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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
ROMAN EMPERORS,
FROM
AUGUSTUS TO CONSTANTINE.

BY JOHN BAPTIST LEWIS CREVIER,
PROFESSOR OF RHETORIC, IN THE COLLEGE OF BEAUVAIS

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH,

BY JOHN MILL, ESQ.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

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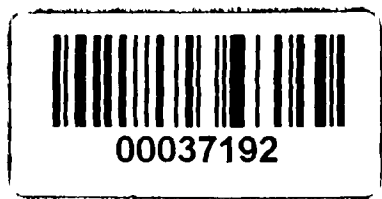
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A LIST

Of the Consuls and Years included in this Volume.

PHILIP, EMPEROR.

— PERIGRINUS,	A. R. 995.
— Emilianus,	A. C. 244.
M. Julius Philippus Augustus,	A. R. 996.
— Titianus,	A. C. 245.
— Præsens,	A. R. 997.
— Albinus,	A. C. 246.
M. Julius Philippus Augustus II.	A. R. 998.
M. Julius Philippus Caesar,	A. C. 247.
M. Julius Philippus Augustus III.	A. R. 999.
M. Julius Philippus Augustus II.	A. C. 248.
M. Emilianus II.	A. R. 1000.
Junius Aquilinus,	A. C. 249.

DECIUS, EMPEROR.

M. Amilianus II	A. R. 1000.
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C. Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius	
— Augustus II.	A. R. 1001.
— Gratian,	A. C. 250.

GALLUS, EMPEROR.

C. Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius	
— Augustus III.	A. R. 1002.
Q. Herennius Etruscus Messius De-	
— cius Caesar,	A. C. 251.
C. Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius	
— Augustus,	A. R. 1002.
Q. Herennius Etruscus Messius De-	
— cius Caesar,	A. C. 251.
G. Vibius Trebonianus Gallus Augus-	
— tus III.	A. R. 1003.
C. Volusianus Caesar,	A. C. 252.
C. Volusianus Augustus II.	A. R. 1004.
— Maximus,	A. C. 253.

EMILIAN, EMPEROR.

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— Maximus,	A. C. 253.

VALERIAN, EMPEROR.

C. Volusianus Augustus II.	A. R. 1004.
—— Maximus,	A. C. 253.
P. Licinius Valerianus Augustus II.	A. R. 1005.
P. Licinius Gallienus Augustus,	A. C. 254.
P. Licinius Valerianus Augustus III.	A. R. 1006.
P. Licinius Gallienus Augustus II.	A. C. 255.
—— Maximus,	A. R. 1007.
—— Glabrio,	A. C. 256.
P. Licinius Valerianus Augustus IV.	A. R. 1008.
P. Licinius Gallienus Augustus III.	A. C. 257.
Moronius Tuscus,	A. R. 1009.
—— Bassus,	A. C. 258.
Emilianus,	A. R. 1010.
—— Bassus,	A. C. 259.
—— Secularis II.	A. R. 1011.
—— Donatus,	A. C. 260.

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—— Donatus,	A. C. 260.
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—— Volusianus,	A. C. 261.
P. Licinius Gallienus Augustus V.	A. R. 1013.
—— Faustinae,	A. C. 262.
—— Albinus,	A. R. 1014.
—— Dexter,	A. C. 263.
P. Licinius Gallienus Augustus VI.	A. R. 1015.
—— Saturninus,	A. C. 264.
Valerianus II.	A. R. 1016.
Facillus,	A. C. 265.
P. Licinius Gallienus Augustus VII.	A. R. 1017.
—— Sabrinus,	A. C. 266.
—— Paternus,	A. R. 1018.
—— Arcesilauus,	A. C. 267.
—— Paternus II.	A. R. 1019.
—— Marinianus,	A. C. 268.

CLAUDIUS II. EMPEROR.

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—— Marinianus,	A. C. 268.
M. Aurelius Claudius Augustus II.	A. R. 1020.
—— Paternus,	A. C. 269.
—— Antiochanus,	A. R. 1021.
—— Orfitus,	A. C. 270.

AURELIAN, EMPEROR.

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—— Orfitus,	A. C. 270.
L. Domitius Aurelianus Augustus II.	A. R. 1022.
M. or Num. Ceionius Virius Bassus,	A. C. 271.
—— Quictus,	A. R. 1023.
—— Voldumianus,	A. C. 272.
—— Tacitus,	A. R. 1024.
—— Placidianus	A. C. 273.
L. Domitius Aurelianus Augustus III.	A. R. 1025.
C. Julianus Capitolinus,	A. C. 274.
Aurelianus Augustus IV,	A. R. 1026.
—— Marcellinus,	A. C. 275.

TACITUS, EMPEROR.

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—— Marcellinus,	A. C. 275.
M. Claudius Tacitus Augustus II.	A. R. 1027.
—— Æmilianus,	A. C. 276.

PROBUS, EMPEROR.

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—— Æmilianus,	A. C. 276.
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	Messala,

———— Messala,	A. R. 1031.
———— Gratus,	A. C. 280.
Probus Augustus IV.	A. R. 1032.
———— Tiberianus,	A. C. 281.
Probus Augustus V.	A. R. 1033.
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M. Aurelius Carinus Cæsar,	A. C. 283.
M. Aurelius Carinus Augustus II.	A. R. 1035.
M. Aurelius Numerianus Augustus,	A. C. 284.

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———— Aristobulus,	A. C. 285.

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M. Aurelius Numerianus Augustus;	A. C. 284.
C. Valerius Diocletianus Augustus II.	A. R. 1036.
———— Aristobulus,	A. C. 285.
M. Junius Maximus II.	A. R. 1037.
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	Tiberianus

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
ROMAN EMPERORS,
FROM AUGUSTUS TO CONSTANTINE.

BOOK XXVI.

PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF THE REIGN OF
PHILIP.

PEREGRINUS.
ÆMILIANUS.

A. R. 995.
A. C. 244.

PHILIP writes to the senate, who acknowledge him, and decree to him all the titles of the imperial power.

He names his son Cæsar, when only seven years of age.

He concludes a peace with Sapor.

His pretended penance at Antioch.

He comes to Rome, and by his affability conciliates the friendship of the great.

He gives the command of the armies of Syria to L. Priscus his brother, and that of the troops of Mæsia and Macedonia to his father-in-law Severianus.

VOL. IX.

B

M. JULIUS

HISTORY OF THE EMPERORS.

A. R. 996. M. JULIUS PHILIPPUS AUGUSTUS.
A. C. 245. TITIANUS.

He marches against the Carpians, who ravaged the provinces adjoining to the Danube, makes war upon them, and returns conqueror.

A. R. 997. PRÆSENS.
A. C. 246. ALBINUS.

A great fire in Rome.

A. R. 998. M. JULIUS PHILIPPUS AUGUSTUS II.
A. C. 247. M. JULIUS SEVERUS PHILIPPUS CÆSAR.

Philip, after having made his son consul, declares him likewise Augustus.

A. R. 999. PHILIPPUS III. }
A. C. 248. PHILIPPUS II. } AUGG.

Secular games.

An edict for suppressing the crime against nature.

A. R. 1000. M. ÆMILIANUS II.
A. C. 249. JUNIUS AQUILINUS.

Jotapian rebels in Syria, and Marinus in Mæsia. They both perish soon after their being proclaimed Augusti.

Decius, being sent into Mæsia to punish those who had favoured the rebellion of Marinus, is himself named emperor by the troops.

He sets out on his march. The battle of Verona. Philip defeated and slain. His son put to death in Rome by the prætorian guards.

Divine honours are decreed to both of them.

NOTE.

NOTE.

As the tyrants, that is to say, those who having usurped the title and power of emperor, perished without being acknowledged in Rome, or by the senate, make a considerable part of the Roman history at this period ; I shall take care to mention them at the end of the principal events of each reign.

USURPERS during the reign of PHILIP.

JOTAPIAN in the East.

MARINUS in Mæsia.

PHILIP.

SECT. I.

PHILIP is acknowledged by the senate. Two emperors erroneously inserted here by Zonarus. Philip makes his son Cæsar. He concludes a peace with Sapor, and returns to Syria. His pretended penance at Antioch. Upon his arrival at Rome, he endeavours to strengthen his authority. He marches against the Carpians. What is known of those people before the time of Philip. He defeats them and obliges them to sue for peace. He names his son consul with himself, and creates him Augustus. He celebrates the secular games. An edict for suppressing the crime against nature. Jotapian is proclaimed emperor in Syria, and Marinus in Mæsia. They both perish. Decius succeeds them. A battle between Decius and Philip near Veroni. The death of Philip and of his son. Detached facts. The Philips are ranked among the gods.

Philip is
acknow-
ledged by
the senate.
*Capit. Gord.
31, & Zon.*

PHILIP having succeeded by the means I have already mentioned in getting himself named emperor by the soldiers, was anxious to obtain the confirmation of the senate without delay. He wrote to that body, and demanded it of them, disguising his crime in regard to Gordian, and saying, as I observed before, that the young prince died of sickness. The senate, either really deceived, or pretending to be so, joined their suffrage to that of the troops, and by one and the same resolution decreed divine honours to Gordian,
and

and to Philip all the titles of the imperial power.

If such a writer as Zonaras deserved any credit, Two emperors erroneously inserted here by Zosimus. that the senate did not comply so readily with Philip's desire; that they began with choosing successively two emperors, Marcus, a philosopher by profession, and Severus Hostilianus, both of whom died within a very few days after their election; and that these sudden deaths reduced the senate, now destitute of resources, which they would otherwise have had recourse to against Philip, to acknowledge him at length for emperor. But the authority of Zonaras is very weak; his account is very improbable; and if it contains any truth, we, with M. Tillemont, will restrict it to the following circumstances. There are extant medals of an *M. Marcus*, and of an *L. Aurelius Severus Hostilianus*, with the title of Augustus. Let us suppose then, that among the many usurpers who started up in the different provinces of the empire, before and after the time we are now speaking of, there were two who bore the names mentioned by Zonaras; and that it was so much the more easy to give them an imaginary place in history, as they were very little known, having only had a weak party, and a prosperity of but a few days continuance.

Philip, also, in the very beginning of his reign, Philip makes his son Cæsar. Vict. uterq. took another useful precaution to secure the sceptre in his hands: by making his son, who was of the same name with himself, and then only seven years of age, his associate in the empire, under the title of Cæsar.

The necessity of his affairs called him to Rome, He concludes a peace with Sapor, and returns to Syria. there to establish his authority: and in these circumstances, he thought it was needless to push the war against Sapor, especially as he must be disappointed with the losses he had suffered. Philip concluded a peace with the king of Persia, who, reflecting upon the situation he was in, willingly accepted

cepted of it. The emperor then led back the Roman army to Syria.

His pretended penance at Antioch.

It is here that writers place the strongest proof of the pretended christianity of Philip, who they say, being at Antioch at the feast of Easter, desired to come to the church to partake of the holy mysteries, and being repulsed by the bishop, St Babylas, on account of his crimes, and the murder of Gordian, he submitted to a public penance. After what we have said concerning the notion of Philip's being a Christian, it is easy to judge what degree of credit ought to be given to this story of his penance; which, besides, is not fully and exactly related by any ancient author. To make out an account of it any way tolerable, they have been obliged to patch several evidences together, and to supply and alter the one by the other. The shortest and safest course is not to admit of a perplexed and ill supported narrative. We have no great temptation to torture history in order to claim such a Christian.

Upon his arrival at Rome, he endeavours to strengthen his authority.

Philip, who had studied to gain the affection of the troops by large donatives; upon his arrival at Rome, endeavoured to sooth the senate and the nobles by caresses, an affable, and popular behaviour, and an air of perfect moderation. At the same time, being attentive to the material affairs of the state, he took all necessary precautions, and committed the important trusts of the empire to safe hands. He gave the command of the troops in Syria to his brother Priscus, and that of the forces in Mæsia and Macedonia to his father-in-law. Severianus, judging himself then pretty safe, and desiring to raise his reputation by the splendour and glory of arms; he marched in person against the Carpians, a people whom I have already had occasion to mention, and whom it may now be proper to describe more fully.

He marches against the Carpians.

What is known of those peo-

The Carpians, as their name seems to imply, inhabited originally the mountains called *Carpathes*,

pathes by the ancients, and which are now named the *Carpuch* mountains, and separate Hungary and Transylvania from Poland. Those people, bordering on the Sarmatians, and encouraged by the example of the Goths, who often made successful incursions into the Roman territories, wanted to imitate them. They are mentioned in history for the first time under Alexander Severus. At least it is to the reign of that prince, that M. Tillemont refers an embassy of the Carpathians, an account of which we have in the extracts of Peter Patricius, and which, for its singularity, deserves to have a place here.

Tullius Menophilus, probably the same who afterwards defended the city of Aquileia against Maximin, as we have already observed, commanded, at the time we are now speaking of, in Mæsia; and being a vigilant and active general, he kept his troops always in action, and made them practice their exercise every day. The Carpians knowing that the Goths drew a large stipend from the Romans, became equally greedy and enterprising, and sent ambassadors to Menophilus, demanding likewise a pension. Menophilus had received notice of the purport of their embassy, and knowing their stubborn haughtiness, he resolved to humble it by his contemptuous treatment of them. Accordingly, after they were arrived in his camp, he suffered several days to pass without giving them an audience; letting them only see his soldiers perform their exercise, that those barbarians might conceive the higher idea of the strength of body, and expertness of the Romans. At length he sent for them; and being seated upon a very high tribunal, with the tallest and best made men of his whole army on each side of him, he heard the speech of the ambassadors with a seeming inattention, appearing busied with other matters, and talking to those that were next him,

ple before
the time of
Philip.
Collar.
Geogr. An-
top. l. 2. c. 8.
Tillem. At.
Art. 19.

Petr. Pa-
trius, de leg.

as if he had been obliged to think of much more important concerns, than those of the Carpians. The barbarians, piqued at his haughty behaviour, reduced their intended harangue to these few words. "Why do the Goths receive so much money from you, while we receive none?" Menophilus answered them, "The Roman emperor possesses great riches, and he gives part of them to those who beg it of him." "Well then, replied the ambassadors, let him number us among those who beg of him, and let him give money to us as well as to the Goths, for we are better than them." Menophilus, after smiling at their rustic simplicity, told them, that he would give the emperor an account of their demand, and that they might return at the end of four months for an answer. They did not fail to come at the time appointed; but Menophilus put them off for three months longer: and at the end of those three months his answer was; "The emperor will not enter into any engagements with you: but if you want a present of money, go to Rome, throw yourselves at his feet, and perhaps his goodness will be moved by your prayers." The Carpians then perceived that they were trifled with, and made a jest of: but yet, for the three years that Menophilus governed at Mæsia, they never dared to make the least disturbance.

*Capit. Max.
& Balb. 16.*

They made an incursion into Mæsia in the reign of Maximus and Balbinus, and the latter of these emperors was on the point of marching against them when he was slain.

*He defeats
them, and
obliges
them to
sue for
peace.
Zos.*

No farther mention is made of the Carpians until the period we are now treating of, that is to say, till the reign of Philip, in the beginning of which Zosimus relates, that they ravaged the territories on the Danube. Philip marched thither, gave them battle, defeated them, and obliged them to shut themselves up in a fortress where

where he besieged them. The besieged perceiving, from the top of their walls, a great number of their countrymen, who had rallied and formed themselves into a body after their flight, made a sally upon the Romans, doubtless in hopes of being assisted by their comrades, and of forcing the enemy to raise the siege: but the success of this attempt not answering their expectation, they sued for peace, and easily obtained it. Philip then returned conqueror to Rome.

This prince never dropped his design of establishing himself solidly upon the throne, and of perpetuating the imperial dignity in his family. In the fourth year of his reign, he took his son, who was then only ten years of age, for his colleague in the consulship, and before the end of the year, he declared him Augustus. The following year he named him consul for the second time, with himself: but by these premature honours, he only rendered the destruction of his son more certain, whenever the child should happen to be deprived of his protection.

On the twenty-first day of April of this same year 248, ended the thousandth year since the foundation of Rome, according to the calculation of Varro, which has been chiefly followed. This epoch was celebrated by secular games, although they had been given by Severus only 48 years before. The celebration of these games, in which all the pomp of the pagan superstition was displayed, is a direct proof of the public profession which the emperor Philip made of his attachment to idolatry. It is a violation of all probability, to suppose, without any evidence, that the emperor could celebrate them without taking part in the sacrifices that accompanied them, or rather which were the essential part of them, and the very foundation of the whole festival.

To increase the magnificence of these games, he made use of all the ornaments that had been provided

He names his son consul with himself, and creates him Augustus. *Tillem.*

He celebrates the secular games. *Estrop. Aurcl. Viet. Euseb. chron.*

Capit. Gord. 33.

vided for the solemnity of Gordian's triumph over the Persians. Capitolinus tells us the number of animals which were either shewn to the people on this occasion, or made to fight for their amusement; namely, thirty-two elephants, ten elks, ten tygers, sixty tame lions, and thirty tame tygers; ten hyænas, ten lions of a singular kind; ten camels, somewhat resembling a leopard; twenty wild asses, and as many wild horses; an hippopotamus, and a rhinoceros. A thousand couple of gladiators were also exhibited in shews. Philip's secular games appear to have been the last that were ever celebrated in Rome. Aurelius Victor, who saw the following hundredth year, complains that it passed without being consecrated by that religious ceremony, which he believed to be of great virtue for securing the tranquillity of the empire. Zosimus also makes the same complaint, and even with greater warmth.

An edict
for sup-
pressing
the crime
against na-
ture.
*Aurel.
Vict.*

Philip, soon after this solemnity, published an edict which does him great honour. He prohibited the practice of the crime against nature; which was publicly permitted at Rome, upon paying a small tribute to the public treasury. He did not indeed wholly abolish this crime; but he took away the stain of its being tolerated and authorized, which was an infamy to the government. Alexander Severus durst not attempt this reformation. Philip executed it, and his edict subsisted in all its force, and had no occasion to be renewed.

Jotapian
is proclaimed
emperor
in Syria,
and Mari-
nus in Mes-
sina.
*Zos. & Zon.
eri.*

Hitherto the reign of Philip had been very quiet, and as far as we can conjecture from the small light which our authors furnish us with, this calm may be attributed to the prudence of the prince, who seems to have been a penetrating and expert politician. He, however, committed an error in suffering his brother Priscus to abuse the power he was entrusted with in the East. The arrogance of that commander, and his tyrannical op-
pressions

pressions in raising the taxes, occasioned an insurrection. Rebellions, in those times, were generally carried at once to the utmost height, and the smallest seditions immediately produced the nomination of a new emperor. Jotapian, who called himself, and who might really be, a relation of Alexander Severus, was invested with the purple, and proclaimed Augustus. The same causes produced the same effect in Mæsia, and the troops in that country declared P. Carvilius Marinus emperor, who was only a centurion.

As to the consequences of these events, which terminated at last in depriving Philip of the empire, and of his life, and in raising Decius to the throne of the Cæsars; we have no other information, but that which Zosimus and Zonarus give us; and I cannot prevail with myself to transcribe the absurd accounts of those injudicious writers, who do not even agree with each other*. Can any one believe, that Philip, terrified with the revolt of Jotapian and Marinus, should beg of the senate, either to assist him, or to take the burden of the government off his hands; that Decius, after the ruin of Marinus, being appointed by the emperor to go and take the command of the troops in Mæsia, refused that employment, because he plainly foresaw the issue of it, which he even warned Philip of, telling him, that it might prove the source of troubles to both of them; that Philip, who certainly did not want understanding, nevertheless forced him to obey; that Decius, being proclaimed emperor by the troops, upon his arrival in Mæsia, opposed his own elevation, and that the soldiers were obliged to put their swords to his throat to make him consent; and to conclude, that the same Decius, when he was marching against Philip, wrote to him not to be alarmed, because he would abdicate whenever he should arrive at Rome? All these

*They both
perish.
Decius
succeeds
them.*

* Zonaras places the revolt of Jotapian under Decius.

circumstances are either invented at pleasure, or they conceal the depths of the ambitious policy of Decius, who must have begun with deceiving his emperor, to succeed afterwards in destroying him.

We shall therefore restrict ourselves to the outlines of the transaction. Jotapian and Marinus perished by their own want of prudence, even in those provinces where they had, for a short space of time, acted the part of sovereigns. The first, however, may have enjoyed his usurped dignity, even during some part of the following reign. Decius, a native of Budalia, a small town of Pannonia, near Sirmium *, and who, though to all appearance of an obscure origin, had raised himself, by his merit and talents, to the consulship, and to the rank of one of the first members of the senate, was sent by Philip into Mæsia, to punish those who had favoured the enterprise of Macrinus. The soldiers, conscious of their guilt, thought that the best way to escape the punishment due to their rebellion was to hazard a new one; and Decius, who was a man of merit, and looked upon as skilled in the art of war, appeared to them a chief capable of securing the impunity of their former crime. The ambition of Decius augmented this inclination to revolt. He accordingly renewed with them a crime which he himself ought to have punished; and being proclaimed
Augustus

Zonar. &
Aurel. Vict.

Entorp.
Vict. ulter.
que.

* It is wrong to suppose that the emperor Decius, born in a small town of Pannonia, was a descendant of the ancient Decius who devoted himself to death for the glory and safety of Rome. Corneille has indeed advanced this in these fine lines of his *Polyeuctes*, (Act iv. sc. 8.)

Des yeux de Decie on vante la mémoire :
Et ce nom, précieux encore à vos Romains.
Au bout de six cens ans lui met l'Empire aux mains.

But as a Poet, he uses a liberty to invent. The resemblance of names was a sufficient reason for him to lay hold of that circumstance, to embellish his work.

