Quarrel between Anthemius and Ricimer; Epiphanius meditates between them.
Supplies sent to the aid of Leo agt. Genseric.
Death of Marcellinus, Severus's minister in Sicily, Aug.
469 Rogation days first appointed.
Extinction of the empire of the Huns (453.)
470 Massilia in Gaul taken by Euric, who occupies Arles. He also defts. the Britons.
[From about this year the succession of the kings of the Suevi is lost till the yr. 550.]
472 Ricimer besieges and takes Rome; Anthemius is killed, July 10 or 11.
Olybrius is made emperor by Ricimer.

472 Death of Ricimer of fever, Aug. 18 or 20.
Olybrius dies, Oct. 23.
Interregnum till March 473.
Eruption of Mount Vesuvius.
473 *Glycerius* proclaimed emperor at Ravenna.
Italy invaded by the Ostrogoths.
Glycerius purchases their retreat.
Julius Nepos proclaimed emperor at Ravenna, by order of Leo.
474 Glycerius defeated and made prisoner.
Julius Nepos succeeds to the purple.
Glycerius becomes bishop of Salona.
The simplicity and purity of the Christian life among the ministers of religion, give place to worldliness, lust of power, selfishness, luxury, and self-sufficiency.
Troubles in Auvergne; Euric, king of the Visigoths, expels the Romans.
475 Rebellion of Orestes; he expels Nepos, and raises to the empire—his son,
475 *Augustulus Romulus.*
Orestes refuses to give one-third of Italy to his mercenaries; they are dissatisfied.
Odoacer, king of the Scirri and Heruli, are joined by the discontented.
Civil war between Orestes and Odoacer.
Orestes is defeated, taken in Pavia, and put to death.
Lucidus renounces his opinions on predestination before a synod at Lyons.
476 Augustulus is deposed, and banished to one of the villas of Campagnia, by Odoacer, who thus puts an
End to the Western Empire of Rome.
The kingdom of Italy founded by Odoacer, the first barbarian who rules in Italy.
477 Odoacer declines the title of emperor; he sends ambassadors to Zeno, who are instructed to invest him with the sole authority of the Roman world.

THE REIGN OF HONORIUS VIEWED IN RELATION TO THE FALL OF ROME.

"The character of Honorius presents little that is attractive. His weakness was not accompanied either by the accomplishments or the amiableness of Gratian and Valentinian II.; and, though not naturally cruel, his fears impelled him occasionally to acts of blood and violations of good faith; and the interference of the secular power in the affairs of religion led to persecution, and consequent discontent. His feebleness prevented all personal exertion for the safety of his dominions; and his long reign—the longest the empire had known, with the exception of the reigns of Augustus and Constantine, the Great—determined the downfall of the Roman Empire. A long catalogue of usurpers, the sure indication of a weak government, is given by Orosius. Rome itself was taken by a foreign invader, for the first time since its capture by the Gauls under Brennus, in B.C. 390; and the barbarians acquired a permanent settlement in the provinces—the Visigoths, the Franks, and the Burgundians in Gaul, and the Suevi, Vandals, and Alans, in Spain; while Britain and Armorica became virtually independent. The vigour of Theodosius, the Great, and the energy of Stilicho, had deferred these calamities for a while, but the downfall of the latter left the remote parts of the empire defenceless; and all the military ability of Constantius just protected Italy, and preserved with difficulty some portions of the transalpine provinces."—*J. C. Means.*

EPOCH OF THE FALL OF ROME.

"Having, in our preceding pages, contemplated the long agony and inglorious dissolution of the Roman Empire of the West, we pause on the boundary which is usually defined to separate the history of the ancient from the modern world. The line thus drawn by the common agreement of historians is merely conventional: but the division is not altogether imaginary. The fall of the gigantic fabric of Roman sovereignty presents the most stupendous vicissitude in the political fortunes of the universe. It put a final period to that mighty power, which had for seven hundred years overshadowed the earth with its universal dominion; and, at the distance of fourteen centuries more, the growth, the rise, and the origin of all the existing institutions of civilized government and society remain to be traced up to the same determinate and memorable epoch. The extinction or suppression of the polity, the jurisprudence, and the manners of classical antiquity—the sudden substitution of new laws and customs, new orders of men, and even new principles and feelings, throughout the mass of the European communities—the last rude shock which overthrew the crumbling edifice of the old world's grandeur and glory—and the settlement on its ruins of the barbarian nations, which the lapse of succeeding ages was to expand and consolidate into the enduring monarchies of these latter times—all identify the appropriate commencement of modern history with the fall of the Western Empire of the Romans."—*Procter.*

INDEX

ABGARUS, treachery of, 201
Ataulphus succeeds Alaric, 518
——, his fidelity and death, 519
Ægidius, death of, 552
Æmilianus deserted by his troops and massacred, 265
Ætius, conduct of, 541
Africa, insurrection in, 49
Africa and Egypt, insurrection in, 317
——, revolt in, 459
Agricola in command in Britain, 51
—— advances into Scotland, 51
——, his expedition against the Caledonians, 52
——, his fresh campaign, 53
——, his battle with Galgacus, 53
——, his defeat of the Caledonians, 54
—— orders the circumnavigation of Britain, 55
—— is recalled, 57
Agriculture, state of in the Roman empire, 88
Alani, irruption of, 119
Alans, irruption of, 292
Alaric, his devastation in Greece, 495
——, his cruelty and tyranny, 496
—— in Epirus and Greece, 500
—— marches to Rome, 502
—— fails in an attempt upon Verona, 503
—— is appointed to a command in Illyricum, 507
——, his forbearance purchased, 508
—— prepares to march on Rome, 509
—— crosses the Po, 510
——, his reply to the senate, 511
—— marches to Rome, sacks the city, 513
—— ravages Italy; his death, 517
Alemanni, the, threaten the Western empire, 475
—— cross the Rhine, their defeat, 476
——, campaign against, 457
Amida, siege of, 377
Ammianus Marcellinus, escape of, 377
Anthemius, accession of, expedition to Africa, 553
——, his dispute with Ricimer, 555
——, death of, 556
Antinous, death of, 117
Antoninus Pius, his affection for Hadrian, 135
Antoninus Pius, military state of the empire on his accession, 137
——, his foreign policy, 138
——, his system of colonization, 139
——, his family, 140
——, deficiency of historical documents for his reign, his wisdom and laws, 141
——, his foreign arbitration and liberalities, and private virtues, 142, 143
——, death of, 144
Antonius revolts in Germany, defeat by Maximus, 49
Apollonius Tyanæus, anecdote of, 32
Apronianus, death of, 188
Arbogases, revolt of, 486
Arcadius and Honorius, accession of, 491
——, character of, 492
——, death of, 499
Argentoratum (Strasburg), battle of, 382
Armenia and Iberia invaded, 464
Armenia, settlement of, 529
Artaxerxes attacks the Romans, 235
Artogerassa, fall of, 464
Aspar, presumption of, 547
——, his insurrection and death, 548
Athanaric, death of, 478
Attila and Bleda, accession of, 531
Attila finds the sword of Mars, 531
—— resolves to attack the Eastern empire, 532
——, a conspiracy against his life, 533
——, the court of, 534
—— discovers his knowledge of the conspiracy, 535
——, his policy, 535
—— invades Gaul, besieges Orleans, 538
—— invades Italy, 540
——, death of, 542
Aurelian, lineage of, 281
—— declares war against Zenobia, 286
—— celebrates his triumph over her, 288
—— suppresses an insurrection at Rome, 289
——, assassination of, 290
Avidius Cassius, rise of, 153
——, his rebellion and death, 153, 154
Avitus raised to the throne by Theodoric, 548
——, death of, 550