Augustus by the armies of Mæsia and Pannonia, he immediately began his march in order to attack Philip in Italy. Philip met him with a greater number of troops, but he is said to have been less expert in the art of war. Skill got the better of numbers, and the two armies having engaged near Verona, Philip was defeated and slain, either on the field of battle or in the city of Verona, whether he had fled. His defeat and death are dated by M. Tillemont in the year of Christ 249, in one of the months of summer, or in the beginning of autumn. Philip therefore reigned five years and some months. His son was killed at Rome by the prætorian guards as soon as they heard of his father's misfortune.

A battle between Decius and Philip, near Verona. The death of Philip and of his son.

Zos. Zonar. Eutrop. Vict. atter. que. Vict. Epict.

A writer relates, that this young prince was of so serious a disposition, and even so melancholy, that, from the time of his being five years of age, he never laughed, whatever endeavours his attendants could use to excite him thereto; and that at the secular games, having observed his father laugh in a manner that to him appeared immoderate, he gave him a look of scorn. Such a disposition in an infant would be very unnatural, and one can hardly help suspecting at least some exaggeration in this account.

The most considerable monument of the reign of Philip is the colony of Philippolis, which he founded in Arabia Petræa, near Bostra, which was his native country.

Detached Facts. Aurel. Vict. Zon.

In the quarter of Rome beyond the Tyber, he caused a canal to be dug, with a design to conduct the water thither, for the convenience of the inhabitants of that part of the city.

Aurel. Vict.

He reunited to the imperial treasury the house of the Gordians, which, as I observed before, had formerly belonged to Pompey. This proceeding seems contrary to the respect which he affected for the memory of his predecessor.

Capit. Gord.

They

*Euseb.
Chron.*

A great fire is said to have happened during his reign, which consumed the theatre of Pompey, and the portico called *The hundred Columns*.

*Col. l. x.
tit. 52. c. 3.*

We find in the Code a law, under his name, which declares, that poets have no privilege of enjoying any exemption. This was depriving them of that resource to which the narrowness of their circumstances had often obliged them to apply.

The Philips
are ranked
among the
gods.

Decius must certainly have paid some respect to the memory of this prince, if what Eutropius says be true, that the Philips, after their death, were ranked among the gods.

PRINCIPAL EVENTS

OF THE REIGN

OF

DECIUS.

A. R. 1000.
A. C. 249.

M. ÆMILIANUS II.
JUNIVS AQUILINUS.

DECIUS, being acknowledged as emperor, makes his eldest son Cæsar. He afterwards gives the same title to his other son Hostilianus.

He violently persecutes the Christian church.

A. R. 1001.
A. C. 250.

C. MESSIVS QVINTVS TRAJANVS DECIVS AVGVSTVS II.
. GRATVS.

This second consulship of Decius supposes a former, of which we know not the date.

The

The persecution continues with the same violence all this year.

The martyrdom of Pope St Fabian.

Origen long and cruelly tormented by the Pagan magistracy at Cæsarea in Palestine.

The apostacy of a great number of Christians. St Paul, the hermit, confines himself to the deserts of Thebais.

Part of the walls of Rome rebuilt by Decius.

Troubles in Gaul.

An irruption of the Goths into Illyricum, Thrace, and Macedonia. L. Priscus joins them, and causes himself to be proclaimed emperor. Decius the younger is sent by his father to make head against the enemies. Philippolis in Thrace is taken by the Goths.

DECIUS AUGUSTUS III.

A. R. 1002.

Q. HERENNIUS ETRUSCUS MESSIUS DECIUS
CÆSAR. A. C. 251.

DECIUS makes his eldest son Augustus.

He himself goes to Illyricum.

Valens emperor for a few days, either in Illyricum or at Rome.

Valerian, afterwards emperor, is elected censor by the senate.

Decius, after gaining several great advantages over the Goths, perishes with his eldest son and all his army through the treachery of Gallus. This event happened towards the end of the year.

USURPERS during the reign of DECIUS.

L. PRISCUS in Illyricum. This may be the brother of the emperor Philip.

JULIUS

JULIUS VALENS, in Illyricum, according to Trebellius Pollio. But according to Aurelius Victor's manner of expressing himself, Valens would rather seem to have been proclaimed emperor in Rome.

JOTAPIAN may have lived and reigned even under the emperor Decius,

DEC I U S.

S E C T. II.

Uncertainty and confusion of the history of this period. The names of Decius. He persecutes the Christians. An invasion of the Goths. L. Priscus joins them, causes himself to be proclaimed emperor, and perishes. Decius the younger is sent by his father against the Goths. Decius goes in person to Illyricum. Valens is proclaimed emperor and perishes soon after. Decius perishes by the treason of Gallus. Detached transactions.

Uncertainty and confusion of the history of this period.

THE confusion of the time of which I am now writing the history, is very great. There is not one date of an event, one epoch of the beginning or end of a reign, and scarcely indeed a single fact, that is not liable to be disputed. Even the writers of the Byzantine history fail us; and there is a chasm among them, from the death of Gordian III. to the reign of Valerian. In this labyrinth, M. de Tillemont's labour is to me a necessary guide without the assistance of which, I would not dare to enter it.

The family of Decius affords us an example of this confusion. The variety of the names of his sons has made some learned men ascribe four to him. Others give him but two. The name of his wife

wife has occasioned many discussions. M. Lebeau, my illustrious co-adjutor in the professorship of rhetoric, who, to an exquisite taste in eloquence and poetry, joins a profound knowledge of antiquity, has informed me, that the writers the best acquainted with the science of medals, admit of only two sons of Decius, the one named Q. Herennius Etruscus Messius Decius; and the other C. Valens Hostilianus Messius Quintus; and that as to Decius's wife she is always called Herennia Etruscilla. This opinion is therefore that which I shall abide by.

Decius was named C. Messius Quintus Trajanus The names of Decius. Decius. His family-name seems to have been Messius: for this name is found likewise upon the medals of his sons. Custom, however, has prevailed to distinguish him by the name of Decius, which is sometimes preceded by that of Trajan. He was born in a village near Sirmium, as I said before, and was the first of the many princes which Illyricum gave to the Roman empire.

This emperor is very famous in Ecclesiastical He persecutes the Christians. Tit. 1. history, as a violent persecutor of Christianity. For this reason, Christian authors are not favourable to him. The Pagans, on the contrary, load him with praises, which, however, are but lamely supported by facts. His reign was very short; and it must be owned, that history has not preserved any thing more memorable in it, than the persecution which he exercised against the Christian religion.

With that too it was that he began his reign. Decius hated the Christians, because Philip had protected them; and he took the very first opportunity to make them feel the effects of that aversion: for it was not until after the middle of the year of Christ 249, that he became peccable possessor of the empire; and on the twentieth of January 250, pope St Fabian suffered martyrdom. The persecution was ordered by an edict of the emperor; and consequently extended over the

whole empire ; and as all the provinces were full of Christians, whose numbers had increased prodigiously since the reign of Alexander Severus, the consternation which it spread was universal.

What particularly characterizes this persecution, which is reckoned the seventh is, that the chief aim of the Pagans seems to have been, to force the Christians to abjure their religion, by the duration of the torments inflicted on them. They were kept a long time in close prisons, where they were used with the utmost barbarity, and put frequently to the rack, in order to weary out their patience, and overcome, by cruel and repeated trials, the fortitude of those who were thought to be prepared to die with pleasure.

Such was in particular the treatment inflicted on Origen, whose high reputation and great name exposed him remarkably to the hatred of the Pagans. This venerable old man, then between sixty-six and sixty-seven years of age, was seized at Cæsarea in Palestine, and thrown into prison. The magistrates of that city were equally attentive to make him suffer much, and, at the same time, not to take away his life. The horrors of a dungeon, chains, fetters about his legs, and an iron collar round his neck, with the torments of the rack, and menaces to burn him alive, were put in execution against that zealous and judicious defender of the Christian faith, in hopes of making him apostatize. But the grace of Jesus Christ having supported him under these severe sufferings, he was at length set at liberty, when the persecution ceased, and retired to Tyre, where he died soon after.

St Babylas of Antioch, and St Alexander of Jerusalem died in the prison into which they had been thrown for the name of Christ.

Decius had likewise recourse to another cruel artifice against the Christians, of which indeed his predecessors had set him the example. Concluding that

that the people would be most easily overcome when deprived of the assistance of their pastors, he levelled his rage chiefly against the bishops and priests. He was so sensible how much this policy would contribute to the success of his views, that, for upwards of a year after the death of St Fabian, he hindered the chusing of a successor to that holy pontiff: and even at last, it was entirely owing to the rebellions and wars, which necessarily engrossed all his attention, that the clergy and people of Rome found means to assemble when they elected St Cornelius.

These measures were, undoubtedly, well calculated to answer the end which Decius aimed at; and, in effect, they succeeded so far, that a great number of Christians, weakened and relaxed by a peace of thirty-eight years continuance, which had been disturbed only by Maximin's transient persecution, sunk under that we are now speaking of. Many sacrificed to idols: others, to reconcile, as they imagined, their conscience with their safety; without actually committing the crime, obtained of the magistrates, by means of a sum of money, a certificate attesting their submission to the emperor's edict. The wisest of the faithful, particularly the laity, whose condition did not oblige them to remain on the field of battle to oppose the enemy, fearing their own weakness, made use of the permission granted by Christ in the gospel. They fled and dispersed themselves in remote places. The most famous of these illustrious fugitives is St Paul the hermit, who confined himself to the deserts of Thebais, where he remained hid, until God, ninety years after, gave information of him to St Anthony, by an express revelation.

This violent and fatal misfortune was moderated by the divine goodness, in regard to its duration. The great heat of the persecution lasted but a year: and before the end of the year of Christ

250, the confessors, who filled the prisons of Rome, were set at liberty.

Invasion of the Goths.

Zos.

L. Priscus joins them, excuses himself to be proclaimed emperor, and perishes.

It was not the mildness or clemency of Decius which weakened the rage of the persecution; but as I have already said, the necessity of affairs, and the dangers which threatened the state from an invasion of the barbarians. The Goths passed the Danube*, and over-ran Illyricum, Thrace, and Macedonia. L. Priscus, who commanded in those parts, (probably the brother of the emperor Philip) was not ashamed to join the armies of the empire. He assumed the purple, and shewed what was singular and unheard of—a Roman emperor at the head of an army of Goths. He did not long enjoy his vain title, so basely usurped. He was declared a public enemy by the senate, and killed soon after; how, or by whom, we know not.

Decius the younger is sent against the Goths.

Ent. op. Ju. v. ind. & Amm. rel. l. 31. & Zos.

Decius, perhaps then personally employed in quieting an insurrection which broke out in Gaul, sent his eldest son, whom he had made Cæsar, into Illyricum, to oppose the ravages of the barbarians. That young prince, after an alternative of good and bad success, was at last worsted, and could not hinder the Goths from taking the city of Philippopolis in Thrace, in which an hundred thousand men are said to have been killed, and from whence the conquerors carried off a great many prisoners of illustrious rank.

Decius goes in person to Illyricum.

The importance of the war increasing daily, Decius, either free from other cares, or judging this the most pressing, went himself into Illyricum; and, if we believe his panegyrist Zosimus, he defeated the Goths in every engagement.

Val. n. i. proclaimed emperor, and perishes soon after.

Arch. V. 1. l. 6. Ty.

Whilst he made war with success against the barbarians, a new pretender to the throne started up, either in Rome, or Illyricum; for authors do not

* Zosimus, from gross ignorance, calls it the Tanais, instead of the Danube.

not agree which of the two it was. Valens caused himself to be proclaimed emperor and perished at the end of a few days.

Gallus, not less ambitious, but more expert than Priscus and Valens, succeeded better in a like enterprize against Decius. He was one of the principal officers of the Roman army; and Decius, after several victories gained over the Goths, purposing to cut off their retreat into their own country, and to extirpate them entirely, that their nation might never more be tempted to invade the Roman territories, charged him to guard the banks of the Danube with a large body of troops, whilst he, with the main army, should pursue them in the rear. The Goths could not have escaped, if they had not been assisted by the treachery of Gallus. That traitor, seized with a passion for reigning, made proposals to them against his master, which were eagerly listened to; and the scheme of laying an ambuscade to surprize and kill Decius was settled between them. The Goths took their post in a great marsh, into which Decius, from his ardour to pursue the conquered, and deceived by the false intelligence of Gallus, advanced without examining it. The marsh was deep and slimy: and the emperor plunging into it with all his army, found himself instantly attacked by a vast number of enemies. Decius is said to have shewn on this melancholy occasion, an intrepidity of soul, similar to that which history commends in Crassus in the midst of his misfortunes, when beset in like manner by the Parthians. We are told, that the eldest son of Decius, who had just been raised to the rank of Augustus, being slain in the engagement, this heroic father, far from sinking under his grief, undertook to comfort his troops, and to animate them to act with vigour, by telling them, that the loss of a soldier was not the ruin of an army. His

Decius perishes by the treason of Gallus.

Aurel. Vict.

Zos. courage was of no avail in this dreadful situation. Sunk in the mud, and pierced with darts by the enemy, who fought at a distance without coming to a close engagement, Decius, his son, and all the Roman army, both soldiers and officers perished, without excepting a single man. Thus the divine justice avenged the blood of the saints, cruelly shed by this violent persecution. Decius reigned little more than two years. His death happened about the end of November, or beginning of December, of the year of Christ 251. He left a son, Hostilianus, who, as we shall see, became the sport of the perfidious Gallus.

Detached
transac-
tions.
Annel. Vict.

Entrop.

Treb. Valer.
1, & 2.

Decius is said to have built and dedicated the walls of Rome: which plainly means no more than that he rebuilt a part of them, which, of course, required a new dedication. For the walls of cities were a thing sacred, according to the superstitious notions of the Romans. Decius also built baths or *thermæ*, either for his own use, or for the convenience of the public.

This prince had a regard to decency of conduct, and wished for a reformation of manners, if we admit, as true, the account which we find in the life of Valerian, by Trebellius Pollio. We are there told, that Decius, when in Illyricum, wrote to the senate, to order the election of a censor, and that the choice fell upon Valerian, who was afterwards emperor. An attention to an affair of this kind does honour to Decius. But we shall speak of this matter more fully, when we come to the reign of Valerian.

P R I N C I P A L E V E N T S

OF THE REIGN

OF

G A L L U S .

DECIVS AVGVSTVS III.

A. R. 1002.

DECIVS CÆSAR.

A. R. 251.

GALLUS is proclaimed Augustus with Hostilianus, the second son of Decius, by the troops of Mœsia and Pannonia.

He confers the title of Cæsar upon his son Volusianus.

He concludes a shameful treaty with the Goths.

C. VIBIVS TREBONIVS GALLVS AVGVSTVS A. R. 1003.
III. A. C. 252.

C. VOLVSIANVS CÆSAR.

Gallus goes to Rome.

A plague over all the empire, which had begun in the year 250.

Martyrdom of the holy popes Cornelius and Lucius.

Gallus caused Hostilianus to be put to death, and pretends that the young prince died of the plague.

He creates his son Volusianus, Augustus.

C. VOLVSIANVS AVGVSTVS II.

A. R. 1004.

. MAXIMVS.

A. C. 253.

The Goths invade Mœsia.

Emilian defeats them, and causes himself to be proclaimed emperor.

He

He marches his army into Italy. Gallus is killed with his son, near Interamna, by his own troops.

USURPER under GALLUS.

M. AUFIDIUS PERPERNA LICINIANUS.

G A L L U S.

SECT. III.

THESE times were full of revolutions and catastrophes. Gallus pretends to honour the memory of Decius. He adopts Hostilianus, the son of Decius, and makes him Augustus. He concludes a shameful treaty with the Goths. He goes to Rome. He abandons himself to a luxurious ease. A plague of twelve years continuance. Gallus persecutes the church. He rids himself of Hostilianus. The Goths again ravage Masia. Emilian drives them back to their own country, and makes himself emperor. He goes to Italy. Gallus is killed by his own troops. Perperna an usurper for a few days.

These times were full of revolutions and catastrophes.
Strab. l. 5.

SUDDEN revolutions, bloody catastrophes, and reigns so short, that they only pass, at it were, rapidly before our eyes; mark the period of which I am now treating. The Roman empire, at this time, resembled the wretched royalty of the temple of Diana, in the wood of Aricia, which could be held only by a slave who had killed his predecessor. The commanders of the armies, almost all persons of mean extraction, missed no opportunity of depriving the actual possessor of the empire both of his life and dignity, and placed themselves upon his throne, in expectation of a like fate.
Philip,

Philip, Decius, Gallus, whom we are now to speak of, and Emilian, who will succeed Gallus, are a proof of what I advance.

C. Vibius Trebonianus Gallus was proclaimed emperor without difficulty, after the death of Decius, by the troops of Mœsia and Pannonia. He was a native of the island of Meninga, now Gerbi, on the coast of Africa, and proved himself, by his conduct, a true son of that perfidious mother.

After cutting off Decius by a base and horrid treachery, he pretended to honour his memory, and ordered him and his eldest son to be ranked among the gods. This was a policy constantly practised by all the usurpers of the throne, to disguise their crime. Maximin had paid the same compliment to Alexander, Philip paid it to Gordian III. and Decius himself, to Philip. Gallus

went farther. Though he had a son, known in history by the name of Volusianus, he adopted Hostilianus the son of Decius, and conferred upon him the title of Augustus. We may even suspect that he began with causing Hostilianus to be declared Augustus, as being the son of the last emperor; and that it was under pretence of becoming his guardian, on account of his minority, that he caused himself to be invested with the titles of the sovereign power. Philip had set him the example of this trick. But however that may have been, certain it is, that Gallus, under a shew of honour and good-will towards Hostilianus, concealed the base and detestable design of murdering him.

He had been too well served by the Goths to treat them as enemies: and as his interest likewise called him to Rome, he concluded a shameful peace with them, permitting them to return to their own country with all their booty, and even to carry with them a great number of illustrious prisoners; promising also to pay them annually a tribute in gold. After having thus sold the honour

Gallus pretends to honour the memory of Decius.

Zor. Vict. uterque. Eutrop.

He adopts Hostilianus the son of Decius, and makes him Augustus.

He concludes a shameful treaty with the Goths. Zor.

honour

He goes to Rome.

nour of the empire to the barbarians, he repaired to Rome, where he had already been acknowledged: the senate, in those unsettled times, readily submitting to the law of the strongest.

He abandons himself to a luxurious ease.

An empire acquired by such means as Gallus made use of, requires activity and vigilance to keep it. Gallus abandoned himself to effeminacy, luxury, and indolence; shewing only some small attention to the capital, and neglecting all the rest of his vast monarchy. Accordingly, his reign is scarcely known, except by the miseries which the empire suffered under it, by the ravages of the barbarians, and particularly by a dreadful plague, which having begun in the year 250, raged with great violence in 252, and continued for ten years after.

A plague of twelve years continuance.

Tillem.
A. R. 1003.

Aurel. Vict.

Gallus and Volusianus, whom his father had made consul with himself, and Augustus, acquired some honour among the inhabitants of Rome, by the care which they took of the burial of those that were carried off by the distemper, without excepting even the meanest of the people. But it is not said that they ever thought of seeking for a remedy, or of giving the necessary orders to stop the contagion, and prevent its spreading.

Gallus persecutes the church.

Tillem.

They amused themselves with having recourse to their false gods by sacrifices, which they ordered to be offered up through all the empire: and it is very probable that this was what revived the persecution against the Christians, who full of zeal for the real welfare of the state, would not add to the anger of the true God, who is the sole arbiter and dispenser of blessings and misfortunes, by joining in those sacrilegious ceremonies. This persecution, which may be looked upon as a continuation of that of Decius, procured the crown of martyrdom to two holy popes, Cornelius and Lucius.

He rids himself of Hostilianus.
Zos. &
Aurel. Vict.

The plague happened very opportunely, to cloak the execution of Gallus's designs against the life of Hostilianus. He was afraid that the name of Decius

cus

cius would be a powerful recommendation in favour of this young prince, and that it might induce the soldiery to give him the power, as well as the title and honours of the imperial dignity. He therefore sought an opportunity of getting rid of a rival who gave him umbrage. The contagion furnished him with this opportunity*. He probably poisoned Hostilianus, and then gave out, that he died of the plague. Perhaps Volusian may not have been raised to the rank of Augustus, until after Hostilianus's death: and in that case we may reasonably suppose, that the son of Gallus filled the vacant place, and succeeded to the spoils of the son of Decius.

If we believe Zosimus, the barbarians, Scythians, Borans, Burgundians †, Carpians, committed as great ravages as the plague in all the provinces of the empire. But the incursions of which that writer speaks, belong rather to the reign of Valerian. That which happened in the time of Gallus, was a new invasion of the Goths, who, whether the tribute which had been promised them had not been exactly paid, or whether from their natural restlessness, passed the Danube, and desolated Mœsia, burning its towns and killing its inhabitants, or carrying them away captives, with an immense booty.

Emilian, by birth a Moor, and of very low extraction, but who, nevertheless, had been consul, perhaps already twice ‡, commanded at this time the

* Zosimus, on one hand, says, that Gallus put Hostilianus to death; and on the other, Aurelius Victor declares, that Hostilianus died of the plague. We may easily suppose that the one related the affair as it actually was, and that the other followed the false report published by the murderer.

† These Burgundians are not those who founded the kingdom of Burgundy in Gaul: but they were undoubtedly a branch of the same nation.

‡ Mention is made of an Æmilianus who was consul in the year of Christ 244, and of an M. Æmilianus who was consul for the second time, in 249. I see no reason why both these consulships may not be ascribed to the Æmilian we are speaking of.

The Goths
again ra-
vage Mœ-
sia.
Zos. §. Zon.
A. R. 1001.

Emilian
drives
them back
to their
own coun-
try and
makes him-
self empe-
ror.

Vict. Epit. the Roman troops in Mœsia. This general under-
Entrop. stood the art of war; and his ambition told him,
Zos. & Zo- that he was as worthy of the empire as Gallus.
nar. He thought that he had only to atchieve some
 glorious exploit, in order to merit it; and ob-
 serving, that his troops were discouraged, he en-
 deavoured to rouse their former ardour, not only
 by urging to them motives of duty and honour,
 but also, by promising that they should have the
 pension which was ignominiously paid to the bar-
 barians. This argument succeeded. His soldiers,
 flattered with such hopes did wonders. They de-
 feated the Goths in Mœsia, and even pursued
 them into their own country, beyond the Danube,
 where they engaged them again, cut their army
 in pieces, and recovered all the booty which had
 been carried off from the Roman province. The
 conqueror Emilian was proclaimed emperor by
 his army. He lost no time to make good his pre-
 tensions, but hastened his march to Italy.

*He goes
 to Italy.
 Gallus is
 killed by
 his own
 troops.*

Gallus, in great consternation, sent Valerian to
 the Rhine, to bring him the legions of Gaul and
 Germany; whilst he himself advanced against the
 enemy, at the head of the troops he then had with
 him. The two armies met near Interamna, now
 Terni, in Umbria; and that of Gallus, finding
 itself much inferior, and besides, having no great
 esteem for its chief, put an end to the strife, by
 killing him and his son, and coming voluntarily
 over to Emilian.

Taller.

*Perperna
 an usurper
 of a few
 days.*

Gallus had reigned about two years. Emilian
 was not the first rival that rose up against him.
 One M. Aufidius Perperna Licinianus had taken
 the title of Augustus some time before: but his
 ill concerted enterprize was stifled in its birth.

EMILIAN

EMILIAN.

C. VOLUSIANUS AUGUSTUS II.

..... MAXIMUS.

A. R. 1004.

A. C. 251.

S E C T. IV.

Emilian is acknowledged Emperor by the senate. His mild and moderate conduct. Valerian is proclaimed emperor by the troops he was leading to the assistance of Gallus. Emilian is killed by his own soldiers.

C or M. Julius Æmilianus, whom we shall call only Emilian, made but a very short appearance upon the stage, his reign not lasting four months. He ought, however, to be ranked among the emperors, since he was acknowledged by the senate, who, after having declared him a public enemy at the request of Gallus, conferred upon him all the titles of the imperial power, now that they saw him conqueror. Emilian had taken care to conciliate the affection of that body, by letters sent from Illyricum immediately after his election by the army. He therein declared, that he looked upon himself as the lieutenant of the senate, to whom he would leave the whole authority of the government, restricting himself to the command of the armies. He promised to establish peace in the empire, by delivering Thrace, and the neighbouring provinces, from the incursion of the barbarians, and by making war against the Persians, who began again to disturb the East by some acts

of

Emilian is acknowledged emperor by the senate. Zos. Zonar. Eutrop. Vict. Ulerg.

of hostility. We may easily believe, that this submissive language, which expressed such good intentions, had already made a favourable impression upon the senate, and that his subsequent success determined their suffrages.

His mild and moderate conduct.

Emilian kept his word, at least in part. He conducted himself in Rome with great modesty and mildness, and his behaviour was so extremely popular, as to be mistaken by the soldiery for meanness of spirit, and forgetfulness of his rank. Fear may perhaps have some share in his great shew of moderation: for he had not one moment of peace. He was no sooner delivered from Gallus, than he saw another more formidable rival rise up against him in the person of Valerian.

Valerian is proclaimed emperor by the troops which he was leading to the assistance of Gallus.

This senator had long held an illustrious rank in Rome, and enjoyed a very great reputation. Gallus had ordered him, as I observed before, to bring him the troops from Gaul and Germany to defend him against Emilian. Valerian performed his commission faithfully: but before he could rejoin his master, this last was killed. It was in Rætia that he learnt the news of Gallus's death: and the army which he was then conducting, seeing a leader of great reputation at their head, and disdaining the obscurity of Emilian's birth, seized the occasion which offered of making an emperor, and proclaimed Valerian, Augustus. It is not said, whether Valerian himself had any share in this determination of the soldiers, or whether he made any shew of opposing it. He was judicious enough not to be very desirous of the empire, and frank enough to comply with the desires of those that chose him, with a good grace, and without any hypocritical reluctance. He therefore put himself at their head, and marched towards Rome. But he had no occasion to fight.

Emilian is killed by

Emilian experienced the same fate as Gallus. His soldiers had a great esteem for the enemy's general,

general, than for their own emperor : and at the same time, they were sensible of the inequality of their forces. They therefore resolved to rid themselves of Emilian ; and accordingly they killed him at Spoleto, whither he had advanced to meet his adversary. Valerian, conqueror without having drawn his sword, or perhaps even seen the camp of his antagonist, was unanimously acknowledged throughout the whole empire.

PRINCIPAL EVENTS

OF THE REIGN

OF

VALERIAN.

C. VOLUSIANUS AUGUSTUS II.

A. R. 1004.

. MAXIMUS.

A. C. 253.

VALERIAN, proclaimed emperor by the soldiers, is acknowledged by the senate, who confer the title of Cæsar upon his son Gallienus. Valerian gives him that of Augustus.

P. LICINIUS VALERIANUS II. }
 P. LICINIUS GALLIENUS } AUGG.

A. R. 1005.

A. C. 254.

The empire attacked on all sides by the barbarians.

Valerian sends his son Gallienus into Gaul, giving him Posthumus for his moderator and assistant : and he himself undertakes to defend the countries on the east of Italy.

Some place under this year Aurélian's exploit against the Franks, which we have spoken of in the reign of Gordian III.

P. LICINIUS

A. R. 1006.
A. C. 255.

P. LICINIUS VALERIANUS III. } AUGG.
P. LICINIUS GALLIENUS II. }

We find under this year a Cæsar named Valerian, who seems to have been the second son of the emperor.

A. R. 1007.
A. C. 256.

. MAXIMUS.
. GLABRIO.

A victory over the Germans, for which Gallienus took the title of *Germanicus Maximus*. This victory may have been gained by the help of Aurelian, who was afterwards emperor.

Gallienus treats with one of the German princes, who engages to hinder his countrymen from passing the Rhine.

If there be any truth in what Zonaras says of Gallienus's gaining a victory near Milan, with ten thousand men, over three hundred thousand Germans; we may place that event either under this year, or, perhaps more probably, under the first year in which Gallienus enjoyed the sovereign power alone.

A. R. 1008.
A. C. 257.

P. LICINIUS VALERIANUS IV. } AUGG.
P. LICINIUS GALLIENUS III. }

Valerian, who at first favoured the Christians, begins this year to persecute them, being persuaded thereto by Macrian. This persecution, which is the eighth, continued until the end of Valerian's reign.

By his orders, he conducts the war against the Goths, who ravaged Illyricum and Thrace. Claudius and Aurelian, who were afterwards emperors, signalize themselves in this war. Probus, then very young, acquires great glory in it, though in an inferior command.

MEMMIUS

MEMMIUS FUSCUS.

A. R. 1009.

..... BASSUS.

A. C. 258.

Valerian at Byzantium.

Aurelian, adopted by Ulpius Crinitus, was consul with him during part of this year. Their consulate began on the twenty-second of May.

The Persians, solicited by Cyriades, a fugitive, enter Mesopotamia, take Nisibis and Carrhæ, penetrate into Syria, and make themselves masters of Antioch, which they plunder and sack.

Cyriades takes the titles of Cæsar and Augustus.

Incursions of the Scythian Borans, who seize upon Trebizond.

The martyrdom of pope St Sixtus, of St Laurence, and of St Cyprian.

..... ÆMILLIANUS.

A. R. 1010.

..... BASSUS.

A. C. 259.

Cyriades perishes, after having reigned a year in Syria.

Valerian at Antioch. He restores that city.

Bithynia ravaged by Scythians. Valerian sets out in order to chastize them: but they had already retired when he arrived in Cappadocia. He returns to Antioch.

Gallienus's eldest son, Valerian, is made Cæsar.

..... SECULARIS.

A. R. 1011.

..... DONATUS.

A. C. 259.

Valerian is defeated by Sapor, in Mesopotamia, and afterwards made prisoner at an interview with the conqueror.

His captivity was long, and loaded with the most ignominious treatment.

USURPER under the reign of VALERIAN.

CYRIADES in Syria.

VALERIAN.

SECT. V.

VALERIAN, universally esteemed before he was emperor, soon finds himself unequal to that dignity. He had probity, but wanted talents. Melancholy state of the empire when Valerian began his reign. He makes his son Gallienus Augustus. His family. He sends Gallienus into Gaul against the Germans, giving him Posthumus for his counsellor and director. Gallienus acquires honour in that command. Valerian is successful, by his generals, against the barbarians who ravaged Illyricum. Asia Minor ravaged at different times by the incursions of the Scythian nations. Valerian's negligence and inactivity. The plague continues to desolate the empire. The Persian war. Cyriades a traitor and an usurper. Antioch taken by the Persians. Cyriades perishes. Valerian goes to Antioch, and repairs that city. He is defeated by Sapor, and made prisoner at an interview. Sapor's base treatment of him. Valerian, though naturally of a good disposition, persecutes the Christians. View of that persecution, which is reckoned the eighth. The beginning of Christianity among the Goths and other barbarians.

Valerian, universally esteemed before he was emperor, soon finds himself unequal to that dignity. *Heck. Val. l. 2.*

NEVER did any prince ascend the throne with a better reputation than Valerian, nor with more sincere and more universal congratulations from all orders of the state. Born of an illustrious family, tried in all civil and military employments, the weight of which he had supported with dignity; he had arrived at the highest degree of

of consideration and fame that a private person could possibly aspire to. Though honoured with the consular dignity, possessed of the first rank among all the senators, and appointed the deputy of Gordians to the senate, when they were elected emperors in Africa; all this did him still less honour, than the manner in which he was chosen censor.

Zor. & Capit. Gord.

Since the establishment of the imperial power the authority of the censorship had almost always been united to the supreme authority. Paulus and Plancus were the two last private persons who bore that office together, about twenty-two years before the common Christian era; Augustus being then in peaceable possession of the empire. Claudius made Vitellius his associate in the functions of censor: but since that time, the emperors had always reserved to themselves the exercise of that office, though they did not usually take the title of it. Decius, purely out of zeal for the re-^{form.}formation of manners, thought it would be most proper to commit that important trust to some private person, who, not having any other object in view, might apply himself wholly to it; and accordingly, without fearing to disconnect it from the imperial power, he wrote to the senate, whilst he was in Illyricum, engaged in a war against the Goths, ordering them to appoint a censor.

As soon as the prætor, who presided in the assembly during the absence of the two Decii, both emperors and consuls, had read the orders which he had received, there was no need of any deliberation. Every one, unanimous in favour of Valerian, instantly cried out, "Valerian's life is a perpetual censorship. To him, who is better than all others, it belongs to judge all others. Valerian, from his infancy, has been a respectable censor, by the integrity of his conduct; a wise senator, modest, and sedate; a friend to the good,

“ good, and an enemy to oppressors ; making war
“ against vice. We will have him for our censor ;
“ him we propose to imitate. More illustrious by
“ his merit, than by the nobleness of his blood ;
“ his conduct shews innocency of manners, and a
“ sublimity of sentiments. He is a matchless ex-
“ ample, and venerable antiquity is revived in
“ him.” These acclamations, often reiterated, at
length concluded with the declaration of the general
consent. “ We are all of this opinion,” cried they ;
and this was the form of the decree of the senate.

Valerian was then with the army. Decius no
sooner received the decree of the senate, than he
sent for him ; and in presence of the chief offi-
cers of his court, which he had assembled, he no-
tified to him his election, giving him at the same
time an account of the extent of the authority of
his office. “ Valerian, said he, you have reason to
“ think yourself happy in being honoured, as you
“ are, by the suffrages of the senate ; or rather in
“ possessing all their esteem, all their affection,
“ and all their hearts. Receive the authority of
“ censor, which you alone are capable of exer-
“ cising worthily, and which the Roman republic
“ confers upon you over all its members, to judge
“ their conduct. You are to decide who are wor-
“ thy to keep or to acquire the rank of senators ;
“ you are to restore the Equestrian order to its
“ ancient splendour ; you are to take cognizance
“ of the public revenues, and you are to grant
“ the leases of them. The troops are to be sub-
“ ject to inspection ; you are to judge even the
“ judges themselves, the officers of our palace,
“ and those who hold the greatest places in the
“ state. In a word, except the præfect of the
“ city, the consuls in office, the king the sacrifici-
“ ces, and the chief vestal, provided she faithfully
“ preserves her honour ; all ranks, and every pri-
“ vate person, are to be subject to your controul ;
“ and even those who are exempt from it, are ne-
vertheless

“vertheless not to fail to make it their duty to please you.”

Valerian, far from being dazzled with the splendour of so high a post, conferred upon him in so flattering a manner, felt only its weight, and begged to be excused from accepting it. “Great and venerable emperor, said he, do not force me to undertake that which suits only with your august dignity. The censorship is an imperial function, which a private person cannot execute. As to myself in particular, I am thoroughly sensible how much I am unequal to so high an office. I even know not but that the situation of affairs may render it impracticable for me: and in the state in which I see mankind at present, I scarcely believe them capable of reformation.”

Here our author stops, without informing us * whether Valerian’s excuses were received, or whether Decius constrained him to take the censorship. It is evident, however, from the transactions which followed, that even if Valerian was censor, he cannot have exercised that authority long; for Decius perished soon after; and a strict censorship would have been very ill-timed under Gallus, who abandoned himself to effeminacy and indolence.

Such was Valerian, when he was raised to the empire. The senate and the people of the provinces joyfully approved of the choice of the soldiery; and if every individual had been indulged with the liberty of naming an emperor, Valerian would have been sure of all their suffrages. This merit, so universally esteemed, was, however, not found equal to the imperial dignity. Valerian, though

D 3

he

* Valerian is styled *formerly censor* in the beginning of a fragment that remains of his life by Trebellius: but it is uncertain whether the first words of the fragment are that author’s own; and, besides, Trebellius is not so exact a writer that we ought to take his expressions over literally. Valerian’s having been elected to the censorship might seem to him a sufficient foundation for calling him censor.

he had distinguished himself in inferior employments, was not able to support the sovereign authority: so that we may justly apply to him what Tacitus says of Galba *, that while he was a private person, he appeared superior to a private station; and if he had never been emperor, he would have been unanimously judged worthy of the empire.

He had probity, but wanted talents. *Urb. Vol. 1, & 2.*

If probity were sufficient for the government of a vast monarchy, Valerian would doubtless have been a great prince. He had an uncommon simplicity of manners, was upright, and of an open disposition. He loved justice, was careful not to oppress the people, and not only listened readily to good counsels, but honoured those who gave them. He even possessed a qualification of great importance in a sovereign prince; he loved to prefer merit: and it is remarked, that a great many military officers whom he employed in high commands, either became emperors, or, having usurped the sovereign power, acted in such a manner, that the only thing they could be blamed for, was the illegal means by which they had assumed that dignity.

The qualities we have mentioned are truly worthy of great praise: but the art of governing requires also talents which Valerian had not; a superiority of views, firmness of courage, activity of execution, a knowledge of the depths of the human heart, and a wise distrust of the snares of the crafty. Valerian had a very confined understanding, was weak, slow, and credulous; and in consequence of these defects, his reign was one continued series of misfortunes, and ended at last in a most ignominious catastrophe.

Melancholous to the last, when Valerian was taken prisoner.

It is true, the empire was in a most deplorable situation when Valerian took the reins of government. The intestine divisions of the Romans; the continual

* Major privato visus, dum privatus fuit, & omnium consensus eum imperii, nisi imperasset. *Tac. Hist. l. 40.*

continual dethroning of emperors, who fell almost as soon as they were made; the frontiers left exposed by the necessity which the armies were under, of causing the princes, whom they had chosen, to be acknowledged in Rome; the care which those princes themselves were obliged to take, in order to establish their infant authority, and, if possible, prevent revolts: so many united causes weakened the state exceedingly, and exposed it to the prey of the barbarians. The Germans became extremely formidable on the Rhine; the Goths, the Burgundians, the Carpians, were dreaded on the Danube; other Scythian nations over-run and ravaged Asia; and the Persians attacked the provinces of the East. The immense extent of the empire seemed only to furnish an opportunity for fresh wars and new enemies. A few years afterwards, Claudius II. Aurelian, Probus, triumphed over equal, and even greater obstacles and dangers: but the superiority of their genius furnished them with resources, which the weak Valerian knew not either how to find or how to use.

At the same time that Valerian was acknowledged by the senate, his son Gallienus, who was then at Rome, was declared Cæsar. Valerian now made him Augustus, and thereby raised to an equality with himself a youth of about eighteen or twenty years of age, who, with a good understanding, had the worst and basest heart that ever was known in history. As Valerian's family was very numerous, it may not be improper to give some account of it here, in order to throw a light upon what we shall hereafter have occasion to say.

Valerian, whom inscriptions call P. Licinius Valerianus, was twice married. By his first marriage he had P. Licinius Gallienus, this last name being borrowed from his grandfather by the mother's side, who was an illustrious man in the republic. Valerian's second wife was Mariniana,

He makes his son Gallienus, Augustus.
E. drops & V. t. utiq.

His family T. l. n.

who is only known by the medals which declare her apotheosis. By her he had two sons, both of whom were *Augusti*, Valerian the younger, and Egnatius *. The e princes had children, who are not known in history. Gallienus married Salonina, and had by her at least two sons, both of whom bore, together with other names, that of Salonianus, and were honoured with the title of Cæsar. We call the one Valerian, and the other Saloninus.

He sends
Gallienus
into Gaul,
against the
Germans,
giving him
Posthumus
for his as-
sistant.
Z. &
Entrop.

The emperor Valerian, seeing himself upon a throne attacked on every side, took measures for opposing all his enemies. He sent his son Gallienus into Gaul to oppose the Germans, whilst he himself undertook to repel the Scythians, who desolated Illyricum and Asia.

Gallienus was put young for the commission his father entrusted him with. However, though he was not deficient in military courage, as he was in sentiments of honour and virtue, Valerian gave him only the name and honours of general, and joined to him, as his counsellor and conductor, Posthumus, who was well skilled in the art of war, and who afterwards assumed the title of Augustus, and reigned with glory in Gaul. He had thoughts of giving this commission to Aurelian, who was afterwards emperor: but he feared the consequences of his too great severity. "My son," said he, in a letter to a friend, who was surprized at the preference given to Posthumus, "is yet very young, and but a child. There is a great deal of levity in this manner of thinking and acting. I was apprehensive, I confess, lest Aurelian, whose

Top. Auct.

* I follow M. de Tillmont in what I say of Valerian's family, though I am not ignorant that his account has its difficulties. The affair is so much perplexed, and of so little importance, that I have thought it most advisable to abide by the opinion of a learned and exact writer, without, however, enquiring for its certainty.

“ whose severity is well known, should carry his rigour too far in regard to him.” Gallienus, directed by Posthumus, was successful against the Germans. These Germans, as they are here called, were probably Franks*, who, about this time, when they were first known to exist, are often poken of under a name then more common. Some earned men refer to the time we are now speaking, the advantage which Aurelian gained over them when he was only a tribune. But that event, in our opinion, belongs more properly to the reign of Gordian III. under which we have accordingly placed it. It is probable that Aurelian, whom Valerian himself, in one of his letters, calls the Restorer of Gaul, had arrived to a higher rank under this prince; that he commanded a detachment of the army under Gallienus and Posthumus, and that he signalized his command by some victory of greater note than his first exploits. Some medals inform us of a victory over the Germans, which procured Gallienus the title of *Germanicus Maximus*.

Gallienus acquires honour in that command. *Tillem. Val.* 3. § 4.

Gallienus, to secure the tranquillity of Gaul, joined a negotiation to his arms; and, after humbling the pride of the Germans, in several engagements, he made an alliance with one of their princes, who not only agreed never more to pass the Rhine himself, but also engaged to hinder his countrymen from passing it.

This is all the account we are able to give of what Gallienus did in Gaul during the reign of his father; or rather, of what Aurelian and Posthumus did under his name. Zonaras says, that Gallienus distinguished himself likewise by a very signal exploit in Italy. With ten thousand men, according to that writer, he defeated three hundred thousand Germans, near Milan. The thing

* Zonaras says positively, that Gallienus made war upon the Franks.

thing is hardly credible ; and even the little likelihood of truth that may seem to be in it, ought to be referred to a later period.

Valerian is successful by his generals, against the barbarians who ravaged Illyricum. *Top. Aurel. Trebill. Claud. Top. Prob.*

The war was carried on with equal vigour in Illyricum. The nations bordering upon the Danube had over-ran all that vast country, and ravaged it with great cruelty. Valerian, who had proceeded to Byzantium, in order to be nearer the enemy, employed against them several generals, the most illustrious of whom were Claudius and Aurelian, both afterwards emperors. Aurelian in particular, gained a great victory over the Goths ; as a reward for which he was honoured with the consulship.

Probus, who likewise rose afterwards to the imperial dignity, was then too young to be able to command in chief: but he already distinguished himself by all the excellent qualities of a noble soul, and by his military valour. Valerian had made him tribune before the usual age, and he had no reason to repent of that action. In a battle against the Sarmatians and the Quadi, Probus performed prodigies of valour, and merited a civic crown, by delivering out of the hands of the barbarians, Valerius Flaccus, a young man of high birth, and related to the emperor.

Asia Minor is ravaged at different times, by the incursions of the Scythian nations.

Illyricum being thus secured against the incursions of the Goths, by the exploits of these great men ; the emperor next attended to the security of Asia Minor, which was become a prey to swarms of other barbarians, nations of Scythia, among whom are mentioned in particular the Borans. Their ravages first began on the side of Phasis and Colchis, whether they arrived by sea. They had no vessels of their own, but they borrowed them from the inhabitants of Bosphorus. Zosimus observes, that whilst the small state of Bosphorus had its own hereditary kings, those princes, who were allies and friends of the Romans, and traded with

with them, and received presents from them, hindered the Scythians from invading the territories of the empire: but that the sceptre having fallen into unworthy hands, by the extinction of the royal family; the new sovereigns, being but ill established, and wanting courage, were afraid of the menaces of the Scythians, and not content with allowing them a passage, furnished them also with ships. The Borans, (for it is of that Scythian nation we are now speaking,) no sooner landed in Colchis, than they sent back their ships, and immediately overrunning all the low country, pillaged and ravaged it in a barbarous manner. They afterwards dared even to attack Pityanta*, a fortified city, which defended the frontiers of the empire on that side. Successianus, commander of the place, and a brave officer, being seconded by good troops which he had under him, received the enemy so warmly that he quickly took from them all hopes of succeeding in their enterprize. He defeated and pursued them, and the Borans having lost great numbers of their men, thought themselves very happy in escaping to their own country on board some vessels which they found on the coast, and took possession of by force.