Babylas, disinterment of, 406
Balbinus, history of, 250
Barcochebas, Jewish war of, 117
Bastarnæ, voyage of the, 299
Batavian cohorts, punishment of, 456
Boniface defeated, 525
Bonosus, insurrection of, 301
Britain, war in, 36
——, affairs of, 458
——, state of, 522
Byzantium reduced by Severus, 176

Cæcina and Marcellus, conspiracy of, 19
Cæsares, philosophical fable of, 409
Caledonians, the, ask peace of Severus, 189
Caracalla, his accession, 194
—— gains over the Prætorians, 196
—— engages in a war on the Rhine, 200
—— proceeds to the Danube, prepares to invade the Parthians, 201
—— is incensed with the people of Alexandria, 202
—— massacres the inhabitants, returns to Syria, 203
—— is assassinated by Martialis, 204
—— is fond of imitating Alexander, 205
——, his character, 205–207
—— is raised to the rank of the gods, 210
Carausius, defection of, 312
——, death of, 316
Carinus, his victory over Diocletian; is assassinated, 308
Carthage reduced by Genseric, 526
Carus, accession of, 303
——, his letter to the senate, proposes for war with the Sarmatians, 304
——, his victories in Illyricum and Persia, 305
——, his death, conjectures as to its cause, 305
Census (the) of Vespasian and Titus, 18
Cerealis advances into Gaul, defeats Valentinus, 11
——, his clemency and wisdom, 12
—— retakes the Roman camp, 13
——, his victory over Civilis, 15
—— (Petilius) in Britain, 50
Chalons, battle of, 539
Christian religion, progress of the, 99
Cilo, Fabius, indignities inflicted on, 99
Civilis massacres the troops, 10
——, craft of, 13
—— attacks the Roman camp, 13
—— attempts to retrieve his affairs, 16
—— submits to the Romans, 16
——, revolt of, joined by the Gauls, 7, 8
Claudius the Second, extraction of, defeats Aureolus, 278
—— defeats the Goths, 280
Claudius the Second, his death, 281
Cleander, ministry of, 156
Clidius Albinus, history of, 167
——, confidence of Commodus in him, 168
—— resolves to contend for the empire, 179
—— is defeated, commits suicide, 180
Commagene reduced to a Roman province, 17
Commodus, 155
——, crimes of, 156
——, savage cruelty of, 157
——, assassination of, 158
Constans, murder of, by order of Magnentius 359
Constantine is raised to the throne of Britain 506
——, downfal and death of, 507
Constantine the Second, accession of, 355
—— invades the dominion of Constans, is surprised and slain, 358
—— escapes from Nicomedia, 331
—— is nominated heir to Constantius, 332
—— marries the daughter of Maximianus, 334
——, his victory over Maxentius, 338
——, his further successes and final victory, 339
——, his policy, 340
——, arch of, 341
——, his war with the Goths, 343. *See* Licinus.
—— founds Constantinople, 346
——, his political regulations, 351
——, war with the Goths and Sarmatians, 353
——, his death and character, 354
Constantius and Galerius appointed Cæsars, 314
——, their lineage, 314
——, government and offices, 315
—— takes Boulogne, 316
—— assume the purple, 320
—— dies at York, 332
—— death of the latter, 337
Constantius rejects the offers of Magnentius, 360
—— associates Julian in the empire, 369, 370
—— visits Rome, 373
——, his jealousy of Julian, 388
——, preparations of, against Julian, his death 395
Crispus, death of, 352

Dacia surrendered to the Goths, 290
Dacian war, 46
Daphnæ, destruction of the temple of, 406
Decebalus raised to the throne, 47
—— is defeated by Julianus, 47
Decius raised to the throne, 260
—— is alarmed by the Goths, defeated, 261
—— is slain, together with his son, 262
——, character of, 263
Delatores, or informers, 82

eserters (German), adventure of, 52
idius Julianus purchases the empire, 162
——, his character, 163
——, his fears, 164
——, his miserable efforts, 170
——, his assassination, 171
ioclетian, election of, prophecy in connection with him, 307
——, his birth, rise in the army, his moderation, 309
—— represses the barbarians of the West, appoints Maximianus his colleague, 310
——, his successes in the East, 313
——, his successes against the German tribes, 317
——, his supposed severity; war with Persia, 319
——, his triumph; returns to Nicomedia, 322, 323
—— retires into private life; division of his empire, 324, 325
——, reflections on his life and habits, 326–329
——, his death, 330
Dion Cassius, danger of, 232
Domitianus, intrigues of, 35
——, character of, 41
——, early life of, retired habits, 42
——, his fickleness and inconstancy, 43
——, his portrait, by Tacitus, 43
——, his gloomy feast to the knights and senators, 44
——, his administration of justice, 44
——, his expedition and imaginary triumph over the Catti, 45
—— institutes games, 46
—— is styled Dacicus, 48
——, tyranny of, 57
——, his assassination, 58

Eutropius and Gainas succeed to power, 494
——, death of, 497
Egyptian war, 301. *See* Probus.