The inhabitants of Pityanta, and all the neighbouring country, thought themselves wholly delivered: but the barbarians they had to deal with, being always restless and always rapacious; having nothing to attach them to their own country; accustomed to wander without a fixed habitation, carrying with them all that they possessed; and stimulated by the hopes of booty; were not to be discouraged by disasters. When beaten, they again returned to the charge; and by following
this

* Zosimus plainly places the city of Pityanta to the south of the Phasis, as will appear from what is said below. Strabo speaks of a Pityanta the great, to the south of that river. Either Zosimus is wrong, which is not very unlikely, or we must distinguish two cities of Pityanta, as Cellarius has done in his map.

this practice with unwearied perseverance, they at last effected the ruin of the Roman empire.

The Borans were hardly got back to their own country, when they prepared for a new invasion. They again obtained vessels from the people of Bosphorous, and upon their arrival at Phasis they kept them, in order to secure their retreat in case of need. They began with attacking a temple of Diana, which was in those parts, and the royal city of Aëta, the father of Medea, so famous in fable. Though repulsed with loss, they were not discouraged, but proceeded on, and presented themselves before Pityanta. Unfortunately, Successianus was no longer in that city. Valerian, who was drawn to Antioch by the necessity of opposing the Persians, had sent for that officer thither, appointed him prætorian præfect, and proposed to make use of his advice in conducting the war in the east. Pityanta was badly defended: the Borans took it by storm, plundered it, and making themselves masters of the vessels which they found in the harbour, they added them to their fleet, put to sea, and proceeding forwards, arrived before Trebizond, a very strong city, surrounded with a double wall, and defended by a garrison of upwards of ten thousand men.

Barbarians, who had not the least knowledge of the difficult art of besieging towns, could never have taken this city by force. They would not have flattered themselves with such a thought, says the historian, even in their dreams. The negligence of the garrison procured them a success, which otherwise, was as far above their hopes as it surpassed their abilities. The Roman officers and soldiers, trusting to their superiority, and despising the ignorance of the enemy, did not keep themselves on their guard, took no precaution, and thought only of making merry and diverting themselves. The Borans being informed of their security, scaled the walls during the night, and at once made themselves

themselves masters of Trebizond. The garrison, as cowardly as it was badly disciplined, went out at the gate next the land, and left the inhabitants to the discretion of the conquerors, who found an immense booty: the city was rich of itself, and the people from all the country round had carried thither, as to a secure fortress, all their most valuable effects. The Borans reaped the advantage of this; and after having plundered and sacked the city, they even made incursions into the inland country, as appears by the canonical epistle of St Gregory Thaumaturgus, then bishop of Neocæsarea. After thus seizing the riches of Pontus, with which they loaded their ships, they returned in triumph to their own country.

This success was a strong temptation to the other Scythian nations bordering upon the Borans. Resolving to imitate the lucrative example of their neighbours, they raised a land army, and formed a fleet. In the building of their vessels, the art of which they were entirely ignorant of, they employed Romans who were among them, either as prisoners, or led thither by trade *.

As to the direction of their route, the eastern side of Pontus having been ransacked by the Borans, and consequently not promising any considerable booty to those who should come after them; the Scythians of whom we are now speaking turned towards the west. They set out in the beginning of the winter from the neighbourhood of the Tanais. The land army and the fleet, proceeding in concert, kept along the western coast of the Euxine sea. It is probable that the land forces passed the Danube on the ice, and that it was for this reason that winter had been chosen for the time of their departure.

Arriving

* The text of Zosimus, such as we have it, signifies on account of indigence: but by a very small alteration, it will give the sense that I have followed as much the best. Instead of *κατὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην*, I think we should read *κατὰ τὴν ἀπορία*.

Arriving near Byzantium, they passed by that city, which perhaps appeared to them too strong or too well guarded: but they crossed the streights, partly in their own vessels, and partly in barks which they had picked up along the coast, particularly in a great marsh not far from Byzantium; and upon their landing in Asia, they surprised Chalcedon. This city had a garrison more numerous than the troops that attacked it. But the barbarians had spread such a terror, that the Roman soldiers fled shamefully even before they had seen the enemy. The Scythians entered Chalcedon without the least resistance: and the facility of the conquest, joined to the booty which they took, animated their courage and increased their greediness.

They accordingly advanced towards Nicomedia, whither they were invited by a traitor, whom Zosimus calls Chrysogonus. This city was as easily taken as Chalcedon; and the plunder of it would have been much more considerable, if the greatest part of the inhabitants had not fled, before the arrival of the barbarians, and carried off with them all their most valuable effects. The Scythians, however, found in it what might have sufficiently satisfied their avarice: but continuing their ravages, they plundered also the cities of Nice, Cius, and Prusa. They wanted still to advance as far as Cyzicus: but the river Rhyndacus, suddenly overflowing, through heavy rains which had fallen, stopped their course: they went back the way they came, burnt Nicomedia and Nice, which they had before contented themselves with plundering, and having reached the sea, they reembarked, and carried all their booty into their own country.

The ravaging of such a province as Bythynia, and of so many considerable cities, without any Roman troops making the least opposition to the barbarians, either during their incursions or in their retreat, is far from doing honour to the government

ernment of Valerian, and proves too clearly the negligence and sluggish slowness of which historians accuse him. Antioch was all this while his place of residence. He, indeed, sent Felix to guard Byzantium; and at length took the field himself, and advanced as far as Cappadocia, from whence, being probably informed there of the retreat of the Scythians, he returned back, without having done any one thing, except a great deal of damage to the people over whose lands he passed.

To the incursions of the barbarians, who ravaged the finest provinces of the empire, was added another dreadful scourge, the plague, which had already, for several years, desolated the cities, the country, and the armies; and to complete the disasters of the Romans, Valerian went in search of a fatal and shameful end in the war against the Persians.

Since the victories gained by Gordian III. over the Persians, and the peace concluded with them by Philip, there had not been any open war between the two empires. Not that the peace was very religiously observed by Sapor. Mention is made of some acts of hostility committed by that prince against the Romans in the time of Gallus. Zonaras speaks of one Tiridates, king of Armenia, then dethroned by the Persians, and by his own sons who had joined the enemy. But it was under the reign of Valerian, and by the assistance of the traitor Cyriades, that Sapor threw aside the mask, and renewed the war with more violence than ever.

Cyriades, son of a father of the same name, who seems to have been a great lord in Syria, having incurred his parent's displeasure by his bad conduct and mad extravagances, afterwards robbed him, carried off a great quantity of gold and silver, and fled into the Persian territories. He went to the court of Sapor, and exhorted him to attack the

the Romans; representing to him, without doubt, how favourable the opportunity was to make good his ancient pretensions against an empire, actually governed by a weak prince, and invaded on all sides by the barbarians. He had also his own views and interests in this scheme, as will appear by what follows. Sapor's ambition inclined him to listen eagerly to such a proposal. He took the field: perhaps also encouraged by the intelligence which Cyriades kept up in the countries subject to the Romans. He entered Mesopotamia, where he took Nisibis and Carrhæ; and penetrated into Syria, where he surprised Antioch.

Antioch
taken by
the Persi-
ans.
Tr. bel. Tr.
Tyt. 2. 20.
Ann. Mar-
til. l. 23.

The inhabitants of that great city were far from thinking of any such misfortune. Abandoning themselves to their taste for pleasures and shews, they were actually at the theatre, amusing themselves with seeing a pantomime and his wife, who were acting a farce to divert them; when, on a sudden, the woman turning about, cried out, "Either I dream, or I see the Persians." She saw them in fact: for they had by that time taken possession of the city, the inhabitants of which had never once conceived the least idea of providing for their defence. They sacked it, and plundered the adjacent country.

After this conquest, the Persians might easily have advanced into Asia Minor, and have subdued it: but their army was loaded with an immense booty, of which they thought it most advisable to secure the possession, by carrying it into their own country.

l. l. l.

Cyriades, having completed his crimes by parricide, a traitor to his country, and the murderer of his father, resolved at last to reap the fruit of his wickedness. Remaining in Syria, he decorated himself with the title of Cæsar, and afterwards with that of Augustus. But this splendour, purchased by so many execrable deeds, was but of short duration.

After

After enjoying it a little more than a year, he was killed by his followers. If one may be allowed to suppose, that his name ought to be substituted in the text of Ammianus Marcellinus instead of that of Marcades, which is not unlike, and which may perhaps be a corruption of it; in that case, it was the Persians themselves who did justice on that wretch, after they had served themselves by his villany. Marcellinus assures us that Marcades, a citizen of Antioch, who had admitted them into that city, was burnt alive by them.

Cyriades
perishes.

Cyriades was dead when Valerian, led into the east by the war against the Persians, arrived at Antioch. His first care was to repair that city, which the enemy had in a great measure ruined; and it is probably in consequence of that benefit, that the title of Restorer of the East, which so little suited with his misfortunes, is given him on some medals.

Valerian
goes to An-
tioch, and
repairs that
city.

Valerian passed a considerable time in the east; but we cannot say what he did there before his last disaster. All that we know of it, is reduced to the repairing of Antioch, of which we have just spoken, and to the slow motion which he made to go and drive the Scythians from Bithynia, which they had quitted before he arrived in Cappadocia.

At length, obliged to go to the assistance of Edessa, which Sapor besieged, and encouraged by the vigorous resistance made by the garrison of the place, Valerian passed the Euphrates and entered Mesopotamia. He ventured an engagement, the issue of which was fatal to him. The blame of this is thrown upon the treachery of a general, in whom the emperor had an entire confidence, which the other abused, by persuading him to engage in a place where neither the valour nor good discipline of the Roman troops could be of any service to them. This general is, doubtless, Macrian, of whom we shall have occasion to speak fully. Valerian whose natural timidity was increas-

He is de-
feated by
Sapor, and
made pri-
soner at an
interview
between
them. *Zon.
Lus. Tre-
bel. Val.
3. Entrop.
1 ut. utriq.*

ed by his defeat, sued for peace to Sapor, who was himself on the point of purchasing it with large sums of money. Sapor, who meditated a piece of treachery, sent back the Roman ambassadors, telling them, that he desired to treat with their emperor in person. Valerian was so imprudent as to expose himself to an interview without being sufficiently guarded: and the Persians, taking advantage of his weak credulity, suddenly surrounded him and made him prisoner. Such is the most probable and best supported account that we find of this melancholy and shameful transaction, of which, after M. Tillemont, we fix the date to the year 260.

Every one knows the base and shocking treatment which this unhappy prince met with during his long captivity. He was loaded with greater indignities than were offered even to the meanest slaves.

Sapor's
base treat-
ment of
him.
Cic. *de Off.*
lib. 1. cap.
1. *Phil.* c. 1.
Vict. Epit.
facto *facto*
et *out* *per* *se*
. 5.

His haughty conqueror carried him about every where in his retinue, loaded with chains, and at the same time clad in the imperial purple, the splendour of which embittered the thought of his misery: and when Sapor wanted to mount his horse, the unfortunate Valerian was obliged to bend to the ground, that his insolent master might use his neck as a footstool. To this so cruel indignity the barbarous king often added insulting speeches, observing with a contemptuous smile, that this was triumphing in reality, and not in resemblance only, as the Romans did. But the most cutting of all Valerian's misfortunes was the base and criminal indifference of an ungrateful son, who, seated upon the throne of the Cæsars, left his father in this deplorable situation, without making the least effort to rescue him from it. The only mark of regard that Gallienus shewed him, was his placing him among the gods, upon a false report of his death.

In this too, it is observed, that it was against his inclination, and merely to satisfy the desires of the people

people and senate, that he paid him even that respect prescribed by custom, and as frivolous in itself, as it was ridiculous and misplaced for one in his condition.

The ignominy of the captive prince did not end with his life. He languished in that shocking slavery at least three years; some say nine; and after he was dead, Sapor ordered his body to be flead, his skin to be painted red, and to be stuffed so as to preserve the human form, and in that condition to be hung up in a temple, as an eternal monument of the disgrace of the Romans: and when he received ambassadors from Rome he shewed them that extremely mortifying sight, to teach them, said he, to humble their pride.

All Christian authors have looked upon Valerian's catastrophe, as an effect of the divine vengeance for the blood of the just and the saints, which that emperor shed, though otherwise naturally inclined to good. I say that he was naturally of a good disposition; and of this we have a proof from his different letters, which the writers of the Byzantine history, have transmitted to us in the lives of Macrian, Balistus, Claudius II. Aurelian, and Probus. We see, through all of them, a prince, who honestly and candidly does justice to merit. He even shews in them sometimes heroic sentiments, worthy of the ancient times of Rome. I shall instance only one circumstance, relative to Aurelian.

He resolved to reward the services of that general, which were very great, with the honours of the consulship. But that high post then required enormous expences, especially for the games which it was necessary to give to the people, and Aurelian was poor. This circumstance was, in Valerian's opinion, far from being an obstacle to the promotion of a subject who merited esteem for his personal qualities. On the contrary, it rather appeared to him a recommendation and an

additional qualification ; and accordingly, writing to Aurelian to notify to him his nomination, he told him, that the treasury should defray the expences, which the scantiness of his fortune was not able to support. “ For, added he * those
 “ who remain poor, while they serve the republic, are most worthy of praise ; and none deserve more than they to be assisted by the state.” Valerian sent orders for that purpose to the keeper of the public treasure, and the letter began with these beautiful words : “ Aurelian, on account of his poverty, which renders him truly
 “ great in our eyes, and greater than others, is not able to support the expence of the consulship, which we have conferred upon him : therefore, &c. †.” The emperor then regulates at full length all that was to be furnished on that occasion.

Aurelian, who did not chuse to raise a fortune by unlawful means, acquired one in an honourable way, being adopted at the same time by Ulpian Crinitus, a rich man of consular dignity, who had no children ; and the goodness of Valerian was so great, that he thanked Ulpian for this adoption, as if it had been an action in which his own interest was immediately concerned.

*Euseb. Hist.
 Eccl. VII.
 10.*

The Christians, at first, experienced the mildness and goodness of this prince. None of his predecessors, says St Dionysius of Alexandria, quoted by Eusebius, had shewn them so much humanity and even affection. The imperial palace was filled with Christians, and it might almost be looked upon as a church of the true God. It was an external impression.

* *Levanda est enim paupertas eorum hominum qui diu republice viventes, pauperes sunt, & nullorum magis. This is but very inelegantly expressed. Perhaps there is even some error in it. But the sense may be perceived, which is noble and excellent.*

† *Aureliano, cui consulatum detulimus, ob paupertatem, quæ ille magnus est, cæteris major, dabis, &c.*

impression that changed his opinion in regard to them.

Macrian, a man of mean extraction, but immense ambition; addicted to magic, and consequently a great enemy to the Christians; endowed with talents, both for war and the administration of civil affairs; had gained the emperor's confidence. The miseries of the state, desolated at the same time by a plague, and by the ravages of the barbarians, seemed to him a favourable opportunity to rivet his ascendancy over the emperor's weak mind, then sunk with grief, and inclined to superstition. He taught him, and made him practise magical sacrifices, as a sure means of averting the miseries which afflicted the state: and soon after he persuaded him, that the Christians were the cause of the public calamities, not only by their not adoring the gods that were revered by all nations, but also by their daring even to blaspheme them. *Euseb.*

This occasioned the eighth persecution, which was ordered by an edict of Valerian. It was general, and very cruel, especially against the bishops and priests, without however sparing private Christians. During the three years and an half that it continued, that is to say, from the year 257, to the captivity of Valerian in 260; it crowned a great number of martyrs. Among these were, at Rome, S. Sixtus the Pope, and St Laurence his deacon; St Cyprian at Carthage; and several other holy bishops in all parts of the empire. St Dionysius of Alexandria was only banished; and after Valerian was taken by the Persians, he returned to his church. We see by the history of this persecution, that the burying-grounds were the places where the Christians generally assembled. They were driven from thence by an order of the emperor, and deprived of the possession of them. *T. II. m.*

Whilst Christianity was persecuted by the Romans, it extended itself among the barbarous nations *The beginning of Christianity.*

among the
Goths, and
other bar-
barians.

Sozom. II.
6.

tions who made war upon them. The Goths and other Scythian nations, in the ravages which they practised in Illyricum, Thrace, and different provinces of Asia, as we have related, carried off a great number of prisoners, among whom were several holy priests. These illustrious captives, by the splendour of their virtues, by their patience under the calamities which they suffered, and by the miracles which God wrought at their intercession, quickly drew the respect of their masters to the worship they professed. From a respect for the Christian religion the barbarians proceeded to a desire of embracing it. Great numbers of them were baptised, but not all. The superstitions of idolatry prevailed among them for a long time, and gave several martyrs to the church.

Sozomen, from whom we have this account, says, that the German nations on the Rhine, began also then to be converted to the Christian faith. But we do not find in the history of France any traces of Christianity among the Franks, before the conversion of Clovis.

PRINCIPAL EVENTS

OF THE REIGN

OF

GALLIENUS.

A. R. 191.
A. C. 209.

SECULARIS II.
DONATUS.

GALLIENUS, after his father's misfortune, immediately assumes the administration of the sovereign power.

He leaves Gaul, and goes to Italy, from whence a swarm of Scythians, or Goths, had been driven by the good orders given by the senate.

He passes into Illyricum, which was infested by another band of Scythians, and by the Sarmatians; and where Ingenuus had revolted, after defeating these last.

Assisted by Aurcolus, he defeats Ingenuus in a pitched battle. Ingenuus is slain, or kills himself. Gallienus revenges himself cruelly on those who had assisted him in his rebellion.

Sapor, in the East, takes advantage of the situation of affairs. He returns to Syria, retakes Antioch, and, as a conqueror, over-runs Cappadocia, Lycaonia, and Cilicia.

Balistus, a Roman general, repulses Sapor, and obliges him to repass the Euphrates.

Odenatus, prince of Palmyra, or chief of a tribe of Saracens, pursues Sapor, and attacking him almost without intermission, drives him back to his own territories, and besieges the royal city of Ctesiphon.

Macrian, aided by Balistus, causes himself to be proclaimed emperor with his two sons Macrian the younger and Quietus. All Asia acknowledges him.

In Gaul, Posthumus, who commanded there, kills Valerian Caesar, the son of Gallienus, left by his father at Cologne, and assumes the purple. He reigns over Gaul, Spain, and Britain, for seven years.

Gallienus makes his second son, Salonius, Caesar.

He appeases the persecution which his father had raised against the Christians at the instigation of Macrian.

The plague makes great ravages in the empire.

A. R. 1012. **GALLIENUS AUGUSTUS IV.**
 A. C. 261. **VOLUSIANUS.**

The Scythians penetrate into Greece. The Athenians, in order to defend themselves against them, rebuild their walls; and the inhabitants of Peloponnesus inclose their isthmus by a wall from one sea to the other. Thessalonica besieged by the Scythians.

Regillianus revolts in Mœsia, and is killed soon after.

Macrian begins his march with his eldest son, in order to cause himself to be acknowledged in the West, leaving his second son Quietus with Balistus in the East.

Valens and Piso assume the purple in Greece, and are killed.

Odenatus continues the war against Sapor, with success.

A. R. 1013. **GALLIENUS AUGUSTUS V.**
 A. C. 262. **FAUSTIANUS.**

Earthquakes at Rome, in Africa, and in Asia.

Macrian passes into Europe.

The Scythians, after ravaging Greece, retire to their own country: perhaps, upon their being defeated by Macrian, or some other Roman general.

Macrian, being conquered by Aureolus in Illyricum, is abandoned by his army, and killed with his son.

Quietus, his other son, is besieged in Emisa by Odenatus, who had returned from his Persian expedition. Balistus betrays Quietus, and persuades the garrison of Emesa to kill him, and to throw his body over the walls of the city. Odenatus retires,

tires. Balistus causes himself to be proclaimed emperor.

Gallienus makes war in Gaul against Posthumus, with variety of success.

Emilian revolts in Egypt.

Incursions of the Scythians and Goths in Asia. The temple of Diana of Ephesus plundered and burnt.

. ALBINUS.

A. R. 1014.

. DEXTER.

A. C. 264.

Gallienus continues the war against Posthumus. Assisted by Aureolus, he gains a victory over him: but the same Aureolus hinders the war from being finished, by neglecting to pursue Posthumus, and by giving him an opportunity of escaping.

Gallienus returns to Rome, triumphs over the Persians conquered by Odenatus, and celebrates the tenth year of his reign by games, dating the beginning of it from the time he received the title of Augustus from his father.

He passes into Thrace, and cruelly revenges himself on Byzantium, which had, perhaps favoured Macrian.

Saturninus an usurper.

Emilian is made prisoner by Theodotus and sent to Rome, where Gallienus causes him to be strangled in prison.

To the war between Emilian and Theodotus we may refer the siege of Bruchium, a considerable quarter of Alexandria. That city, harrassed by seditions, by war, by the plague, and by famine, is considerably depopulated.

GALLIENUS AUGUSTUS VI.

A. R. 1015.

. SATURNINUS.

A. C. 264.

Gallienus rewards the great actions and fidelity
of

of Odenatus, by declaring him Augustus. Odenatus communicates that title to Zenobia his wife, and to his children.

Balistus is slain.

Galicnus returns to Gaul to make war again upon Posthumus. He is wounded at a siege.

A. R. 1016.
A. C. 265.

VALERIANUS II.
LUCILLUS.

Valerian was brother to Gallienus, and Lucillus his relation. The Franks invade the coasts of Spain and Africa. They sack and plunder the city of Tarragona.

A. R. 1017.
A. C. 266.

GALLIENUS AUGUSTUS VII.
. SABINILLUS.

Odenatus undertakes a new expedition against Sapor. He besieges the city of Ctesiphon, and, according to the testimony of Syncellus, even takes it.

Incursions of the Heruli into Thrace, Asia, and Greece. Dexippus saves his native country, Athens.

Other barbarians ravage Galatia and Cappadocia.

A. R. 1018.
A. C. 267.

PATERNUS.
ARCFILAUS.

Odenatus, returning from Persia, marches against the barbarians, who over-run Cappadocia. They do not wait his arrival; but retire to their own country by sea.

Odenatus, in his return from Emesa, is assassinated with his eldest son Herodes. Zenobia seems not to have been innocent of that murder. Meonius, the murderer, assumes the title of Augustus, and,

and perishes soon after. Zenobia governs the east, both in her own name and in that of her sons.

Gallienus, having gained a slight advantage over the Heruli in Illyricum, makes a peace with them, and with Naulobates their chief.

While he is preparing to march against the Goths, he is informed of the revolt of Aureolus, who had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in Italy. He marches thither with dispatch, leaving the conduct of the war against the Goths to Claudius and Marcian.

In Gaul. Posthumus is killed with his son.

Lelian succeeds him, and is killed by Victorinus, who assumes the purple, and soon after draws upon himself a fatal end by his debaucheries. His son, whom he had named Cæsar, is slain after him.

His mother Victoria causes a soldier of fortune named Marius, who had formerly been an armourer, to be elected emperor. Marius is killed the third day after his election.

Victoria again makes another emperor, prevailing with the soldiers to confer that title upon Tetricus, who takes the purple at Bourdeaux. She does not long survive this nomination.

Claudius and Marcian defeat the Goths; but Marcian, contrary to the opinions of Claudius, suffers them to escape and make their retreat. These two generals rejoin Gallienus before Milan, where he kept Aureolus besieged.

PATERNUS II.
MARINIANUS.

A. R. 1019
A. C. 269

Claudius and Marcian form a conspiracy against Gallienus. He is killed by Cecropius about the middle of the month of March, and Claudius succeeds him.

Valerian, the brother of Gallienus, is killed with him, and Saloninus his son perishes at Rome.
Gallienus

Gallienus, was ranked among the gods by Claudius, but his death was not revenged.

USURPERS under GALLIENUS.

ODENATUS, who was always faithful to Gallienus, and who received the title of Augustus from him, ought not to be numbered among the usurpers. His eldest son, Herodes, bore also legally the same title.

In Illyricum.

A. C. 260.
261.

D. LÆLIUS INGENUUS.

Q. NONIUS REGILLIANUS.

In the East.

260.

M. FULVIUS MACRIANUS, with his two sons,
Q. Fulvius Macrianus and Cn. Fulvius Quietus.

262.

SCR. ANICAS BALISTA.

In Greece.

261.

L. VALERIUS VALENS.

261.

L. CALPURNIUS PISO FRUGI.

In Gaul.

260.

M. CASSIUS LATIENUS POSTHUMUS with Ju-
nius Cassius Posthumus, his son.

267.

ULPIUS CORNELIUS LÆLIANUS.

M. AURELIUS PIAUVONIUS VICTORINUS, who
as he was dying, named as Cæsar his son L.
Aurelius Victorinus.

267.

M. AURELIUS MARIUS.

267.

P. PESUVIUS TETRICUS.

In Egypt.

Ti. CESTIUS ALEXANDER ÆMILIANUS. 262.

In Africa.

T. CORNELIANUS CELSUS. Without date.

In Isauria.

C. ANNIUS TREBELLIANUS. Without a date.

It is not known in what country P. Sempronius Saturninus reigned. 263.

After the death of Odenatus, Meonius took the title of Augustus, which he enjoyed but a short time. Zenobia reigned in the east with her sons. 267.

In Italy.

MAN. ACILIUS AUREOLUS. 267.

GALLIENUS.

SECT. VI.

Contrast between the splendour of Valerian's family, and the melancholy fate of that prince. Gallienus's indifference about his father's captivity. His bad heart and weak judgment. His debaucheries, pomp, and luxury. The empire desolated during his reign, by foreign and by civil wars, by the plague, and by famine. His amazing insensibility. Sapor's conquests after the defeat and captivity of Valerian. Balista, a Roman general, drives Sapor back to the Euphrates. Odenatus, a Palmyrean, or a Saracen prince, drives Sapor beyond that river.

river. He makes fruitless efforts to procure Valerian's liberty. He is faithful to Gallienus. Balista and Macrian concert measures together, and the latter is elected emperor, with his two sons. They prepare to go to the west, to be acknowledged there. Valens and Piso assume the Purple in Greece, and are killed. Ingenius causes himself to be proclaimed emperor in Illyricum, is conquered by Gallienus, and loses his life. Shocking cruelty of Gallienus. Regillianus, substituted in the room of Ingenius, perishes soon after. Aureolus, commander in Illyricum for Gallienus, defeats Macrian, who perishes with his eldest son. Quinctus, his second son, attacked by Odenatus, is killed in Emesa. Balista makes himself emperor, and at the end of three years is cut off by Odenatus. The east enjoys tranquillity by the valour and good conduct of Odenatus. He is made Augustus by Gallienus. Gallienus triumphs for the victories gained by Odenatus. The Decennial games of Gallienus. Puerilities of this prince. Æmilian assumes the Purple in Egypt. The siege of Bruchium. Ingenious charity of the saints Anatolius and Eusebius. Æmilian is taken and put to death. Alexandria depopulated. Celsus an usurper of seven days, in Africa. Trebellianus takes the title of emperor in Isauria, and is defeated and killed. The Isaurians a nation of robbers. Saturninus is proclaimed emperor, and afterwards killed by those who had chosen him. Incursions of the Barbarians. Italy ravaged by a band of Scythians. Another body of them besieges Thessalonica, and fills all Greece with consternation. Gallienus passes from Gaul into Italy, and afterwards into Illyricum. His cruel revenge upon the Byzantines. The incursions of the Barbarians continue during all the reign of Gallienus. Odenatus is cut off by domestic treachery, of which Zenobia seems not to have been innocent.

Posthumus

Posthumus perishes in Gaul, the same year that Odenatus was killed in the East. He had usurped the imperial power in Gaul in the first year of Gallienus. The wisdom of his government. His exploits against the Germans. The Franks invade Spain by sea. Gallienus in vain attacks Posthumus. Victorinus the lieutenant of Posthumus. Posthumus is killed by his soldiers, with his son. Some circumstances concerning both of them. Lelian is acknowledged emperor by the soldiers. Victorinus kills him, and takes his place. He is himself killed by a man, to whose wife he had done violence. Victoria, the mother of Victorinus, causes one Marinus to be elected emperor, who is killed at the end of three days. Tetricus is substituted in his stead. The death of Victoria. Gallienus passes from Illyricum to Italy, to attack Aureolus, who had assumed the title of emperor. A victory gained over the Goths by Marcian and Claudius. They rejoin Gallienus, and deprive him of the empire, and of his life. Valerian and Saloninus, the brother and son of Gallienus, are killed near him. Duration of the reign of Gallienus. He is declared an usurper. Claudius elected emperor. At Rome, the memory of Gallienus is loaded with imprecations; and afterwards, by order of Claudius, he is ranked among the gods. Gallienus had drawn upon himself the public hatred, by his cruelties. He would not allow the senators to serve in the army. He stopped the persecution against the Christians. Learning did not flourish under Gallienus. The reign of Gallienus full of events interwoven with each other. In what order they may be ranged. The usurpers that appeared during this reign were almost all men of merit. Their number.

GALLIENUS, who had already been Augustus with his father for seven years, became of right sole head of the empire by the captivity of Valerian, without there being any need either

Contrast between the splendour of Valerian's family, and the melancholy fate of that prince.

the deliberation of the senate or proclamation of the soldiers. Valerian, his brother, had been named Cæsar by their common father, in the year 255. Another Valerian, his eldest son, had also been honoured with the same title for about a year. This family, therefore, was distinguished in all its branches with the honours of supreme majesty while its founder groaned under the hardest and most ignominious slavery.

Gallienus's
indiffer-
ence about
his father's
captivity.
Euch. de
Mort. Per-
sæ. l. 6.
Tréb. Gall.
l. 3, 17, &
Gal. 4—7.

Gallienus was taken up with quite other thoughts than those of revenging his father. Far from thinking of rescuing him from the hands of the Persians, he looked upon Valerian's misfortune as a piece of good luck to himself. The whole empire was thrown into consternation by so melancholy an event. Even the barbarians were affected with it. We have, in Capitolinus, the letters of three kings, allies of Sapor, written to that prince, to persuade him to set his prisoner at liberty. The Iberians, the Albanians, and several other people of those countries, offered their assistance to the Romans to deliver Valerian from his captivity. Gallienus however, in the midst of all these testimonies of grief and sensibility, not only remained indifferent, but even rejoiced at being freed from a censor, whose gravity and severity, had kept his pleasure under some restraint.

He took care indeed not to profess this disposition of mind: on the contrary, he affected the philosopher; and when he was first informed of Valerian's captivity, pretending to imitate the example of that wise man, who, upon the news of the death of his son slain in battle, only said, "I knew that my son was mortal;" he only pronounced this sentence, "I knew that my father was liable to the accidents of fortune:" and he found a flatterer base enough to praise on this occasion, the constancy and fortitude of the prince. At other times Gallienus would say with great coolness, that Valerian's misfortune

misfortune was glorious to him, as he had fallen into it only by an excess of candour, openness, and honesty. But none were ignorant of the hollowness of these fine speeches, which, to the extinction of all feeling and sentiment, only added the shame of hypocrisy.

This single circumstance, this criminal insensibility, unmasks his character, and is sufficient to discover a vicious heart, and a judgment intent upon trifles. For it was the love of pleasure, a taste for shews, for licentiousness and debauchery, which, filling the soul of Gallienus, left no room in it for the sentiments of nature or those of honour. This prince as I have already observed, did not want for understanding, nor liveliness of imagination. His mind was cultivated. He wrote well either in prose or verse, and some of his poetry has been preserved, which shews both the elegance of his stile, and his little regard to modesty. Besides this, he has never been reproached with timidity or fear. We shall see him march boldly against those rivals who disputed their sovereignty, and not be scrupulous in hazarding his person: but it was necessity only that could drag him from pleasures, diversions, and indolence; and when he was no longer spurred by his personal interest, he sunk again into indecent luxury and shameful sloth.

He observed no bounds in them. Like Caligula and Nero, he disguised himself, to frequent in the night, taverns and places of debauchery; and his ordinary company were the corruptors of youth, and players. His meals were extravagant, and his table was surrounded with immodest women. He kept a seraglio of a great number of concubines, among whom the first rank was held by one Pipa, or Pipara, the daughter of Attalus, king of the Marcomanni, to whom Gallienus yielded a province to purchase his daughter.

To his effeminacy he joined the most extravagant degree of pomp. His clothes degenerated

His bad heart and weak judgment.

Tréb. Gal.

1.

His debaucheries, pomp, and luxury. Tréb. Nilo 3. y Gal. 16. 18. Viet. uter.

into a foreign luxury, both as to their form, and the precious stones with which he set off the splendour of the richest stuffs. He wanted to erect to himself upon the Esquiline hill, a colossal statue, with the attributes of the sun. This statue was to have been more than twice the height of the ancient colossus raised by Nero, and consecrated to the sun by Vespasian. But Gallienus had not time to complete that piece of childish vanity; and his successors, Claudius and Aurelian, had too much sense and judgment, not to perceive the ridiculousness of it, or to desire ever to have it finished.

He valued himself upon his refinements in luxury. In the spring, he built apartments with the leaves of roses. He erected forts, the walls of which were made of fruits ranged in an artful manner. He forced nature to preserve grapes for three years, to have melons in the middle of winter, and fresh figs and all kinds of fruits in the seasons that were not proper for producing them. He bathed six or seven times a-day in summer, and at least twice a-day in winter. Wines of every kind were provided for his table, and he never drank of the same sort twice at any one meal.

It was chiefly after he became sole master of the empire, that he gave an entire loose to his vices; though they had appeared long before. When he first assumed the reins of government, his character was already established; and the rebels, who immediately after rose up against him, loaded him with the same reproaches which he merited during the whole remaining part of his reign.

The empire debilitated under his reign by foreign and civil wars, by the plague, and by famine.

His pleasures were his principal occupation: and yet no prince ever had more serious or more difficult affairs to manage than Gallienus. All kinds of evils poured at once upon the empire. The barbarians of the North, and the Persians, continued their incursions and hostilities in Gaul, Illyricum, Thrace, Greece, Asia, and the East. Within the empire, every general of an army aspired

aspired to the throne and usurped the rights of sovereignty. In Sicily, the ancient calamity of the revolt of the slaves was renewed. The plague continued to desolate the capital and the provinces, and was sometimes so violent as to carry off five thousand persons in a day in Rome only. Dearth, famine, and earthquakes, at Rome, in *Treb. Gall.* Asia, and in Africa; seditious in the cities; and *cap. 4. p. 5. Eccl. Hist. Eccl. vii. 22.* in a word, all manner of calamities, combined to threaten the empire with approaching ruin; whilst Gallienus minded nothing but his diversions. The loss of the finest provinces never gave him the least concern. Being told one day that Egypt had revolted: "Well, said he, cannot we do without the linen of Egypt?" When Asia was ravaged by terrible earthquakes and the incursions of the Scythians, he was not at all more moved, but only observed, that they must then do without aphro-nitre. This was a kind of nitre different from ours, which the ancients made use of in their baths. Upon losing Gaul, he burst into a laugh, and said, "Is the republic ruined because we can have no more Arras cloth?" Such a degree of insensibility is not only next to incredible, but, I believe, unparalleled in history. The present only touched Gallienus, who, provided his pleasures were not disturbed, would have seen the whole universe over-turned, without being in the least affected. It is not to be wondered at, if the reign of such a prince proved a tissue of misfortunes, as will appear by the account of it, which I shall give as fully as the deficiency of the materials that are now extant will permit.

Sapor, having conquered the Roman army in Mesopotamia, and made the emperor prisoner, improved those great advantages. He again entered Syria, and retook Antioch. He then advanced to Cilicia, where he made himself master of

Tarsus ; and still proceeding forwards, he arriv'd at, and besieged Cæsaria in Cappadocia. That city, which was strong and contained four hundred thousand inhabitants, stopt the Persians for some time. Demosthenes, the governor of it, being judicious and active as well as brave, made a good defence ; and Sapor would probably have been baffled in this attempt, if it had not been for the intelligence given him by a physician of the city, who seems to have been taken prisoner in a sally. This unhappy physician was put to the torture, and made to suffer such extreme pain, that, to deliver himself from it, he discovered to the besiegers a weak part of the place. The Persians, by that means, took Cæsarea by surprise, and rushing into the city in prodigious numbers, exercised all manner of cruelties upon its wretched inhabitants. Their troops had particular orders to take Demosthenes alive, whom Sapor doubtless wanted to sacrifice to his revenge. But the brave governor, after gallantly defending the place, did not forget himself. Mounting his horse, with his naked sword in his hand, he threw himself into the midst of a body of the enemy, who were endeavouring to surround him. He slew some, drove off others, and cutting his way through the middle of the Persians, escaped captivity and death.

Sync.

Sapor, in this same expedition, over-run Lycaonia as a conqueror, and laid siege to Pompeiopolis in Cilicia ; so that it could be no longer doubted but that he intended to revive the pretensions of his father Artaxerxes, to conquer all Asia-Minor, and to allow of no other bounds to his dominions, than those of the ancient empire of the great Cyrus. Two generals, Balista and Odenatus, stopped, however his ambitious projects, and forced him to retire, and confine himself to his own territories.

Balista

Balista had acquired great honour in the highest military commands under Valerian. He was an alert and sensible man, proper both for counsel and for action, and particularly ingenious at expedients for supplying an army with provisions. Valerian, in a letter which has been preserved by Trebellius Pollio, commends him much for the advices he had received from him on that subject, shewing how the troops might be plentifully supplied, without distressing the provinces. To accomplish that double object, Balista proposed, that nothing should be required from the people but what was the produce of their country; and that, to avoid the expence of waggons and carriages, the winter quarters of the troops, and their route, should be settled in such manner that the commodities might be consumed on the spot where they were produced. Being also attentive to good order, to the advantage of the service, and to the lessening of the charges of the government, Balista advised Valerian not to suffer any supernumerary officers or soldiers among the troops: for as the military profession was then very lucrative, many people engaged in it, merely to reap its emoluments, without doing the requisite duty: and that abuse, upon the advice of Balista, was reformed by Valerian.

Balista, a Roman general drives Sapor back to the Euphrates. *Treb. Tr. Tyr. 16.*

This prudent, and at the same time brave officer, was the first who retrieved the affairs of the Romans in the East, where they had been reduced to the most deplorable situation, by Valerian's misfortune. At first, every thing yielded, as I have said, to the victor, who had even pushed his conquests very far. Balista * re-assembled the unfortunate remains of the Roman troops, and formed them into an army. With these forces, little capable in appearance of performing great exploits

Treb. Val. 7. Zonar. Symb.

F 3

* Zonaras and Syncellus calls this general Callista, by mistake, as M. Tillemont has observed.

plots, he began with saving Pompeiopolis, which was besieged by the Persians. After that first success he continued to harrass Sapor, until he forced him to abandon his conquests, and, keeping always in his rear, drove him to the Euphrates.

There he was seconded, or relieved, by Odenatus; whose example shews, that small enemies ought not to be slighted even by the greatest monarchs. Odenatus was prince of Palmyria, or chief of a tribe of Saracens, who possessed the country in the neighbourhood of that city, and who were allies of the Romans. Being hardened from his infancy by the continual exercise of hunting, by all kinds of fatigues, by the rain, the sun, and the dust, he had acquired a robust body, suited to the courage of his soul. Having attached his fortune, as I said before, to that of the Romans, he at first thought that Valerian's ruin would also be his. Stunned by the severe and unexpected blow, he wrote to Sapor, imploring his clemency and friendship. But the haughty monarch, finding fault with Odenatus's not having come in person to ask pardon, sent back his deputies with ignominy, ordered his presents to be thrown into the river, and threatened to teach him in what manner a man like him ought to treat with a king of Persia. "If he would obtain any mitigation of his punishment, added he, let him come with his hands tied behind him, and throw himself at my feet. Unless he does this, he, his family, and his country, shall surely perish." Odenatus, destitute of all assistance from others, found in himself sufficient resources. He assembled what troops he could, and, encouraged by Balista's success, when Sapor had repassed the Euphrates, he ventured to attack him, and succeeded so well, that he threw his army into disorder, seized and carried off his treasures, and, which the Persian valued still more, his concubines. After Odenatus's victory,

Odenatus a
Palmyrean
or Saracen
prince,
drives Sa-
por beyond
that river.
Tillem.

Trab. Tr.
Tyr. 15.

Petr. Pu-
tr. Leg.

Zor. Sync.
Trab. 1. c.
& Tr. T. jr.

victory, Nisibis, Carrhæ, and all Mesopotamia, returned to their obedience to the Romans. But Sapor was not completely vanquished, as he still remained master of, and carried into his own kingdom, Valerian, and a multitude of other prisoners taken in the several provinces into which he had carried the war.

History observes, that he treated them with the most shocking inhumanity. He allowed them only just food enough to keep them from starving; nor had they a sufficiency of water, but were led to drink, once a-day, like cattle. His cruelty towards them was so great, that, in his way back to Persia, coming to a place where the road was intersected by a ditch, difficult to pass, he ordered as many of these unhappy people to be murdered, and their bodies to be thrown into the trench, as filled it up to a level with the ground on each side, for his troops to go over. Whatever horror such barbarity may inspire, it is not to be wondered at in Sapor, after the treatment which he made Valerian himself suffer.

Odenatus wished earnestly to deliver the unhappy emperor from his hard and shameful captivity. He entered the territories of the king of Persia, besieged Ctesiphon, and had the advantage in several engagements, in which he made some illustrious Satraps prisoners. But he could not accomplish what he would have looked upon as his chief glory, and Valerian remained until his death in the hands of his proud and merciless master.

Odenatus's fidelity was not less constant and inviolable towards the son, than his ardour was great, though ineffectual, for the delivery of the father. It is remarkable that this Saracen prince, in the midst of his victories, always acknowledged Gallienus. He sent him the Persian Satraps whom he had made prisoners in different battles; and having received from him the title of general

ral of the Roman forces in the East, he exercised that command no otherwise, than in subordination to the prince who had conferred it upon him.

Balista and Macrian concert together, and the latter is chosen emperor with his two sons.

Balista did not act upon such noble principles : for as soon as he had driven the Persians from the Roman territories, he entered into a confederacy with a rebellious subject, to raise the latter to the throne of their common master.

Gallienus was in Gaul, according to Zosimus, employed in the war against the Germans, when his father's disaster happened. Thinking only how he might take advantage of it, in order to indulge himself more freely in pleasure, which alone touched his abject soul ; he neither gave any orders for the war against the Persians, nor did the army in the east scarce ever hear of him. This negligence furnished a fine opportunity, and a plausible pretence to the ambitious Macrian, who, after having betrayed Valerian, undertook to wrest the empire from his son.