Faustina, licentiousness of, 144
——, death of, 154
Firmus rises against the Romans, 460
Florianus, defeat and death of, 296
Franks, the, 538
Frontinus in Britain, 50
Fuscus is defeated and slain, 47

Gainas, revolt of, 497
——, his defeat and death, 498, 499
Gallienus defeats the Alemanni, 268
——, character of, 272
——, death of, 277
——, disturbances during his reign, 274, 275
Gallus, emperor, makes a treaty with the Goths, 263
—— is put to death by the legions, 264
—— declared Cæsar, 365
——, his cruel and extravagant conduct, 366
—— massacres Domitian and Montius, 367
——, death of, 368
Gaul, state of, 521
Genseric wages war with the Romans, 525
——, his ulterior designs, 527
——, policy of, 554
German tribes, invasion of the, 283
—— defeat the Romans, 283
—— are expelled, 284
—— *See* Constantius.
Gerontius, his revolt in Spain, 506
Geta, character of, 195
——, his murder, 196
——, apotheosis of, 197
Glycerius, accession of, 556
Gordian chosen emperor, 246
—— associates his son, 247
Gordiani, the, slain, 248
——, terror at Rome during this event, 248, 249
Gordianus the Third raised to the throne, 253
——, his expedition against the Persians, 256
—— is murdered by Philip, 257
Goths, repulse of, extent of their ravages, 276
——, new invasion of; they sail to the Hellespont, 279
—— are defeated by Claudius, almost exterminated, 280
——, their ships destroyed, 281
——, fresh irruption of, 282
——, their war with Constantine, 342–353
Gothic war, the, 466
——, conclusion, and treaty of peace, 467
—— (Arcadius), 494
Goths, the, are defeated by Emilianus, 264
—— invade the Illyrian provinces, 268
—— invade Asia Minor, and take Trebizond, 269
—— new invasions of, 275
—— character of, 515
—— effects of Christianity on them, 515
—— settle in Gaul, 520
Gratianus and Valentinianus, accession of, 468
Gratianus, character of, 477
—— expelled from Gaul, is assassinated, 482
—— invades Italy, defeated and put to death, 483–486
Greece deprived of liberty, 18

Hadrianus, his life and accession, 105, 106
——, his election confirmed by the senate, 107
——, his birth and parentage; his dream, 107

Hadrianus, his early life, 107
—— marries Sabina, 108
—— remains in the East, 109
—— bounds his empire by the Euphrates, 110
—— returns to Rome, his liberality, 110
——, his respect for the senate, 111
——, his expedition against the Sarmatæ and Roxolani, 112
——, a conspiracy against him, 113
——, his largesses and voyages, 113
——, his military wall in Britain, 114
—— visits Spain and returns to the East, 114
—— is archon at Athens, visits Ætna, 115
—— visits Africa, returns to Rome, goes to Egypt, 116
—— completes his travels and returns to Rome, 117
——, his villa at Tivoli, 119
——, his public works, 120
—— removes the obelisk of Nero, 121
——, his laws, laws respecting slaves, 122
——, his laws on bankruptcy and treasure-trove, 123
——, his attention to civic morality, military regulations, 123
—— reforms abuses, his love of simplicity, 124
——, his private life and disinterestedness, 125
——, his modesty, encouragement of the arts, 126
——, his jealousy of men of eminence, 127
——, his interview with Apollodorus the architect, 128
——, his humour and curiosity, 130
——, his love of hunting, 131
——, he falls into a decline, 132
—— adopts Commodus Verus, 132
—— repents his choice, death of Verus, 133
—— adopts Antoninus, 133
——, death of, 135
Heliogabalus, or Elagabalus, history of, 214
—— supposed to be the son of Caracalla, 214
——, revolt in his favour, 215
—— is acknowledged emperor, 216
——, indication of his artful temper, 219
——, conspiracies against him, murders Gannys, 220
——, his effeminacy, introduces the worship of the sun, 220, 221
—— celebrates the marriage of the sun and moon, 222
——, his extravagance, adopts Alexander Severus, 223
—— wishes to degrade him, 223
——, insurrection of the Prætorians, his death, 224, 225
Heraclion, insurrection of, 518
Herculaneum and Pompeii, destruction of, 38
Hippo, siege of, 526
Honoria, princess, 541
Honorius, accession of, 488
——, marriage of, 500
—— enters Rome, 503
—— fixes his government in Ravenna, 504
——, obstinacy of, 512
——, death of, 523
Horestii, obscurity as to their country, 56
Huns, history of, 530. *See* also Attila
——, inroads of the, 469

IMPERIAL tyranny felt most at Rome and by the higher orders, 83
Isaurians, invasion of, A. D. 104. See Arcadius and Honorius.

JERUSALEM under the name of Ælia Capitolina, 118
Jewish war, 7
Jews, revolt of the, 117
——, prodigies foretelling their destruction, 118
Jovian, election of, his lineage. 438
——, precautions adopted by, 447
—— proceeds to Edessa, 447
—— celebrates his consulship, 448
——, his death, 448
——, his son and wife, notice of, 449
Jovinus, revolt and death of, 519
Julian, situation of, 368
—— is sent to Athens, recalled to Milan, 369
——, reflections of, 371
——, his first campaign in Gaul, 379
—— defeats the Alemanni, second campaign, 380
——, his campaign against the Leti, Alemanni, 381
—— attacks the Franks, 383
——, his third Gallic campaign, 384
——, expedition beyond the Rhine, 385
—— repairs to Gaul, civil administration, 386
——, his interview with Florentius, 387
——, part of his forces recalled, 388
—— is proclaimed emperor, 389
——, his vision, letter to Constantius, 391
——, his fourth and fifth expedition beyond the Rhine, 392
——, rupture with Constantius, and advance on Illyricum, 394
—— enters Constantinople, acknowledged emperor, 397
—— reforms the palace, 399
——, his conduct towards the senate; military plans, 400
—— Persian invasion; superstition; he sets out, 401

Julian, clemency of, 402
——, his inconsistency, reception at Antioch, 403
——, his appearance on festivals, 406
——, injudicious measures of, 408
—— attempts to rebuild Jerusalem, 411
—— sets out from Antioch, 414
—— enters the Persian territory, his speech, 415
—— advances into Assyria, occupies Anatha, 417
—— invades Assyria, captures Perisabor, 418
——, his speech, capture of Maogamalcha, 421
——, cruel act of; passes the Tigris, reaches Ctesiphon, burns his fleet, 422, 423
—— is warned by Hormisdas, 425
—— summons a council of war, battle of Marenga, 427
——, his vision; he is wounded, 430
——, his dying address, his death, 431, 432
——, his character, burial, 433–436
Julius Nepos, death of, 557
Justina and her son fly to Thessalonica, 484

Law (Roman), excellences of, 83
Learning, decay of, 94
Legacy laws, the Julian and Papian, 91
Legions, the, dejection of, death of Vocula, 9
——, they take the oath of allegiance to the Gauls, 9
Legions (the Roman) resume their duty, 12
Leo the Great, accession of, 547
—— the Second, accession of, 548
Licinius raised to the empire, 335
——, cruelty of; his defeat by Constantine, 342
——, his defeat at Chrysopolis, his death at Thessalonica, 345
Limigantes, extinction of the, 357
Literature, state of at Rome, 91
Longinus, execution of, 287

Macrinus, reign of, applies to the senate, 208, 209
——, his injudicious appointments, his son proclaimed Cæsar, 210
——, his affected manners, timidity in negotiating with the Parthians, 211
——, restores the kingdom of Armenia, his luxury; attempts to reform the army, 212
——, conspiracy against him, 213
——, prepares to take the field, 215
——, he is defeated, 215
——, pursued and put to death, 216
——, his character, laws, state of the empire, 217
Magic and divination, 453
Magnentius rejects all terms of peace, 362
——, his losses, defeat and death, 363, 364
Majorianus, elevation of, his wise laws, 550, 551
——, his abdication and death, 552
Mamæa, wise conduct of, 227
Marcellinus, insurrection of, 552
——, execution of, 188
Marcianus, accession of, 536
—— resists Attila, 536
——, inactivity of, 546
——, death of, 547
Marcomanni and Quadi. *See* Marcus Aurelius
Marcus Aurelius, education of, 145
——, associates L. Verus in the empire, 146
——, his war with Parthia, its successful termination, 147
——, virtues of, he persecutes the Christians, 148
——, causes of this persecution, 149
——, associates Commodus in the empire, 154
——, his second war with the Marcomanni, 154
——, his death, 154
Maternus, conspiracy of, 156
Maxentius seizes the imperial purple, 333
—— prepares to attack Constantine, 337
Maximianus, lineage and character of, 311
——, his war against the Gauls, 312
——, his war with the Franks, 312
—— returns to power, 333
—— plots against Maxentius, 336
——, his death, 336
Maximin and Licinius, war between, 341
——, death of, 342
Maximinus, early history of his gigantic stature, 241
—— aspires to the throne, his dissimulation, 242
—— gains the army; his cruelties, 243
——, his war with the Germans, extends his oppressions, 245
—— an insurrection occasioned, 246
—— prepares for war, besieges Aquileia, 251
—— is repulsed, slain by his soldiers, 252
—— joy at Rome on the news of his death, 252
Maximus and Balbinus, election of, 249
——, character of, 249
——, assassination of, 253
——, his revolt in Britain, 481
—— sends an embassy to Theodosius, 482
Misopogon, the, 408
Mucianus and Primus, jealousy of, 4
——, cruelty of; his plan to assassinate Piso, 5

Mucianus, his preparations at Rome, 10
—— detains Domitianus from the war, 14
Mursa, battle of, 362
Mysitheus, administration of, 255
——, death of, 256

NARSES vanquished by Galerius, 320
Nerva, his lineage and difficult position, 60
—— the military disaffected to him, 60
—— recalls the exiles and enacts good laws, 61
——, his clemency, censures thereon, 62
——, his liberality and economy, 63
——, his justice and moderation, 64
—— the Prætorians mutiny, 66
—— adopts Trajan, 67
—— good effects of this adoption, 67
——, his death, 67
Newman (Dr.), his opinion on the miracles of Vespasian and those of Prince Hohenlohe, 28
Nisibis, distress of, 444
Numerianus proclaimed emperor, 306
——, his sickness and death, 306

ODOACER, conduct of, 558
—— establishes himself in Italy, 558, 559
Olybrius, death of, 556
Ostrogoths, their defeat on the Danube, 479
—— are received into Phrygia, 480
Orestes, insurrection of, 557
Orleans relieved by Ætius and Theodoric, 539

PALMYRA, siege of, 286
—— sacked by the Romans, 288
Papinianus, death of, 198
Para, the son of Tiranus, history of, 465
——, his assassination, 466
Paris, state of, under Julian, 383
Parthamisiris, story of, 76, 77
Parthian monarchy, state of, 103
Paulinus, (Suetonius,) in Britain, 50
Perennis, ministry of, 156
Persian empire, renovation of, 235
Persians, the, defeated by Odenatus, 273
——, the, sue for peace from Diocletian, 321
—— peace for forty years, 322. *See* Sapor
Pertinax, early life of, 158
——, his offices and wise government, 159
——, his assassination, 160
—— state of the empire, 161
Pescennius Niger, character of, his revolt, 165, 166
——, his army worsted, 175
——, defeated and slain, 176
Petronius Maximus, his accession, 543
——, his death, 544
Philippus murders Gordianus, his reign, 257
——, his family, marches against the Carpi, 258
—— defeats them, celebrates the secular games, 259
—— is slain at the battle of Verona, 260
Philosophy not authoritative, 98
Piso, death of, 6
Placidia, administration of, 524
Pliny, death of, 37
Pliny the younger, 101
——, his official dignities, 102
Plotina, the empress, forgery of, 106
Polemo, anecdote of, 143
Probus, early services of, 294
——, his favour with Tacitus, is elected emperor with Florianus, 295
——, his election confirmed by the senate, 29
——, his operations in Gaul, his successes, 29
—— builds a wall from the Danube to the Rhine, plans of colonization, 298
—— subdues the Isaurians, 299
——, his negotiation with Persia, 301
——, his triumph, public works, 302
—— is assassinated, his virtues, 303
Procopius, revolt of, 453
Proculus, insurrection of, 301
Progress, difficulties in the way of, 95
Pulcheria, government of, 528

QUADI and Sarmati, war of Constantius with the, 374
Quadi, dispute with, 461
Quintilius, death of, 282

RADAGAISUS. *See* Stilicho.
Revenue, the Roman, under the empire, 90
Ricimer proposes Olybrius as emperor, 555
Roman empire, the moral state of, 96
—— readings and the diffusion of knowledge, 92
—— code of laws, 93
Romans under Decius, defeat of, 261
——, character of, in the time of Alaric, 514
Rupinus, his character, his cruelty, 492
——, his disappointment in the marriage of Arcadius, 493
——, death of, 494