Macrian was universally esteemed for his superior talents, both as a statesman, and as a warrior. Valerian, as I said before, had placed all his confidence in him, insomuch, as to appoint him inspector-general and commander over all the Roman soldiery : and when he informed the senate of this promotion, he enumerated to them the glorious exploits by which Macrian had repeatedly distinguished himself in all the provinces of the empire, from his infancy to his old age. Besides these advantages, this general or minister, which ever one may chuse to call him, possessed immense riches, probably the fruit of his rapine and injustice : for he was not born to any fortune. But then, as now, none inquired by what means any man had got his riches : it was sufficient that he had them ; and Macrian's money enabled him to satisfy the greediness of the soldiers, by giving them ample largesses. The only thing against him was his age, which was far advanced,

Tréb. Gall.
1. & *Tr.*
Tyr. 12.
Enc. Hist.
Ecl. VII.
25.

Tréb. Tr.
Lib. 15.

vanced. But the artful politician turned this obstacle into an advantage. Having two sons, in the flower of their youth, brave and intrepid in war, and who had behaved remarkably in the rank of military tribunes, to which they had been promoted by Valerian; he pleaded the weakness of his own age, in order that they might be named emperors with him. The affair was managed thus:

Balista and Macrian assembled a council, consisting of the principal officers of the army: and there Balista, laying down as an indisputable fact, that it was necessary to chuse an emperor, declared, that he was not influenced by any personal interest, that he did not pretend to the sovereign power, and that his wishes were for Macrian. This last then stood up and addressed the assembly in these words, artfully calculated to bring them to the point he aimed at. "I confess, said he, that the empire does want a head: and I wish it was in my power to assist the republic, and to remove from the government him who is a disgrace to it. But I am old; I can no longer bear the fatigue of riding; and the unusual care which my bad state of health obliges me now to take of myself, would be such an avocation as might prove detrimental to the welfare of the state. We must have youth; nor ought we to be attached to one alone. Two or three brave young men, by taking the administration of different provinces, according to the exigency of affairs, will restore the republic, which Valerian by his misfortune, and Gallienus by his unworthy conduct, have almost entirely ruined." Balista, with whom Macrian certainly acted in concert, catching at this proposal, immediately replied: "We trust the republic to your prudence. Take your two sons for your associates in the government. Independant of all other considerations, they have too much merit to live with safety under Gallienus." All were
of

of the same opinion : not one attempted to assert the rights of the lawful prince, who was universally hated and despised : and Macrian, upon his accepting the offer of the empire for himself and his sons, promised a donative to the soldiers, continued Balista in the office of prætorian præfect, which had been given him by Valerian, and ended with threatening to make the base and effeminate Gallienus feel what sort of officers his father had employed. The soldiers applauded the resolution of the council. Macrian was proclaimed emperor with his two sons, the eldest of whom bore the same name as himself, and the other was called Quietus.

Eus. Hist. Eccl. VII. 10.

It is said in Eusebius, who is therein followed by Zonaras, that Macrian, not being able to wear the imperial ornaments, because he was maimed and lame, transmitted them to his sons. But if he did not clothe himself, at least generally, with the ensigns of the sovereign dignity, it is very certain that he exercised its power.

He prepares to go into the west, in order to make that part of the empire acknowledge him.

Trid. Gall. 2. § Tr. Tyr. 12. § 14.

By usurping it, he placed himself in a situation much less safe than splendid. Though Asia had declared in his favour, his strength was far from being such as could secure him from danger ; for he was encompassed by enemies on all sides. In the east, he feared Odenatus, who was then making war for Gallienus, against Sapor, with considerable success. In the west, he was not acknowledged at all. Forming his plan in consequence of this double object, he marched in person towards Greece and Italy, with his eldest son, and the greatest of his forces ; and left Quietus and Balista in Syria, to oppose Odenatus.

Valens and Piso assume the purple in Greece, and are killed.

Trid. Gall. 2. § Tr. Tyr. 19, 20. 21.

Before he set out, and in order to prepare his way, he judged it necessary to get rid of Valens, proconsul of Achaia, whom he looked upon as a rival, jealous of his grandeur. He gave this commission to Piso one of the most illustrious members of the senate. This order produced two new emperors

emperors or usurpers ; for emperors were made then with greater ease, than the mayor of a town is chosen now-a-days : and, accordingly, their fall was often as sudden as their rise.

Valens, being informed that Piso was sent to kill him, assumed the purple. Piso, on his side, finding he could not surprize Valens, and fearing his vengeance, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor by the handful of soldiers that accompanied him : and as it was in Thessaly that he received the titles of the imperial power, he took occasion from thence, without any sort of precedent, to give himself the surname of Thessalicus. His fortune, or rather the shadow which he had embraced, vanished in a moment. It cost Valens only the trouble of ordering some of his troops to go and kill Piso ; and he himself was killed soon after by his own soldiers.

This Valens was the nephew, or grand-nephew, of another Valens, who revolted against Decius, and of whom we have already spoken.

Great encomiums are given to the probity of Piso, who, say his panegyrists, worthy to be the heir of the ancient Piso's, was a living picture of the austere virtue so much admired in them in the times of the republican government. Valens, continue they, his enemy, and his murderer, said himself, that he should be punished in hell, for taking away the life of so good a man : to which is added, that the senate decreed him divine honours. I give all this just as I find it in my author, without pretending to warrant the truth of what he says : for indeed, it must be owned, that Piso's attachment to Macrian, his undertaking to kill Valens, and the manner in which he made himself emperor, do not at all agree with that high idea which some writers would fain give us of his virtue.

The

The feeble oppositions formed by Valens and Piso were defeated in a moment, without giving Macrian the least disturbance. But he met with difficulties, dangers, and at last death, in the war which he carried into Illyricum; that province, which had been the theatre of great commotions, being perfectly quiet and united, and defended by a powerful army, when he attacked it.

Ingenus causes himself to be proclaimed emperor in Illyricum, is conquered by Gallienus, and loses his life.
Tréb. Tr. Tyr. 9.

In the beginning of Gallienus's reign, Illyricum was ravaged by the Sarmatians. Ingenus, a brave warrior, who commanded in Pannonia, and was extremely beloved by his troops, checked the incursions of those barbarians. But fearing lest even the glory of these successes should give umbrage to a prince who was an enemy to merit, he usurped the place of him whose jealousies alarmed him, and made his troops invest him with the imperial purple. Gallienus flew into a violent rage, and his anger giving him courage, he left Gaul, marched into Illyricum, gave the rebel battle near Mursa * in Pannonia, and gained the victory. Ingenus was either killed on the field of battle, or killed himself soon after for fear of falling into the hands of a merciless conqueror.

Eutrop. & Aurel. Vict.

Horrid cruelty of Gallienus.
Tréb. l. 4.

Gallienus indulged his revenge with all the cruelty of an abject soul. He spared none. Both the soldiers and the inhabitants of the country were extirpated. I do not believe that more barbarous, more inhuman orders were ever given by any man, than those that were contained in a letter which he wrote on this occasion, and which one cannot read without shuddering with horror. I shall give it here, as it has been transmitted to us by Trebellius Pollio. "Gallienus to Verianus. I shall not be pleased with you, if you put to death only those who bear arms, and whom the fate of war might have carried off. All the males should be massacred, if old men and children could be put

* *N. 0. 7. 3. ck, upon the river Danube.*

“ put to death without giving room to blame us.
 “ I order you to kill whoever has spoken ill of
 “ me. Tear, kill, and drag in pieces. Think as
 “ I do; and observe what is said in this letter,
 “ written with my own hand.” Would a Scythian man-eater speak otherwise than this prince immersed in luxury?

His horrid cruelty immediately produced a new rebellion. The troops and the people of Mæsia, covered with the blood of their comrades and relations, and fearing the like treatment for themselves, raised Regillianus to the throne, that he might be their defender.

Regillianus was of Decian origin, descended, as it is said, from the family of Decebalus, that king of the Dacians who was so famous under Domitian and Trajan. His skill in war procured him the important employment of commander of the frontier of Illyricum; and in that station he gained a great victory over the barbarians near the city of Scupi* in Mæsia. Trebellius pretends that he owed the empire to a sort of pun which some of the soldiers made upon his name, by deriving it from that of *Rex, King*. But even, if there be any foundation for this story, his success was, doubtless, owing solely to the then state of affairs, of which I have taken notice. Regillianus did not long enjoy the title of emperor. A sedition, which broke out in his army, and which began among the auxiliary troops of the barbarians, cut him off before Macrian reached Illyricum.

Macrian was opposed there by Aureolus, whose situation and conduct cannot easily be ascertained from any monuments that now remain relative thereto. It is pretty certain that he commanded Gallienus's cavalry in the battle against Ingennus, and that he had a great share in the victory. It is probable that the emperor placed him at the head

Regillianus, substituted in the room of Ingennus, perishes soon after.

Id. Ibid. 10.

Aureolus, who commanded in Illyricum (or Gallienus, defeats Macrian, who perishes with his eldest son.

Id. Ibid. 11.

12. 19. 3.

Gall. 2.

Zonara.

* *Nam Scopia. or Uscopia in Bulgaria.*

of the army destined to fight Macrian. But whether Aureolus revolted then, and assumed the purple, as Trebellius supposes, seems doubtful. His open defection seems rather to belong to a considerably later time. Not that I would be thought to mean that he ever was submissive to Gallienus's orders. Facts give us room to think, that though he still continued to command the army which had been intrusted to him, and to acknowledge Gallienus nominally, yet he always kept himself independent.

At the same time that he retained the title of Gallienus's general, he had himself a general, who was subordinate to him. Domitian, who pretended to belong to the family of the emperor Domitian, and to be descended from Domitilla the sister of the prince, commanded Aureolus's troops, and, under his auspices, conquered Macrian in a pitched battle. This action was not in itself decisive. Of forty-five thousand which Macrian had brought into the field, thirty thousand still remained under his banners. But in civil wars, a change of sides is often brought about with great ease, and very little scruple. The conquered troops, whether from discouragement for their late defeat, or whether they were gained over by Aureolus's intrigues, abandoned their leader; and he was forced to beg, as a favour, of the very persons who betrayed him, to kill him and his son, that he might avoid the disgrace of captivity, and of an ignominious death.

Quietus,
his second
son, attack-
ed by Ode-
natus, is
killed in
Lanes.
Treb. Tr.
T. pr. 14, 15.
§ 18. §
Coll. §
Zet.

His ruin brought on that of his second son Quietus, whom he had left in the east. This young prince found himself between two formidable enemies, Aureolus the conqueror of his father, and Odenatus, who was returning in triumph from his glorious expedition against Sapor. This last, being the nearest, was most to be feared. He immediately entered Syria, and Quietus was obliged to shut himself up in Emesa, with Balista. Ode-

natus

natus besieged them, and they had no way to escape. But Balista, whose head was fertile in expedients, and who did not pique himself upon his fidelity when it exposed him to danger, knowing that the person of Quietus was what Odenatus aimed at, resolved to make his peace by sacrificing that unfortunate young prince: and, accordingly, he persuaded the inhabitants of Emesa to kill him, and throw his body over their walls. Odenatus, satisfied with this, raised the siege: and Balista, then master of the city, seized the treasures which Macrian had left there, and with the help of that rich booty, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, by the soldiers under his command. His shadow of an empire must have been confined within very narrow bounds: for Odenatus was such a neighbour as would not suffer him to extend them far. He bore the title of emperor, however, about three years, without doing any one exploit that we know of in all that time; at the end of which Odenatus, persisting in his zeal for Gallienus, found means to bribe a soldier who killed the rebel in his tent.

Thus the affairs of the east began to acquire some stability. That extensive country remained in peace and quiet, through the valour and good conduct of Odenatus, who repulsed its foreign enemies, and suppressed its internal divisions. He was the continual scourge of Sapor, whom he ceased not to harrass by repeated attacks, and whom he twice made tremble in Ctesiphon. He would have attacked Mærian, if this last had not gone to Illyricum, there to seek his death. He destroyed two usurpers, Quietus and Balista; and, which is much to his praise, in the midst of so many examples of rebellion, he was constantly faithful to Gallienus. I do not examine whether that fidelity proceeded from an absolutely disinterested motive. Certain it is, that he never deviated from it. Odenatus's ambition kept within the bounds

of

Balista makes himself emperor, and perishes at the end of three years by the means of Odenatus.

The east enjoys tranquillity through the valour and good conduct of Odenatus. *Tr. h. Tr. Tr. 15. Z. Tr. G. J. L. 3. x 10*

of his duty : and though he might have arrogated to him-self the greatest honours ; he chose rather to receive them, as a recompence, from the hand of him who was the lawful distributor of them.

Gallienus, who had so many obligations to him, was sensible of them, and rewarded his services. Odenatus, as I have already said, was originally prince of Palmyra, or chief of a tribe of Saracens. He took the title of king, according to Trebellius, at the time of his preparing for his first expedition against Sapor. But I rather think he had received it before, from Valerian, to whom he was attached. After Macrian's revolt, Gallienus appointed Odenatus commander in chief of the Roman forces in the east : and lastly, to reward his constant fidelity in a proper manner, he created him Augustus, with the advice of his brother Valerian, and his relation Lucillus. He likewise caused money to be coined, on which the conqueror of Sapor was represented dragging after him the Persians loaded with chains. The promotion of Odenatus was applauded by the whole empire, and is mentioned in history as the best thing that Gallienus ever did. Odenatus communicated his new title, and the honours thereunto belonging, to the celebrated Zenobia his wife, and to all his numerous family, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more fully. This account shews how unjustly Trebellius has call'd Odenatus an usurper : since it is very plain, that he did not assume the supreme honours illegally, but was invested with them by the authority of him who had a right to confer them.

Gallienus reaped the fruits of Odenatus's labours, without giving himself the least personal trouble. He likewise claimed the glory of them. Odenatus conquered the Persians : but Gallienus triumphed for the victory. It was after the defeat and death of Macrian and his sons, that the emperor, thinking himself secure from all future danger,

Treb. Tr.
2y. 15.

Z. mar.
Tych. Gall.
12.

G. Mienus
trium. his
or Odena-
tus' victo-
ries.
Treb. Gall.
3. & 7—
16.

danger, resolved not only to return to his former course of pleasures, which the war had interrupted; but also to give a magnificent feast, as a mark of victory and peace.

This triumph was in itself ridiculous; and the captivity of Valerian rendered it so indecent and ignominious, that it drew a most bitter reproach upon Gallienus even during the ceremony. Troops of sham prisoners, that is to say, of men whom nobody knew, disguised like Sarmatians, Goths, Franks, and Persians, formed a numerous train of seeming captives, who were led on with great pomp and pageantry. Some wags, going up to a group of pretended Persians, examined them very attentively, one after the other, looking eagerly in their faces: and when they were asked what they wanted; "We are looking, answered they, for the emperor's father." Gallienus, being informed of this, was so nettled at the joke, that he ordered the imprudent authors of it to be burnt*.

His triumph was accompanied with all sorts of games, races in the circus, hunting in the presence of the people, theatrical entertainments, and combats of wrestlers and gladiators. Eating, drinking, and diverting himself, were Gallienus's sole study; and all his talk was, "What have we for dinner? What diversions are got ready? What play is to be acted? How many gladiators are to fight to-day?"

Soon after his triumph, or perhaps at the same time, Gallienus made magnificent rejoicings to celebrate the tenth year of his reign, which had begun with that of his father. I think I cannot find

* Trebellius makes this adventure happen at the time of the feasts that were given in the tenth year of Gallienus, of which we shall speak immediately. But either these feasts and the triumph must have been celebrated together, or the historian has misplaced the fact in question, which, by its nature, must belong to the triumph.

find a more proper place than this, to mention two puerilities, which shew the frivolous and trifling turn of mind of this emperor.

Puerilities
of this
prince.

Id. Ibid. 12.

In the games which he gave to the people, a bull of enormous size was exhibited, which a hunter was to engage until he killed it either with javelins or arrows. The inexpert hunter shot ten times at the animal without wounding it. Upon this the emperor decreed him the crown: and as the spectators murmured at his bestowing the reward so improperly, he ordered the herald to call out with a loud voice: "To miss a bull so often, is a very difficult thing."

The other story is of the same stamp. A merchant sold the empress false jewels instead of true; and the princess, extremely incensed, insisted on his being punished with exemplary rigour. Gallienus threatened the fellow terribly, and ordered him to be carried into the circus, as if to be exposed to a furious lion. The criminal expected instant death: when those that had the charge of him, by private orders from the emperor, instead of a lion, turned a capon out against him. The people laughed heartily, and Gallienus did the same, crying out, "The biter is bit."

There may, perhaps, be a sort of wit, but certainly there is no kind of dignity, in these jokes. What idea can be formed of a prince who amused himself with such fooleries, whilst every thing round him was going to ruin? For, not to repeat what I have already said of the plague, earthquakes, and other calamities, the barbarians who invaded the empire, and the usurpers who started up in it, seemed to have entered into an agreement to tear the state to pieces.

I have already named several usurpers, but have not yet mentioned them all. Egypt, Africa, Isauria, and Gaul, had their several pretenders to the throne. I shall take another opportunity to speak
of

of Gaul, which was not desolated, but saved by those who rose up in it against Gallienus, and made themselves masters of that country.

In Egypt, Emilian was in a manner forced by the circumstances of things to assume the imperial purple. He had been præfect of Egypt for some years, and, as such, in consequence of Valerian's orders, he persecuted the Christians of Alexandria, and St Dionysius their bishop. Under the reign of Gallienus, being continued in the same office, he was attacked by a furious sedition, the cause of which was one of the most trivial that can possibly be imagined. A slave bragging that he was better shod than a soldier he happened to be in company with, the soldier grew angry, and beat him. The inhabitants of Alexandria, the most seditious, the most restless, and the most turbulent of all people, took the slave's part: the soldiers gathered about their comrade, words ensued, both parties grew warm, and a sedition was kindled up in an instant. If this sedition be the same with that of which the St Dionysius I have just been speaking of gives us an account, as I am much inclined to think *, it was carried to the most violent height, and became a real war. All communications between the different quarters of the city was cut off, and it was easier, says that saint, to go from one end of the world to the other, than from Alexandria to Alexandria. The streets were filled with blood. The dead bodies, remaining unburied, exhaled an infection which corrupted the air, and brought on the plague. Emilian endeavoured in vain to appease the people. They were exasperated a-

2

gainst

* M. de Tillemont, guided by the order of time, joins this sedition to the revolt of Macrian, who was acknowledged in Egypt as well as in Syria. But the exact date of all the facts here spoken of, are so uncertain, and so difficult to fix, that it is perhaps as safe to follow the chain of events.

gainst him, and attacked him with stones and darts: upon which the præfect, to avert the imminent danger that threatened him, declared himself emperor. He knew that he should please all Egypt by delivering it from the yoke of Gallienus, who was hated and despised there, as well as in all other places. In effect, the people and the soldiers immediately re-united to acknowledge his sovereign authority. The other cities of Egypt followed the example of the capital: or, if any of them hesitated, Emilian soon reduced them by taking possession of the public granaries from whence they drew their subsistence.

He governed the country for some time with prudence and vigour. He visited Egypt and Thebais, and restored tranquillity and good order wherever he went. He checked the incursions of the barbarians, whether Arabs or Ethiopians; and was preparing to carry the war into India, says the historian, that is to say, into Ethiopia, when he himself was attacked by Theodotus, an Egyptian, to whom Gallienus had committed the execution of his vengeance. History observes that the emperor had thought of giving Theodotus the rank of præconsul: but that he was hindered from it by an ancient superstition, which prevailed among the Romans so far back as in the times of Cicero and Pompey, and likewise by certain pretended oracles which threatened the republic with great calamities, and promised liberty to Egypt, if ever a Roman general, preceded by the consular fasces, should enter that country with an army.

*Ann. III.
H. A. L. I. c.
III.*

*The siege
of Bruchium.
Ingel-
montis et
of the
Ant. Aug.
tolius and
10.
H. A. L.
I. c. III.*

A battle was fought between Emilian and Theodotus, in which the former was conquered. M. de Tillemont supposes that, after his defeat, he retired to Bruchium, a large and beautiful quarter of Alexandria, and there sustained a siege, which is that mentioned by St Dionysius of Alexandria, and in which St Anatolius and St Eusebius, both afterwards

wards bishops of Laodicea, were admired for their ingenuous charity in comforting and relieving the unhappy besieged, who perished with hunger.

They both held a very distinguished rank in the city of Alexandria, and were intimately connected by the bonds of Christian friendship. They were, however separated on this occasion. Anatolius was shut up in Bruchium; and Eusebius, who remained with the Romans, had some interest even with their general, who, according to our supposition, was Theodotus. Famine began to prey upon the besieged, when Anatolius, moved with compassion for their wants and misery, applied privately to Eusebius, desiring him to obtain from the Roman general an amnesty for those who should leave the city and surrender themselves to him. His request being granted, and a council being held soon after, he immediately proposed surrendering the place, and making peace with the besiegers. The answer was, that no peace should be made. "If that be the case, replied he, and you are determined to hold out to the last extremity, it will be prudent to turn out all useless mouths, who only consume the remainder of our provisions." This advice was approved of; and Anatolius, being charged to see it executed, caused first the Christians to go out, then those among the Gentiles, whose sex or age entitled them most to pity, and afterwards numbers of others disguised like women. Eusebius received them like a tender father and a charitable physician, and furnished them with all necessary food, taking care at the same time not to over-load their stomachs, weakened and extenuated by long fasting.

Whatever may be the precise date of this edifying action, of which I have thought it incumbent on me not to deprive my readers; Emilian who has occasioned my mentioning it, met with a very melancholy fate. He was taken by Theodotus, and sent

Emilian is taken, and put to death.

T. . . .
T. . . .

to Gallienus, who, treating him as the ancient Romans did the kings and generals that were their prisoners, ordered him to be strangled in prison.

Alexandria depopulated. *Ens. Hist. Eccl. vii. 21.*

The almost uninterrupted chain of misfortunes which fell upon Alexandria, so depopulated that great city, that, after these calamities, the number of its inhabitants from four to fourscore years of age, was not equal to that which had used to be reckoned before of those who were between forty and seventy. This difference was known by the registers that were kept for the gratuitous distributions of corn.