SABINA, death of, 34
Sabinus (Julius) defeated,
Sapor, accession of, 255
—— advances on Mesopotamia, 270
—— takes Valerian prisoner, 271
—— invades the Roman territories, 356
——, battle of Singara, siege of Nisibis, 356, 357

Sapor negotiates with the Romans, invades Mesopotamia, 375, 376
—— attacks the Romans on Julian's death, 439
—— offers peace, his insincerity, 441
Saturninus elected emperor, his defeat and death, 300
Saxons, the inroad of, 458
Severus, reign of, 161
——, biographical account of, 168
—— resolves to punish the murderers of Pertinax, 169
——, his rapid march on Italy, 169
——, his position and conduct, 170
——, his accession to the throne, 171
——, his caution and policy, 171
—— disbands the Prætorians, enters Rome, 172
—— temporizes with Albinus, 174
—— resolves on a war with Niger, 175
——, his cruelty, advances on Mesopotamia, 177
——, his rupture with Albinus, 178
——, his severity, restores the memory of Commodus, 181
—— flatters the soldiers, resumes the war in Asia, 183
—— captures Ctesiphon, besieges Atra, 184
—— raises the siege of Atra, visits Egypt, 185
—— returns to Rome, his increased severity, 186, 187
—— resolves to invade Caledonia, 188
——, his progress, death, and character, 190, 191, 192
Severus (Alexander), purifies the religious rites, 226
——, his character from Herodian, 227
——, mildness of his temper, patriotism, 228
——, his various pursuits, honours, talent, 229
——, his love of the arts, 230
—— reforms civil affairs, the army seditious, 231
——, his firmness and attendant success, 232, 233
—— prepares for an Eastern war, 234
—— musters his army at Antioch, 236
—— invades Persia, gains a signal victory, 237
—— marches to the banks of the Rhine, 238
——, his assassination, 230
Scudilo, stratagem of, 368
Self-dependence discouraged at Rome, 86, 87
—— security of property at Rome, 90
Servianus and Fuscus, execution of, 134
Singara, siege of, by Sapor, 378
—— and the Castle of the Moors surrendered, 445
Society (Roman), servility of, 84
—— condition of the people at large, 89
Sophists, the, 99
Stoics, their philosophy and discipline, 97
Stilicho, energy of, 501
—— saves Honorius at Asta, 502
—— defeats the Goths at Polentia, 502
—— destroys the army of Radagaisus, 504
—— disgrace and death of, 508
——, his friends persecuted, 509
Sylvanus, accusation, revolt, and death of, 372

Tacitus elected emperor, 291
—— encourages the arts, 292
——, his death, 293
Temple of Peace, dedication of, 18
Tetricus, his war with Aurelian, 284
—— betrays his troops, 285
Theodoric, his victories in Spain, 549
Theodosius, successes of, 459
——, fate of, 461
——, accession of his policy, 478
—— resolves on war, 484
—— corrects the abuses of government, 485
—— restores Valentinianus, prepares for war, 486, 487
——, his victory, death, 487–489
——, his character, reflections upon, 489, 490
—— solicits peace of Attila, 533
——, death of, 536
Thundering legion, the, 150, 151, 152
Tiridates, exploits of, 320
Titus, his education, character, and reign, 29, 30
——, his services in the East, he proceeds to Rome, 31
——, triumphal arch of, 32
——, temporary unpopularity, 33
—— ascends the throne, 33
——, his generous conduct to two conspirators, 34
—— discourages public informers, 34
——, his remarkable sayings, 35
——, his forgiving disposition, 36
——, his generosity and self-denial, 39
—— finishes the amphitheatre, 39
——, his illness and death, 40
Trajanus, life and accession of, 69, 70
——, first measures of his government, 71, 72
——, his war with the Daci, 73
—— builds a bridge over the Danube, 74
——, his final conquest of Dacia, 75
——, his dispute with Parthia, 75
——, chronology of his reign, 78
——, external and internal connections of Rome in his time, 79
——, nature of his government, 80

Trajanus, column of, 85
——, government of, his justice, 100
——, his Eastern expedition, 102
——, his sickness and death, 104
Treasons, the imperial law of, under Trajan, 81
——, its extensive nature, 82
Trebellius Maximus in Britain, 50
Tribigild, insurrection of, 496

ULPIAN, murder of, 231

VALENS, defeat and death of, 472, 473
——, policy of, 468
—— permits the Visigoths to cross the Danube, 469
Valentinianus, death of, 486
—— the Third, accession of, 523
—— elected emperor, 450
——, his family, firmness, 451
—— assumes Valens as his colleague, 452
—— sends troops to Asia Minor, 453
—— erects fortresses on the Rhine, 457
—— repairs to Illyricum; his death, 463
—— murders Ætius, 542
——, death of, 543
Valerianus, character of, 265
——, his reign not prosperous, 266
—— conducts the war against the Persians, 267
——, his miserable captivity and death, 271
Vandals, the, invade Africa, 524
—— advance on Rome, sack of the city, 544
—— plunder carried to Carthage, 544
——, piracies of, 553
Vertius Bolanus in Britain, 50
Verus, death of, 150
Vespasian proclaimed emperor, 1
——, his disposition, character, and military reputation, 2, 3
—— rebuilds the Capitol, 7
—— proceeds to Rome, 7
——, triumph of, 17
——, his wise enactments, his military reform, 20
——, his civil and judicial regulations, 20
——, his social and personal habits, 22
——, his patronage of letters, 23
—— builds the Colisæum, 23, 24
——, false imputation of avarice, 25
——, his daily mode of life, his death, 26
——, miracles imputed to his agency, 27
Vesuvius, eruption of, 36
Vetranio assumes the title of emperor, 359
—— is deposed, 361
Virginius, history of, his reputation, 65
——, his epitaph, 66
Visigoths permitted to cross the Danube, 470
——, their ill treatment, 470
——, their revolt and success, 470
—— defeat the Romans, 472
——, their ravages, 473
——, their youth massacred, 474
——, under Theodoric, 537
Vologeses applies to Vespasian for help, 17, 18

WALLIA succeeds Ataulphus, 520

ZENOBIA, character of, she asserts her independence, 285
——, her war with Aurelian, 286
Zeno, accession of, 548



LONDON : PRINTED BY W. CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

ENCYCLOPÆDIA METROPOLITANA;

OR,

SYSTEM OF UNIVERSAL KNOWLEDGE:

ON A METHODICAL PLAN, PROJECTED BY S. T. COLERIDGE.