Celsus an usurper of seven days in Africa. *Trob. Tr. Tyr. 29.*

Africa likewise revolted against Gallienus, and had its usurper, though but for a very little while. The proconsul Vibius Passienus, and Fabius Pompeianus who was charged with the defence of the frontiers of Lybia, having concerted measures with the emperor's cousin, Galliena, undertook to raise to the sovereign dignity an old officer named Celsus, who had retired from the service, and lived in the country. He was admired for his size, and esteemed for his probity. As the insurrection was sudden, the rebels, not having any purple at hand to clothe their emperor with, took the robe of the goddess worshipped at Carthage, under the name of Celestis, or Urania. Celsus only appeared upon the stage, and was killed at the end of seven days. After his death, his body was insulted with the utmost inhumanity; being thrown to hungry dogs by the inhabitants of Sicca, who had remained faithful to Gallienus, and who hung his effigy upon a cross: a new kind of ignominy, never before inflicted upon any one who had borne the name of Caesar.

Trebellianus assumes the title of emperor in Isauria, is deposed, and killed. *ibid. 26.*

It is astonishing to what degree the once so majestic title of Roman emperor was now degraded and debased. Trebellianus, an Isaurian by birth, a robber by profession, and justly called by his enemies a captain of thieves, stiled himself emperor, and caused money to be coined in his name, with the

the addition of that august title. Whilst he kept to the mountains, which were inaccessible to every one except the natives of the country, he was able to defend himself: but Causiloleus, the brother of Theodotus of whom we have been speaking, being sent against him by Gallienus, drew him down into a plain, where he defeated and killed him.

The incursions of the Isaurians did not end with him. They continued their old practice of descending suddenly from their mountains, plundering the low country, and carrying off their booty with the same diligence to their fortresses. Powerful emperors tried in vain either to drive them from their holds, or to block them up in them. Though repulsed for a time, they always returned to the charge, and still continued their depredations even after the reign of Constantius the son of Constantine: so that they were in fact a small state of robbers, who subsisted independant of, and at enmity with all others, in the middle of one of the finest countries of the Roman empire. They could boast of antiquity; for their ancestors had carried on the very same trade in the time of the famous war of the pirates, which Pompey ended. An illustrious Roman general then took the surname of Isauricus, in consequence of his exploits against them.

Saturninus usurped the titles and honours of the imperial power, whilst Gallienus was emperor: but we cannot say in what country he reigned. We only know that the army which he commanded, incensed at the shameful conduct of the emperor, raised his general to the empire. He is said to have told the soldiers, whilst they were cloathing him with the purple, that they had lost a good general, and made a bad emperor. A sensible expression; but which does not seem to have been applicable to him. Saturninus was very capable of governing well, if he had the qualities which the historian gives him; skill in war, proved by his victories over

The Isaurians, a nation of robbers.

Ambr. Marc. l. xiv.

Rom. Hist. l. x. c. xxxiv.

Saturninus is proclaimed emperor, and afterwards killed by those who had elected him. Tr. l. n. 23.

the

the barbarians; singular prudence; uncommon dignity of behaviour; a remarkable mildness and affability of temper, and at the same time great steadiness in maintaining discipline among the troops. To this steadiness, which the licentiousness of the soldiers could not brook, he owed his ruin. It drew upon him their hatred, and he was killed by the very persons who had elected him.

Incursions
of the bar-
barians.

The barbarians, as I said before, ravaged the empire, at the same time that the usurpers dismembered it: but in the East, Odenatus stopt and even conquered the Persians. In Gaul, Posthumus, who caused himself to be acknowledged emperor there, as I shall hereafter relate, kept the German nations within bounds. The middle of the empire, the defence of which depended upon Gallienus, because no usurper had been able to establish himself solidly there, suffered dreadful calamities, occasioned by the Sarmatians, the Scythians, and the Goths.

Italy ra-
vaged by a
swarm of
Scythians.
Zos.

Italy was the first province which they attacked. Whilst Valerian perished in Mesopotamia, and Gallienus was yet in Gaul, the Scythians or Goths (for these names are often used one for the other in the history of the times we are now speaking of) having formed a numerous army of the different people of their nation, divided their forces. One part of them fell upon Illyricum: the other penetrated into Italy and put even Rome in danger. The senate greatly alarmed, had recourse to such expedients as were within their reach. To the city cohorts they joined the best and hardiest men among the people, whom they obliged to take up arms: by which means they assembled an army superior in number to the barbarians, and which so far awed them, as to prevent their approaching the capital: but they over-ran all Italy, and ravaged it in a most shocking manner.

Another
swarm lay
down to
Thracia
and
Greece
to the

The other body of Scythians, who had chosen Illyricum for the theatre of their exploits, entered *

Thrace

* Zosimus and Zonaras refer this incursion of the Goths to the

Thrace and Macedonia, and even laid siege to Thessalonica. All Greece, of which that city was the key, trembled. The Athenians rebuilt their walls, which, for near four hundred years past, had remained in the ruinous condition to which they were reduced by Sylla. The inhabitants of Peloponnesus barred their isthmus by a wall from sea to sea. The Goths could not take Thessalonica, which defended itself with tolerable ease against the barbarians, who did not like the fatigues of a siege so well as ravaging an open country. They spread themselves, however, over Epirus, Acarnania, and Bœotia, amassed a vast booty there, and then set out for their own country*.

As soon as Gallienus was informed of the invasion of Italy by the Scythians, he left Gaul; and if there be any truth in what Zosimus relates of a great exploit of this prince against the Germans, near Milan, it probably belongs to this time.

We are not told that Gallienus did any thing to drive the Scythians out of Italy. Perhaps they had left that country before he arrived there.

He was afterwards obliged to go into Illyricum, whither he was called by two wars, the one civil, and the other foreign, both carried on at the same time: these were, the rebellion of Ingenuus, and the hostilities of the Scythians. We know that he conquered Ingenuus in a pitched battle. As to the Scythians, if they did not retire voluntarily into their own country, but were driven back beyond the

time of Valerian. Tribellius places it under Gallienus; and this last arrangement is that which M. de Tillemont has preferred.

* Tribellius says that the Goths were then beaten by Marcellian; which is not absolutely impossible, as that usurper did march about this time to the western parts of the empire, in hopes of conquering it from Gallienus. But as we find a few years after a Marcellian making war vigorously against the Goths, and hunting them down every where, it is not improbable that two names so much alike may have been confounded.

Treb. l.
Gall. 5.
Zos. Zonar.

Gallienus
goes from
Gaul to
Italy, and
from
thence into
Illyricum.

the Danube by the Roman arms, the honour of that advantage belongs to Ingenuus, to Regillianus, to Aureolus, who were brave warriors, and commanded great armies upon the spot, rather than to Gallienus, of whom no mention is made in history on this occasion.

His cruel
revenge a-
gainst the
Byzanti-
nes.
Treb. Gall.
6. § 7.

The defeat of Macrian, who fought and was likewise conquered in Illyricum, was also the work of Aureolus: and I do not see that any share of what was done in that country can be given to Gallienus, except the cruel vengeance which he took on Byzantium, for which Trebellius, who relates it, does not assign any motive. But we may conjecture, with some probability, that the inhabitants of that city had favoured Macrian's passage into Europe, and that it was for this reason that Gallienus, now conqueror, treated them as enemies. As the Byzantines mistrusted him, they at first shut their gates against him. He got admittance, however, upon a promise of acting with moderation and clemency: but the moment he was master of the place, he basely broke his word, and caused both the garrison and the inhabitants to be massacred: all were cut off: and at the time when Trebellius wrote, there was no longer any ancient family in Byzantium, except those of which an accidental absence, occasioned either by business or pleasure, or by their being employed in the armies, had saved some remains.

This bloody execution coincides nearly with the time of the feasts which Gallienus gave on account of his tenth year. His cruelties against his subjects, and his pleasures, occupied him alternately; whilst the barbarians renewed their incursions, without being discouraged by their former losses.

The incur-
sions of the
barbarians
continue
during the
whole
reign of
Gallienus.

It is very difficult, not to say impossible, to fix the precise dates, and distinguish the particular circumstances of their different invasions, which never ceased during all the reign of Gallienus. Their events were always nearly alike, and we have

no knowledge of them but through the channel of inaccurate writers, and ignorant abbreviators, who murder facts, and confound names, times, and places. The general idea that results from their lame accounts, is, that all the provinces of Illyricum and Asia-minor, the islands of the Egæan sea, and Greece itself, were continually exposed to the ravages of the Scythian and German nations, who poured in 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 victorious, and sometimes defeated, but never daunted or destroyed. We find in particular, that the temple of Diana of Ephesus was plundered and burnt by the barbarians; that ancient Ilium, always unfortunate, suffered from them the same calamities as were brought upon it many ages before by the Greeks; that they also sacked the city of Chalcedon, and reduced it to so deplorable a condition, that, three hundred years after, it still retained marks of their fury; that all Trajan's conquests beyond the Danube were recovered from the Romans, and became again the property of the barbarians.

*Treb. Gall.
6. Sync. &
Jern. de
reb. Gel. c.
20.*

*Eunolp. &
AunrL
Vict.*

The Heruli appear here for the first time in history; Syncellus gives us a sort of particular account of their expedition. Only I cannot comprehend how he brings from the Palus Mæotis, a nation that was always German. But be that as it may, the following is his account, with the addition of some circumstances borrowed from Trebellius. The Heruli sailing out of the Palus Mæotis with five hundred vessels, took to the right, and made themselves masters of Byzantium, and of Chrysopolis, which is on the other side of the streights. There they fought a battle, the success of which was not favourable to them; but did not however hinder them from continuing their route.

They

They made descents at Cyzicus, and several other places which they ravaged. They likewise plundered the islands of Lemnos and Scyras; and afterwards, crossing over into Greece, overrun all Peloponnesus. The cities of Corinth, Sparta and Argos, were plundered, and Athens would have suffered the same fate, had it not been for the valour of Dixippus, who, cultivating equally both learning and arms, was an excellent warrior, as well as a famous writer. That brave Athenian, putting himself at the head of his countrymen, waited for the barbarians in a narrow pass, where, aided by the advantage of his situation, he defeated them, and saved his country. In their retreat, they plundered the rest of Greece, Bæotia, Epirus, and without doubt Thessaly also, which lay in their road. At length, having crossed Macedonia, and part of Thrace, they met, near the river Nessus, the emperor Gallienus, who had marched to the assistance of the invaded provinces. This prince gave them battle, and killed three thousand of their men, which, joined probably to other circumstances, the particulars whereof are not explained, induced the Herulian commander, Naulobates, to sue for peace from the Romans. It was granted him, and if we believe Syncellus, Gallienus made him consul. In this case, Naulobates must be reckoned the first barbarian who arrived at the supreme magistracy of Rome.

Our authors likewise speak of another irruption of barbarians, by the way of Heraclea, a famous city of Pontus. The Scythians, having got possession of that important place, overrun Galatia, and Cappadocia, and there practised their usual ravages. The brave Odenatus, who was just returned from his second expedition against Sapor, in which he had again besieged, and according to Syncellus, even taken the royal city of Ctesiphon, wanted to give Asia its revenge for the insults of those robbers, as he had put the east in a state no longer to
fear

Treb. Gall.
13.

Sync.

Treb. Gall.
* *Sync.*

fear the Persians. He advanced as far as Cappadocia : but the barbarians, not thinking proper to wait his coming, hastened back to Heraclea, and from thence returned by sea to their own country. This swarm might come from the Palus Mæotis ; which is probably what has occasioned Syn-cellus's mistake concerning the Heruli.

Odenatus did not long survive this new proof of his zeal in defence of the Roman empire. This worthy prince perished by domestic treachery ; and Zenobia his wife, that famous heroine, is not exempt from suspicions in regard to this heinous crime.

Odenatus had by a former wife a son named Herod, whom he was particularly fond of, and preferred before his other children, born of Zenobia. Herod, however, little deserved the affections of such a father as Odenatus. This young prince is known in history only by his Asiatic luxury and effeminate manners : and his father, who ought to have checked that inclination, encouraged it by his blind complaisance. After his first victories over Sapor, he made his son a present, not only of the concubines of the king of Persia whom he had made prisoners, but also of all the riches he had amassed in his expedition, gold, rich stuffs, diamonds and jewels. Zenobia could not brook the preference which Odenatus gave to his eldest son over the children he had by her : and it is not improbable that she joined her resentment to that of Odenatus's nephew, Mæonius, who was exasperated against his uncle on a very trifling account.

In a party of hunting, Mæonius, from an over forward vivacity, was the first who shot at the beast ; and though forbid by Odenatus, he repeated the same mark of disrespect, two or three times. Odenatus, displeased at his behaviour, ordered his horse to be taken from him ; which was a great affront among those people ; and Mæonius having suffered his passion to hurry him so far

as

Odenatus
is cut off by
domestic
treachery,
of which
Zenobia
seems not
to have
been inno-
cent.
Treb. Gall.
13.
Tr. Tyr.
15, 16, 17.

as to threaten the emperor, drew upon himself at length a more rigorous treatment, and was put in irons. He resolved to be revenged; and the better to succeed therein, he dissembled his resentment, applied humbly to Herod, and begged of him to obtain his pardon. But he was no sooner set at liberty, than he entered into a conspiracy against his uncle, and against his deliverer: and laying hold of the opportunity of a feast which Odenatus gave to celebrate his birth-day, he attacked him in the midst of the joy of the entertainment, and killed him and his son. This tragic scene happened at Emesa, and is placed by M. Tillemont under the year of Christ 267.

Zer.

Trobel.

Ambition was probably joined with revenge in the heart of Mæonius. Odenatus, as I said before, had been declared Augustus by Gallienus, and his son Herod enjoyed the same honours. Their murderer usurped them, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. But he was far from being capable of replacing Odenatus. His voluptuous life, spent in continual debauchery, rendered him extremely despicable, and he was soon killed by the soldiers who had elected him. Thus Zenobia reaped all the fruit of Mæonius's crime: and this presumption, joined to that which arises from her jealousy of Herod, has made her be accused of having entered into the conspiracy of the assassins of her husband. It is a pity that so black a stain should be found in the life of a princess, otherwise distinguished by the most shining talents, and who alone hindered the East from feeling the loss of Odenatus. We shall defer speaking more fully of her, until the reign of Aurelian, who made war upon her, and conquered her. In the mean time we shall only observe, that Zenobia, having taken possession of the sovereign power after the death of her husband, was not acknowledged by Gallienus; that this prince, having lost his friend Odenatus, on whom he had depend-

Trobel. Gall.
13.

ed for the management of the war against the Persians, and for avenging his father's cause, seemed to intend to make a personal effort, and to take upon himself the conduct of the affairs of the East; that he assembled an army, the command of which he gave to Heraclian, who, instead of making war upon the Persians, attacked Zenobia, and being defeated by her, was obliged to return with the shattered remains of his broken army.

The year in which Odenatus perished was also that of the death of Posthumus who reigned seven years in Gaul, and who was the bulwark of the empire in the West, as Odenatus had been in the East.

Posthumus perishes in Gaul the same year that Odenatus was killed.

We have seen that Valerian, full of esteem for Posthumus, trusted to him the conduct of his son, and the command in Gaul. Gallienus, after his father's disaster, imitated partly the same plan. Being obliged to march against the Scythians, who threatened Rome and desolated Illyricum, he left in Gaul Valerian Cæsar, his eldest son, who was then very young: but he separated the two employments of governor of the prince and commander of the troops. He committed the guardianship of his son to Silvanus, leaving to Posthumus only the care of what belonged to the war.

He had usurped the imperial power in the first year of Gallienus. *Treb. Gall. 4 & Tr. Tyr. 3. Zuz.*

It is not improbable that this regulation displeased Posthumus, and that his discontent began to stagger his fidelity. What is certain, is that a misunderstanding arose between the two depositaries of the divided authority, and that it soon broke out.

A body of Germans having passed the Rhine, and, according to the custom of the barbarians, ravaged the Gaulish territories; Posthumus fell upon those robbers, defeated them, took away their booty, and, not without design, distributed it among his soldiers. Silvanus claimed this booty as his right, and ordered it to be sent to Cologne, where

where the prince was. We may judge of the turbulence of the troops on this occasion, and how ill they took it that the fruits of their victory should be snatched out of their hands. Posthumus inflamed matters still more, by pretending that he could not help obeying: and when he once saw the fire of sedition thoroughly kindled, he threw aside the mask, put himself at the head of the mutineers, and marched in an hostile manner towards Cologne, demanding, with violent menaces, that the prince and his governor should be delivered up to him. The soldiers within the city, sensible of their inability to oppose an army, preferred their safety to their duty: and Posthumus no sooner had his victims in his power, than he put them to death, and caused himself to be proclaimed Augustus.

Title n.

This event happened soon after Gallienus's departure, and seems to belong to the year in which he began to reign alone. Valerian was ranked among the gods by a decree of the senate, made by order of the emperor, who at the same time gave the title of Cæsar to his second son Saloninus.

Wisdom of his government.

Nothing can be more criminal than the means by which Posthumus raised himself to the sovereign power*: but he exercised it in such a manner as might be a model even to princes whose authority is founded upon the most legal title. Uniting every civil and military virtue, he rendered the people happy at home, and defended them against foreign enemies. He made discipline reign in the armies,

* Trebellus clears Posthumus of the most odious charge in his usurpation, by saying that it was the Gauls, who not being able to bear Gallienus's vices, and disdaining to be governed by a boy, killed Valerian Cæsar, and put Posthumus in his place. But this is plainly the language of those who would justify, or at least excuse, a usurper.

armies, justice in the tribunals, and good order and tranquillity in all the countries that obeyed him. Ambition was his only vice : and after he had once attained the height of his wishes, we no longer see any thing in him but what deserves esteem.

Not satisfied with barely hindering the Germans from penetrating into Gaul, he passed the Rhine in person, and built forts at proper distances from each other on the territories of the barbarians, to keep them in awe even in their own country. What is more : we find that after he had conquered those fierce nations by his arms, he gained their esteem and confidence by his virtues ; for they furnished him with succours in the wars he had to maintain against Gallienus, as appears by his having both Germans and Franks among his auxiliaries.

I know not whether it was the impossibility of committing their usual ravages in Gaul that induced the Franks to carry their arms into Spain. That extensive country likewise submitted to the laws of Posthumus : but this prince not residing there, and being divided between the necessity of securing the borders of the Rhine, and of defending himself against the repeated attacks of Gallienus, he could not extend his protection and assistance to the more distant provinces. It was by sea that the Franks attacked Spain ; for the German, as well as the Scythian nations, braved the dangers of very long and very hazardous voyages in small barks. The Franks of whom I am now speaking, passed the Streights, and dividing themselves into two bodies, one made a descent upon Africa, and the other upon Spain. These last advanced as far as the Ebro, took Tarragona, and sacked that metropolis of hither Spain in so terrible a manner, that it bore the marks of their outrages an hundred and fifty years after. The ravages of the Franks were not a transitory calamity with regard to Spain, for their descents and inroads in

His exploits against the Germans. *Trib. Tyr.* 5.

Trib. Gall. 7.

The Franks invade Spain by sea. *Tillem.*

Aurel. Vict. Nuar. Pannag. Const. Cros. VII. 22, & 41.

that country were continued without ceasing for upwards of twelve years.

Gallienus
attacks
Posthumus
in vain.

Treb. Gall.
4. § 7.
Tr. Tyr.
§ *Zen.*

Gallienus did not leave Posthumus in peaceable possession of Gaul. He attacked him twice in person: first, immediately after Macrian was conquered; and the second time, two years after. In both these expeditions he was accompanied by Aureolus, who, without taking the title of emperor, kept, as I before observed, an army under his command. If Gallienus had been faithfully served by him, he would have remained completely conqueror: for Posthumus having been defeated in a general battle, Aureolus, who pretended to pursue him, might, if he had pleased, have overtaken him, and have made him prisoner. But he purposely let him escape, because it was not his interest that Gallienus should become too powerful. There were therefore other battles, and sieges of towns, in one of which Gallienus was wounded by an arrow. The cure of his wound was tedious, and probably gave him a disgust for this war, in which he likewise met with so much the more and greater difficulties, as the people were inclined to favour his enemy. He therefore gave it up, and from this time Posthumus governed Gaul, as quietly, as if he had been its lawful sovereign.

Victorinus,
lieutenant
to Posthu-
mus.
Treb. Gall.
7. § *Tr.*
Tyr. 6.

In the war against Gallienus he had received important services from Victorinus, whom, if we believe Trebellius, he had even associated with himself in the government, and taken for his colleague. But it seems to us, scarcely possible, that Posthumus, who had a son, on whom he conferred the titles of Caesar and Augustus, should grant the same honours to a stranger, to make him thereby his rival and that of his son. We rather think that Victorinus acted under Posthumus as his principal lieutenant, and did not assume the power of sovereign until after his death.

Posthumus

Posthumus enjoyed an uninterrupted tranquillity for three years. But usurpers seldom end their days in peace: their own example is turned against themselves. Lollianus*, or Lelianus, thinking himself not less worthy of the empire than Posthumus, revolted, and, though conquered in battle, occasioned the ruin of his conqueror. For Posthumus's soldiers insisting strongly upon plundering the city of Mentz, which had entered into the rebellion, and not being able to obtain the consent of their chief, to whose character and principles, such violences were no ways suited; the whole army mutinied, and killed him and his son.

Posthumus is killed by his soldiers, with his son. *Trobel. Tr. Tyr. 3, 4, 5. & Eutrop.*

Posthumus reigned seven years, and was killed in the beginning of the year of Christ 267. Besides Gaul, he kept, as I said before, Spain, under his laws, and it is probable that Britain likewise obeyed him. Gaul then set the example to those two neighbouring provinces, and the three together formed a kind of detached department, which, when the empire was afterwards divided among several princes, often became the particular lot of one of them. The origin of Posthumus was obscure: his merit was what raised him. He had been once consul before he usurped the imperial power; and during his reign he assumed three consulships: but neither of these last is marked in the *Fasti*, because they were not acknowledged at Rome, which obeyed Gallienus.