New and Revised Edition, printed in crown 8vo.

PUBLISHED IN MONTHLY VOLUMES, EACH CONTAINING A COMPLETE TREATISE.

THE SECOND EDITION of the ENCYCLOPÆDIA METROPOLITANA will be handsomely printed, in a series of CABINET VOLUMES IN CROWN OCTAVO, in Long Primer Type. The whole Work will be THOROUGHLY REVISED, many NEW TREATISES will be added, and the articles will all be provided with comprehensive INDEXES, or with analytical TABLES OF CONTENTS. It will be abundantly Illustrated by Maps, Woodcuts, and Engravings. The PLAN of the WORK, the NAMES of the CONTRIBUTORS, and a Detailed Account of the CONTENTS, are given in a PROSPECTUS, which may be had gratis of all Booksellers.

Volumes now Ready.

Vol. I., price 2*s*. cloth lettered,

INTRODUCTORY DISSERTATION ON THE SCIENCE OF METHOD. By SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE. With a Synopsis.

CONTENTS:—Philosophical Principles of Method; Illustration of those Principles; Application to the General Concatenation and Development of Studies; Plan of the Encyclopædia Metropolitana as founded on the Principles of Method.

Vol. II., price 5*s*. cloth lettered,

THE PHILOSOPHY OF LANGUAGE. PART I., comprehending UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR, or the Pure Science of Language. By Sir JOHN STODDART, Knt., LL.D. Second edition, Revised by the Author.

Vol. III., price 3*s*. cloth lettered,

LOGIC. By the Most Reverend RICHARD WHATELY, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. The Original Edition, complete, with a comprehensive Synopsis and a copious Index by the Editor.

Vol. IV., price 3*s*. 6*d*. cloth lettered,

RHETORIC. By the Most Reverend RICHARD WHATELY, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. The Original Edition, complete, with a comprehensive Synopsis and a copious Index by the Editor.

Vol. V., price 6*s*. cloth lettered,

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. FIRST DIVISION: THE RISE AND EARLY PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY. By the Right Reverend SAMUEL HINDS, D.D., Bishop of Norwich. A New Edition, Revised. To which is added, A DISSERTATION ON MIRACLES. By the Rev. J. H. NEWMAN, B.D., Oriel College, Oxford.

Vol. VI., price 4*s*. cloth lettered,

POLITICAL ECONOMY. By WILLIAM NASSAU SENIOR, Esq., A.M., Professor of Political Economy in the University of Oxford.

Vol. VII., price 2*s*. 6*d*. cloth lettered,

HISTORY OF THE JEWS, from the Time of Alexander the Great to the Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus; A.M. 3595, B.C. 409, to A.D. 70. By the Venerable WILLIAM HALE HALE, M.A., Master of the Charter House, and Archdeacon of London.

Vol. VIII., price 6*s*. cloth lettered,

SACRED HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY, from the Antediluvian Period to the time of the Prophet Malachi; A.M. 1 to A.M. 3607, B.C. 397. Edited by the Rev. F. A. COX, D.D., LL.D.

Vol. IX., price 7*s*. 6*d*. cloth lettered,

HISTORY OF GREEK LITERATURE. By the Hon. Sir THOMAS NOON TALFOURD, D.C.L.; the Right Reverend CHARLES JAMES BLOMFIELD, D.D., Bishop of London; R. WHITCOMBE, Esq., M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge; E. POCOCKE, Esq.; the Rev. J. B. OTTLEY, M.A., late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford; and the Rev. HENRY THOMPSON, M.A., late Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge, Curate of Wrington.

Vol. X., price 5*s*. cloth lettered,

MORAL AND METAPHYSICAL PHILOSOPHY. By the Rev. F. D. MAURICE, Chaplain to Lincoln's Inn, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, King's College, London. A New Edition, entirely Re-written. Part I., ANCIENT PHILOSOPHY.

Vol. XI., price 5*s*. cloth lettered,

INTRODUCTION TO UNIVERSAL HISTORY. Two Dissertations:—1. On the USES of HISTORY as a STUDY; 2. On the SEPARATION of the EARLY FACTS of HISTORY from FABLE. By Sir JOHN STODDART, Knt., LL.D. A New Edition, Re-written.

Vol. XII., price 8*s*. 6*d*. cloth lettered,

A MANUAL OF ROMAN ANTIQUITIES. By WILLIAM RAMSAY, A.M., Trinity College, Cambridge, Professor of Humanity in the University of Glasgow. With Map and numerous Engravings. Second edition.

Vol. XIII., price 12*s*. 6*d*. cloth lettered,

A MANUAL OF BOTANY, being an Introduction to the Study of the STRUCTURE, PHYSIOLOGY, and CLASSIFICATION of PLANTS. By JOHN HUTTON BALFOUR, M.D., F.L.S., F.R,S.E., Professor of Medicine and Botany in the University of Edinburgh. With numerous Illustrations. Second edition.

Vol. XIV., price 3*s*. 6*d*. cloth lettered,

A MANUAL OF ELECTRO-METALLURGY, including the APPLICATIONS of the ART to MANUFACTURING PURPOSES. By JAMES NAPIER, F.C.S. Second edition, Revised and Enlarged. With numerous Illustrations.

Vol. XV., price 9*s*. cloth lettered,

HISTORY OF GREECE, from its Earliest Records to the Close of the Peloponnesian War. By the Hon. Sir T. N. TALFOURD, D.C.L.; the Rev. J. B. OTTLEY, M.A., late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford; J. T. RUTT, Esq.; and E. POCOCKE, Esq. With numerous Illustrations.

"This book is altogether a gem; and for the family library, or for presents to young men, there has seldom been such a volume offered to the public at so low a price."—*Glasgow Citizen.*

Vol. XVI., price 6*s*. cloth lettered,

A MANUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY; or, Treatise on the Production of Pictures from Nature by Calotype, Daguerreotype, and other Photographic Processes. By ROBERT HUNT, Esq., Professor of Mechanical Science in the Museum of Practical Geology. Third edition, Rewritten, and Illustrated by 93 Engravings.

Vol. XVII., price 3*s*. cloth lettered,

VETERINARY ART. A Practical Treatise on the Diseases of the Horse. By W. C. SPOONER, Esq. Illustrated by numerous Engravings.

Introduction.—Anatomy and Physiology of the Horse.—General Principles by which the Diseases of the Horse are to be combated and overcome.—Diseases of the Chest and Passage.—The Abdominal Viscera and Brain.—Specific Diseases.—Local Diseases.

Vol. XVIII., price 8*s*. cloth lettered,

EARLY ORIENTAL HISTORY: comprising the Histories of Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Lydia, Phrygia, and Phœnicia, &c. Edited by the Rev. Professor EADIE, D.D., LL.D., F.S.A., Professor of Biblical Literature to the United Presbyterian Church. With Illustrations from the most authentic sources.

Vol. XIX., price 8*s*. 6*d*. cloth lettered,

HISTORY OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC, from the Earliest Records to the Death of Sylla. By the late Rev. THOMAS ARNOLD, D.D., of Rugby; the Rev. J. H. B. MOUNTAIN, D.D., Prebendary of Lincoln; the Rev. G. C. RENOUARD, B.D, Fellow of Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge; the Right Rev. M. RUSSELL, D.C.L., LL.D., Bishop of Glasgow; and the Hon. Sir THOMAS NOON TALFOURD, D.C.L. Edited by E. POCOCKE, Esq. With an Introductory Dissertation on the Credibility of Early Roman History, by the late Rev. THOMAS ARNOLD, D.D. Illustrated by 130 Wood Engravings.

Vol. XX., price 7*s*. 6*d*. cloth lettered,

BIBLICAL ANTIQUITIES; with some Collateral Subjects, including the Language, Geography, and Early History of Palestine. By F. A. COX, D.D., LL.D. With Maps and 185 Wood Engravings.

Vol. XXI., price 12*s.* 6*d.* cloth lettered,

A MANUAL OF METALLURGY; or, PRACTICAL TREATISE ON THE CHEMISTRY OF THE METALS. By JOHN ARTHUR PHILLIPS.

Mineralogy, Mining, Mechanical Preparation of Ores, Construction of Furnaces, Economy of Fuel, the Smelting of Iron, Copper, Tin, Lead, and other common Metals—the Processes of Crushing, Washing, and the Amalgamation of Gold and Silver Ores—and the important subject of Assaying—are treated of fully and practically. The Work is illustrated by 216 Engravings, exhibiting the most approved Furnaces and Machinery.

Vol. XXII., price 4*s.* cloth lettered,

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, in the Second and Third Centuries: including a Biographical and Critical Account of the Ecclesiastical Writers and Heretics of that Period. By JAMES AMIRAUX JEREMIE, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.

Vol. XXIII., price 8*s.* cloth lettered,

HISTORY OF GREECE, MACEDONIA, AND SYRIA, from the Age of Xenophon to the Incorporation of these States with the Roman Empire. By W. R. LYALL, D.D., Dean of Canterbury; J. H. B. MOUNTAIN, D.D., Prebendary of Lincoln; G. C. RENOUARD, B.D., Fellow of Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge; E. POCOCKE, Esq., and the late Bishop RUSSELL. Illustrated by 107 Engravings on Wood.

Vol. XXIV., price 10*s.* 6*d.* cloth lettered,

HISTORY OF ROMAN LITERATURE; with an Introductory Dissertation on the Sources and Formation of the Latin Language. By the Rev. H. THOMPSON, M.A., Canon of Wrington; the Rev. J. M. NEALE, M.A., Warden of Sackville College; JOHN H. NEWMAN, B.D. formerly Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford; and the late T. ARNOLD, DD., of Rugby. Edited by the Rev. H. THOMPSON. Illustrated by 92 Engravings on Wood.

Vol. XXV., price 10*s.* 6*d.* cloth lettered,

HISTORY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, from the time of Julius Cæsar to that of Vespasian. By the late THOMAS ARNOLD, D.D., Head Master of Rugby School; the Rev. J. B. OTTLEY, M.A., late Fellow of Oriel College; the Rev. J. H. B. MOUNTAIN, D.D., Prebendary of Lincoln; and the late Bishop RUSSELL. Edited by E. POCOCKE, Esq. Illustrated by 107 Engravings on Wood.

Vol. XXVI., price 10*s.* 6*d.* cloth lettered,

HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. By the late THOMAS ARNOLD, D.D., Head Master of Rugby School; JAMES A. JEREMIE, D.D. Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge; Major A. S. H. MOUNTAIN; the Rev. J. B. OTTLEY, M.A., late Fellow of Oriel College; and the late Bishop RUSSELL. Edited by E. POCOCKE, Esq. With extensive Chronological Tables. Illustrated by 116 Engravings on Wood.

Volumes XIX., XXV., and XXVI. contain a complete History of Rome, from the Earliest Records to the Fall of the Western Empire.

In preparation.

TREATISES in the Departments of MATHEMATICS, MECHANICAL SCIENCE, CHEMISTRY, NATURAL SCIENCE, and GEOGRAPHY.

The greatest and most important literary enterprize of the day."—CRITIC.

CABINET EDITION OF THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA METROPOLITANA.

Thoroughly Revised and abundantly Illustrated,

Publishing in Volumes, each containing a Complete Treatise.

Crown Octavo, Cloth.

Volumes now Ready.

Vol. I. price 2s. cloth lettered,

INTRODUCTORY DISSERTATION ON THE SCIENCE OF METHOD. By SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE. With a Synopsis.

Vol. II. price 5s. cloth lettered,

UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR, or the Pure Science of Language. By SIR JOHN STODDART, Knt., LL.D. Second Edition, Revised.

"The soundest and most philosophical treatise of the kind in the English language."—*New Monthly Magazine.*

Vol. III. price 3s. cloth lettered,

LOGIC. By the Most Reverend RICHARD WHATELY, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. The Original Edition, with Synopsis and Index by the Editor.

Vol. IV. price 3s. 6d. cloth lettered,

RHETORIC. By the Most Reverend RICHARD WHATELY, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. The Original Edition, with Synopsis and Index by the Editor.

Vol. V. price 6s. cloth lettered,

THE RISE AND EARLY PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY. By the Right Reverend SAMUEL HINDS, D.D., Bishop of Norwich Revised. To which is added, A DISSERTATION ON MIRACLES. By the REV. J. H. NEWMAN, D.D.

"Much recondite research is here combined with independent thought."—*Scottish Guardian*

Vol. VI. price 4s. cloth lettered,

POLITICAL ECONOMY. By NASSAU WILLIAM SENIOR, Esq., late Professor of Political Economy in the University of Oxford.

Vol. VII. price 2s. 6d cloth lettered,

HISTORY OF THE JEWS, from the Time of Alexander the Great to the Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. A.M. 3595, B.C. 409, to A.D. 70. By the Venerable Archdeacon HALE, A.M., Master of the Charter House.

Vol. VIII. price 6s cloth lettered,

SACRED HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY, from the Antediluvian Period to the Time of the Prophet Malachi. A.M. 1 to A.M. 3607, B.C. 397. Edited by the REV. F. A. COX, D.D., LL.D.

"Pleasing and good, and worthy of general attention."—*United Presbyterian Magazine.*

Vol. IX. price 7s. 6d. cloth lettered,

HISTORY OF GREEK LITERATURE. By the Hon. SIR T. N. TALFOURD, D.C.L.; the Right Rev. C. J. BLOMFIELD, D.D., Bishop of London; R. WHITCOMBE, Esq., M.A., Trin. Coll., Camb.; E. POCOCKE, Esq.; the Rev J. B. OTTLEY, M.A.; and the Rev. H. THOMPSON, M.A., St. John's Coll. Cam.

"Full of information, expressed in the choicest language."—*Athenæum*

Vol. X. price 5s. cloth lettered,

MORAL AND METAPHYSICAL PHILOSOPHY. PART I.: ANCIENT PHILOSOPHY. By the REV. F. D. MAURICE. New Edition. Re-written.

"Complete and satisfactory."—*Literary Gazette*

Vol. XI. price 5s. cloth lettered,

INTRODUCTION TO UNIVERSAL HISTORY—ON THE USES OF HISTORY AS A STUDY, and ON THE SEPARATION OF THE EARLY FACTS OF HISTORY FROM FABLE. By SIR JOHN STODDART, LL.D. Re-written.

"We cannot speak too highly in its praise."—*Literary Gazette.*

Vol. XII. price 8s. 6d. cloth lettered,

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES. By WILLIAM RAMSAY, M.A., Professor of Humanity in the University of Glasgow. With Map, and One hundred and thirty Illustrations.

"Comprises all the results of modern improved scholarship within a moderate compass."—*Athenæum*

CABINET EDITION OF THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA METROPOLITA N/

Vol. XIII. price 12s. 6d. cloth lettered,

BOTANY. By JOHN HUTTON BALFOUR, M.D., F.R.S.E., Professor of Botany in the University of Edinburgh. Numerous Engravings.

"Perhaps the most masterly digest of the science which has yet appeared."—*Witness.*

Vol. XIV. price 3s. 6d. cloth lettered,

ELECTRO-METALLURGY: Containing an Account of the most Improved Methods of depositing Copper, Silver, Gold, and other metals. Second Edition, with numerous illustrations. By JAMES NAPIER, F.C.S.

"With this book at hand, we don't think it possible to fail in obtaining satisfactory results."—*Art-Journal*

Vol. XV. price 9s. cloth lettered,

HISTORY OF GREECE from the Earliest Times to the Close of the Peloponnesian War. By E. POCOCKE, Esq.; SIR T. N. TALFOURD, D.C.L.; Rev. J. B. OTTLEY, A.M.; and the late J. T. RUTT, Esq. With upwards of ONE HUNDRED ENGRAVINGS, from the most authentic sources.

"Altogether a gem."—*Glasgow Citizen.*

Vol. XVI. price 5s. cloth lettered,

PHOTOGRAPHY. By ROBERT HUNT, Esq., Professor of Mechanical Science in the Museum of Practical Geology, London. 2d edit., numerous engravgs.

"Must prove of infinite service to those engaged in the pursuit of this entertaining science."—*Art-Jour.*

Vol. XVII. price 3s. cloth lettered,

VETERINARY ART: A Practical Treatise on the Diseases of the Horse. By W. C. SPOONER, Esq., with 50 Engravings.

Vol. XVIII price 8s. cloth lettered,

EARLY ORIENTAL HISTORY, comprising the History of the Egyptians, Assyrians, Phœnicians, Persians, &c. By Rev. Professor EADIE, D.D., LL.D. With numerous illustrations.

"In all respects a thoroughly good book."—*Dr. Kitto.*

Vol. XIX. price 8s. 6d. cloth lettered,

HISTORY OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC. By the Rev. THOS. ARNOLD, D.D. late Head Master, Rugby School, Sir THOS. N. TALFOURD, D.C.L., the Rev. Professor JEREMIE, and others. With numerous illustrations.

Vol. XX. price 7s. 6d. cloth lettered,

BIBLICAL ANTIQUITIES AND GEOGRAPHY, including the Language, Geography, and Early History of Palestine. Edited by the Rev. F. A. COX, D.D., LL.D. With Maps and numerous illustrations.

"The most readable book on the subject in our language."—*Baptist Magazine.*

Vol. XXI. Price 12s. 6d. cloth lettered,

METALLURGY. A Practical Treatise on the Chemistry of the Metals. By JOHN ARTHUR PHILLIPS, Esq., F.C.S. Illustrated by nearly 200 engravings.

"A *sine qua non* to every metallurgist."—*Mining Journal.*

Vol. XXII. price 4s. cloth lettered,

HISTORY of the CHRISTIAN CHURCH in the Second and Third Centuries. By JAS. AMIRAUX JEREMIE, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.

"It is an admirable Text-Book."—*Evangelical Magazine.*

Vol. XXIII. price 8s. cloth lettered,

HISTORY OF GREECE AND MACEDONIA, from the Age of Xenophon to the Absorption of Greece in the Roman Empire, including the History of Alexander the Great and his Successors. By Dr. LYALL, Dean of Canterbury, Rev. G. C. RENOUARD, B.D., &c &c. With numerous illustrations.

"The dissertations are full, luminous, and charmingly written."—*Eclectic Review.*

Vol. XXIV. price 10s. 6d. cloth lettered,

HISTORY OF ROMAN LITERATURE. By Rev. THOS. ARNOLD, D.D., late Head Master, Rugby School, Rev. HENRY THOMSON, M.A., Rev. Dr. NEWMAN, Rev. J. B. OTTLEY, M.A., and Rev. J. M. NEALE, Warden of Sackville Coll.

Vol. XXV. price 10s. 6d. cloth lettered,

HISTORY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. By the Rev. THOS. ARNOLD, D.D., late Head Master, Rugby School. With numerous illustrations.

Vol. XXVI. price 10s. 6d. cloth lettered.

HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN POWER. By the Right Rev. Bishop RUSSEL, &c.