Some particulars concerning both of them. *Tillem.*

The son of Posthumus, who bore the same name with himself, is known in history only by the titles of Cæsar and Augustus, which he received from
 2 his

* M. Tillemont distinguishes a Lollianus, a L. Ælianus, and an Ælianus; and makes three usurpers of them. M. de Valois (mem. of the academy of Belles lettres, vol. 2. p. 585.) reduces these three princes to the single Ulpus Cornelius Lælianus, whose last name he thinks has been altered through the ignorance of authors or transcribers, and this opinion seems to me the most eligible.

*Treb. Tr.
Tyr. 4.*

his father, and by his fatal death, which he probably met with when but a youth. It is said, that he was eloquent, and that some of his declamations have been judged worthy of a place among those which are ascribed to Quintilian.

Lælianus is
acknow-
ledged em-
peror by
the sol-
diers.

Upon the death of Posthumus, Gaul did not submit to Gallienus; but, violently agitated by powerful contending parties, it had no less than four princes or usurpers in the space of one year.

Lælianus took the advantage of his conqueror's misfortunes. The troops who had killed Posthumus could not take any step more suited to their interests, than to proclaim him emperor on whom their late master had made war. Lælianus then entered into possession of the prerogatives of the imperial power; and he must have enjoyed them some months, as he is said to have repaired the castles which Posthumus had built beyond the Rhine in the country of the barbarians, and which, upon the news of his death, were taken and demolished by the Germans.

*Treb. Tr.
Tyr. 5, 6,
& 7.*

Victorinus
kills him
and takes
his place.

Victorinus, who had enjoyed the principal authority under Posthumus, could not bear to see Lælianus usurp his spoils. It is probable that he likewise tampered with some of the troops, and that having prevailed upon them to proclaim him emperor, he attacked Lælianus, defeated, and killed him.

He him-
self is kill-
ed by a
clerk who se-
izes him he had
throned.

He was very capable, by his talents and his many virtues, to supply the loss of Posthumus, and to settle the state of Gaul, at least for a time. One single vice proved his ruin. A contemporary writer expressed himself on this subject in the following manner: "I find no prince, said that author, preferable to Victorinus: neither Trajan for military merit, nor Titus Antoninus for clemency, nor Nerva, for the qualities which procure respect, nor Pertinax or Severus for steadiness in command and exactness in main-
taining

“ taining military discipline. But his debauchery
 “ * and unbounded passion for women, effaced
 “ entirely all this glory in him : and it is improper
 “ to praise the virtues of a prince whose death is
 “ looked upon by every one as a justly deserved
 “ punishment.” Victorinus used violence to satisfy his brutality ; and after several excesses of this kind, a subaltern officer of one of the courts of justice, whose wife he had abused, formed at last a conspiracy against him, and assassinated him at Cologne. Victorinus not dying instantly of his wound ; by the advice of his mother Victoria or Victorina, he named his son Cæsar before he expired. But he thereby only hastened the destruction of that son, who was murdered by the troops immediately after the death of his father. They were both buried near Cologne ; and on their small tomb was only the following dishonourable inscription : “ Here lye the two Victori-
 “ ni, who were usurpers.”

Victoria was a woman of an enterprising spirit, and had been decorated, probably by her son, with the titles of *Augusta*, and of mother of the camps and armies. Instead of setting up for the vacant empire herself, by which she would perhaps only have shewn her ambition, without succeeding in the attempt, she chose rather to give it to another. Her choice fell upon an ignoble subject, whom she doubtless hoped, for that very reason, to govern the more easily. She caused one Marius, by trade an armourer, and afterwards a soldier, who had advanced himself in the service by his valour, to be elected. This adventurer well deserved his fortune, if it be true that he was the same Marius, who, according to Ammonius, conquered and killed Chrocus king of the Alemanni, the

Victoria
 the mother
 of Victor-
 inus, caused
 one Marius
 to be elected
 emperor, who is
 killed at the
 end of
 three days.
Treb. Tr.
Thr. 5, 8.
§ 13.
Fillemon.
Hist. Ecc.
T. IV.

* Sed omnia hæc libido & cupiditas mulieraræ voluptatis sic perdidit, ut nemo audeat virtute ejus in litteras mittere, quem constat omnium judicio meruisse puniri. *Treb.*

Trevel.

the author and conductor of a violent irruption into Gaul, and of a thousand outrages committed by the barbarians whom he commanded Trebellius says nothing of this remarkable transaction but contents himself with giving the speech which Marius made after his election, and in which, far from blushing at the meanness of his former condition, he makes a boast of it, prides himself in having always handled iron, and extols his hard and laborious life far above the effeminacy of Gallienus. He reigned but three days, at the end of which he was killed by a soldier who had formerly worked in his shop, and for whom the new emperor had shewn some scorn and contempt. The exasperated soldier ran him through with his sword, saying by way of insult: "This sword is one of thy own making." Surprising things are related of the strength of body of this Marius, whose fingers are said to have been as hard as the iron upon which he employed them.

Tetricus is substituted in his stead. The death of Victoria. *Trib. 17. Ann. 24, 25, & 31. Eutrop. Aurel. Vict.*

By the death of Marius, Victoria did not lose her credit: she even preserved it so far as to be able to make another emperor. But she now pitched upon a person more capable than the former to procure respect and obedience. She cast her eyes upon Tetricus, her relation, a Roman senator of illustrious birth, and who was then governor of Aquitain. Tetricus, being elected by the soldiers, assumed the purple with the title of Augustus at Bourdeaux, and gave that of Cæsar to his son. The state of Gaul began to resume a regular form under this prince, who reigned there six years, until he was conquered by Aurelian, as we shall hereafter relate. Victoria died a considerable time before the fall of Tetricus. She enjoyed the honours of the supreme rank as long as she lived. Money was coined at Treves, marked with her head and name. But all this pomp and splendour was of short duration: for death, either

either natural, or, as some think, hastened by violence, buried all her grandeur in the tomb.

I return to Gallienus, of whom the reader will observe that little has been said in the history of his reign. We left him in Illyricum, conqueror of the Heruli, with whom he made peace. He afterwards attacked the Goths, who over-ran that country, and over whom he gained some advantage. But at the same time he received the disagreeable news of the revolt of Aurcolus, whom he had left in Italy, near Milan, to watch the motions of those who had the upper hand in Gaul, and to prevent their passing the Alps.

Aurcolus, as we have seen, affected independence almost from the beginning of Gallienus's reign. Though at the head of an army which acknowledged no other orders than his, he had seconded the emperor in his war against Posthumus; but at the same time he indeed broke his fidelity towards him, and hindered him from conquering. Remaining in Italy, whilst Gallienus went to fight the barbarians in Illyricum, he grew tired of his equivocal situation, which was a kind of middle state between the subject and the sovereign; and to unite the title to the reality of power, which last he already possessed to a great degree, this obscure upstart, by birth a Dacian, and by his first profession a shepherd, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor by his soldiers.

This news obliged Gallienus to leave Illyricum, he left there Marcian and Claudius, two brave and experienced officers, to command in his stead. They did their duty well against the barbarians, whom they conquered, and reduced to such distress, that they thought they should be happy if they could but get back with safety to their own country. Claudius was for pursuing and utterly extirpating them: but Marcian, who had other views, opposed this advice, and thereby gave them an opportunity of returning soon after with greater

Gallienus
passed from
Illyricum,
into Italy
to fight
Aurcolus
who had
made him-
self empe-
ror.
Trab. Gall.
13, & 14.
& *Zos.*

Zon.
Trab. Tr.
Ty. 11.

Marcian
and Claud-
ius gain a
victory
over the
Goths in
Illyricum.
T. b. Gall.
13, &
14, 6.
& 18.

greater force than they had ever before brought against the empire. Claudius and Marcian having driven the barbarians out of Illyricum, rejoined Gallienus, not to serve him, but to take away his empire and his life.

They re-join Gallienus, and deprive him of his empire and his life.
Treb. Gall. 14.
Zon. Zon.
Aurel. Vict.
Entrop.

They found that prince besieging Milan, where Aureolus, after being defeated in a battle, had shut himself up. They entered into a conspiracy with the pretorian prefect Heraclian, who was returned from the East; and they agreed together that they ought to deliver the republic from an emperor, whose conduct loaded it with shame and infamy. Some say that they were induced to take this resolution from an apprehension of danger to themselves; and that this apprehension was artfully raised by Aureolus, who caused a list to be thrown into the camp of the besiegers, containing the names of the principal officers of the army, as persons marked out for death by Gallienus. This report may have been spread by the friends of Claudius, who wanted to make him appear less criminal, and in some measure to clear him of the stain of having conspired against his lawful prince, from whom he had never received any thing but favours.

Treb. itid.
& Claud. 3.

Trebellius goes farther, and formally denies that Claudius had any share in the death of his predecessor. But in this he is convicted of flattery, both from the want of probability in what he relates, and by the contrary testimony of other writers. His plea in favour of Claudius, is the very plea of Claudius himself, who concealed his intrigue, who wanted not to be thought the murderer of Gallienus, and who, having had the address to procure an opportunity of absenting himself, was at Ticinum, now Pavia, when that prince was killed before Milan.

Vit. Eptt.

The three chiefs of the conspiracy seem likewise to have settled among themselves the choice of a successor to Gallienus. Neither of them wanted for ambition: but the superiority of Claudius's merit determined them in his favour: whether from

esteem

esteem for him, or because they foresaw the difficulty of uniting the suffrages of the soldiers in favour of any other, we shall not pretend to say.

When the plan was formed and settled, they pitched upon one Cecrops, who commanded the Dalmatian horse, to execute it; which he did in the following manner. While Gallienus was at table, or according to others, in bed, a false alarm was given him, purporting, that the besieged were making a vigorous sally. This prince had courage, as I have more than once observed. He started up immediately, and, without waiting until he was completely armed, or even staying for his guards, he mounted his horse, and rode, slightly attended, towards the place which had been pointed out to him. As he was going on, Cecrops himself, or one of his men, shot Gallienus with an arrow, through the back. The emperor fell from his horse, and those about him carried him to his tent, where he died a few hours after.

The flatterers of the family of Constantine, which derived its principal splendour from Claudius, have here invented a new fable. They tell us that Gallienus, finding his end draw near, sent the imperial ornaments to Claudius. A supposition manifestly absurd: Gallienus having at that very time a brother who was Augustus, and a son who was Cæsar.

The one was named Valerian, and the other Saloninus; and they were both killed by those whose interest it was to extinguish the imperial line. Claudius, who ought to be looked upon as the author of their death, affected to confer the last honours upon Valerian, and to raise a tomb to him near Milan, upon which was engraved his name with the title of emperor. Saloninus perished at Rome in the commotion we are going to speak of. Neither of these princes did any thing memorable; nor are they scarce mentioned in history but on account of their death. It is only observed,

Aurel. Vict.

Valerian and Saloninus, the brother and the son of Gallienus, are killed after him. Trév. Val. jun. 1. §. Gall. 14. §. Salon. 1. Zon.

observed, that Valerian did not approve of his brother's dissolute manners. All else that we know concerning him, that is to say, his advising Gallienus to create Odenatus, Augustus, speaks moderation and solid sense.

Duration
of Gallienus's
reign.

Gallienus reigned fifteen years, if we reckon from the time when he received the title of Augustus; but only eight from that in which the captivity of his father put him in full possession of the imperial power. He was killed in the month of March of the year of Christ 268. All his posterity * did not perish with him; for some of his descendants were living at the time when Trebellius wrote.

The soldiers declare him an usurper. Claudius is elected emperor. *P. b. Gall.* 15.

His death occasioned murmurs among the troops. They had hated and despised him whilst living, and when he was dead they heaped praises upon him: not from any alteration in their sentiments concerning him; but from their usual greediness of plunder, which they hoped to satisfy by taking this opportunity to raise fresh disturbances. Interest was the sole motive of their complaints, and interest pacified them. Twenty pieces of gold which Marcian promised to each of the soldiers, immediately rendered Gallienus what they had always thought him: they declared him an usurper, and unanimously elected Claudius emperor.

At Rome the memory of Gallienus is loaded with curse; and he is afterwards ranked among the fools by order of Claudius. *Ant. Vict.*

At Rome, the news of the death of Gallienus was received with such transports of joy as bordered even upon madness. The senate and the people united in loading his memory with curses. His ministers and relations were the victims of the public hatred. The mob fell upon them, threw them from the top of the Tarpeian rock, and treated their dead bodies with the utmost ignominy. The whole city was in a flame: and Claudius, now emperor, was obliged to exert his authority in order to stop the riot, of which he feared

* Trebellius does not explain himself any farther. Perhaps Saloninus left so ne infant child: or perhaps we ought to understand him, as speaking of the posterity of Gallienus's brother.

feared the consequences. He sent orders to spare the friends and family of Gallienus; and carrying his policy beyond all bounds of decency and reason, he insisted that this prince, who had disgraced humanity, should be ranked among the gods. As he foresaw that the senate would be extremely unwilling to pass such a decree, he availed himself of the power of the soldiery, whose dispositions he again changed, so far as to persuade them to demand divine honours for the very man they had but just before declared a vile usurper. The senate thereupon ordered the deifying of Gallienus; joining ignominy to sacrilege, and profaning at the same time the majesty of the Supreme Being, and the glory of good princes, of whose virtue this honour had been the reward.

I know not whether any thing can be more capable of vilifying all human praise, and of rendering it despicable, than to see it thus prostituted upon such a prince as Gallienus. We have a monument of this wretched adulation still subsisting in a triumphal arch erected to his honour, the inscription of which imports, that his invincible valour was surpassed only by his piety: *cetera is invicta virtus sola pietate superata est.* What valour, what piety, were those of Gallienus, who, on one hand, minded nothing but luxury and pleasure, and, on the other, was the most ungrateful and most unnatural son that ever existed!

Whilst altars were erected to Gallienus, his death remained unrevenged. Strange inconsistency! But those who made him a god, were the very persons who had killed him.

It is no wonder that Gallienus was as much hated as he was despised. To the shameful vices of indolence, effeminacy, and every kind of debauchery, he added cruelty. Besides the example we have already given of this, the historian of his life assures us, that he often ordered three or four thousand soldiers to be massacred at once. This was his way

of

Suppl. m. 40
Monifav-
con's A. lig.
ret. IV.

Gallienus
had re-ol-
ed him of
hateful by
his cruel-
ty &
Tric'ell.
Gall. 11. &
18.

of appeasing the seditions, which the vileness of his behaviour frequently occasioned.

He would not allow senators to serve in the army.
Aurcl. Vict.

The senate had a particular motive of hatred against him. This prince, who was even sensible himself that he debased the throne, was jealous of every man of merit: and seeing tyrants and usurpers rise on all sides, he thought he took a wise precaution in excluding the senators from all military employments; lest the splendour of their dignity, backed by the command of an armed force, should raise their courage, and at the same time facilitate to them the means of invading the sovereign power. Thus this august assembly, which had furnished the state with all its generals and commanders ever since the foundation of Rome, lost that glorious prerogative: and instead of uniting, as it had always done before, military merit to the legislative power, it was reduced to the sole civil functions of the government, not less useful indeed, though less brilliant than the other. This gave rise to a distinction never before heard of among the Romans. The civil and the military began to form two separate bodies, from either of which there was no transition to the other.

This innovation highly incensed the senators: and they revenged themselves, as we have seen, upon the memory of Gallienus, and upon his family. But an habit of ease and quiet has bewitching charms. They soon grew used to it: and though they might, without the least difficulty, have obtained from the succeeding emperors, some of whom were truly valuable princes, the repeal of this prohibition of Gallienus; they preferred the tranquillity they enjoyed, to the dangers of war and the storms of sedition, and seemed to take for their motto, *Less fame but more security.*

He stopped the persecutions against the Christians.
E. H. Hist. Eccl. VII.
h.

All orders of the state were dissatisfied with Gallienus. The Christians alone had reason to speak well of him. As soon as he was master of the empire,

pire, he stopped the persecution which his father had raised against them, and ordered the burying-grounds and religious places of which they had been dispossessed, to be restored to them. It would be hard to assign the motive that rendered him thus favourable to the Christians: but one may, perhaps, not unreasonably conjecture, that his hatred of Macrian, who, all powerful under Valerian, had revolted almost immediately after his master's misfortune, induced Gallienus to protect those to whom that minister, and afterwards usurper, was a declared enemy, to destroy his work, and to calm the persecution of which he was the author.

We may easily judge that learning did not flourish under so unsettled and violently disturbed a reign. The muses delight in peace, and are silenced by the din of arms. Not but that the prince courted them personally, and wrote as well as his contemporaries in prose and in verse, though only upon trivial subjects. His esteem for the fine arts inspired him with an affection for Athens, which had always been their habitation and center. Full of this idea, he insisted on being made a citizen and first magistrate of that city, and on being ranked among the Arcopagites. Vain and trifling cares for a prince to be taken up with, whilst his dominions were falling to ruin! I say the same, and with still greater reason, of the favour he was disposed to grant to the Platonic philosopher Plotinus, whose brain was filled with wild and singular notions, and who deserves less to be esteemed for the elevation of his thoughts, than to be despised for his idle turn of mind. Plotinus had taken it into his head to realize the idle system of Plato's republic: and Gallienus was ready to assist him in that chimera, by rebuilding for him a city in Campania, which the philosopher was to govern according to the Platonic laws. Some jealous

Learning was far from flourishing under Gallienus.

Trch. Gall. 11.

Tul. m. Gall. art. 2. H. l. d. c. art. Plotinus.

lous courtiers, says Porphyry, dissuaded the emperor from executing this design. There needed only common sense to make him reject it.

We see by this, that the protection which Gallienus granted to learning was of a piece with the rest of his vain, capricious and effeminate character: and therefore it is no wonder that, thwarted as it also was by the difficulty of the times, it never produced any solid benefit. We know of very few works, except those of Plotinus, that were composed during this reign: and if we regret the loss of any of those which we find quoted by other writers, it is only because they might have thrown some light upon the history of these times. There is, according to Casaubon, in several libraries, a treatise upon the machines of war used by the ancients, the author of which, one Athenaus, a Byzantine, seems to have been the engineer of that name who was employed by Gallienus, with his countryman Cleodamus, to fortify the towns of Thrace and Illyricum, which were exposed to the incursions and attacks of the Scythians.

*Tréb. Gall.
13. & *ibid.*
Casub.*

The reign
of Gallie-
nus is full
of inter-
woven e-
vents.

How they
may be
thrown in-
together.

41.

No reign is fuller than that of Gallienus, of events which are interwoven with each other, and of which the complicated narrative forms a kind of labyrinth not easy to be pursued. I doubt the reader will have perceived it but too much, notwithstanding the clue I have endeavoured to lend him. The method I have followed in order to throw some light upon the subject, has been to divide the general object nearly into three parts, one of which comprehends what passed in the east, and especially the exploits of Odenatus; the second, what relates to Gaul and the adjacent provinces; and the third, the troubles and wars of the middle countries, whether occasioned by incursions of the barbarians, or by the rebellions of usurpers. Gallienus himself acted no where but in Italy, Illyricum, and Gaul. He had scarcely any more influ-
ence

once in the events of the other parts of the empire, than if he had not been emperor. The commotions in Egypt and Africa, are a kind of detached events, and have little connection with the rest.

This whole period of history would be very interesting, if any account of it had been transmitted to us by a good hand. Never were seen so many vicissitudes, so many revolutions, nor, I will venture to say, so many talents and so many virtues at any one time. Almost all the persons known in the history of the reign of Gallienus under the name of tyrants, or usurpers, were men of merit, skilled in the art of war, perfectly capable of conducting great affairs, and often estimable also for their moral virtues. Odenatus and Posthumus are proofs of this. It is an old observation, that times of trouble and confusion are the most favourable to talents. No æra in the Roman history was more fruitful of great men, than the latter times of the republic, and those of Gallienus; nor did France ever produce so many heroes at once, as during her wars with the English, under Charles VII. and during the fury of those for which religion was made the pretence. In such melancholy times merit pierces easily, because it is greatly wanted; and it acquires perfection, by struggling with difficulties. Such is the deplorable condition of the human race! Men must be wretched, before the talents which do them the greatest honour can find a field wherein to display themselves.

Trebellius, in writing the history of the usurpers that arose under the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus, fixed their number at thirty, from a fancy for which I shall not pretend to assign any reason: and to complete that number, he included in it Odenatus, whose promotion was legal; a former Valens, who revolted under Decius; children, whose age could not permit them to act scenes

The usurpers who appeared under this reign, were almost all men of merit.

Their number.

scenes of this nature ; and two women, Zenobia, and Victoria. He was laughed at for inserting women in a catalogue of usurpers : upon which, to satisfy his critics, and at the same time keep to his favourite number of thirty, he afterwards added two other usurpers, the one prior, and the other posterior to Gallienus ; the former having rebelled in the time of Maximin, and the latter in that of Claudius. If we examine things properly, we shall find under Gallienus eighteen usurpers, including Zenobia, whose boldness and ambition entitle her to a place among that set of restless mortals. I have reckoned them up at the end of the Principal Events of this reign *.

* Page 60.

BOOK XXVII.

PRINCIPAL EVENTS
OF THE REIGN OF
CLAUDIUS II.

SURNAMED

THE GOTHIC.

..... PATERNUS II.
..... MARINIANUS.

A. R. 1010,
A. C. 268.

CLAUDIUS proclaimed emperor by the troops, is acknowledged on the twenty-fourth of March by the senate.

He defeats Aureolus, who is killed by the soldiers of the victorious army.

The Almanni beaten by Claudius, according to Aurelius Victor, near the lake of Guarda.

Claudius goes to Rome, where the justice and mildness of his government is admired.

M. AURELIUS CLAUDIUS AUGUSTUS II.
PATERNUS.

A. R. 1020,
A. C. 269.

The Goths, with an army of three hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, and a fleet of two thousand sail, ravage the empire by sea and by land.

Claudius gains a great victory over them near Naïssus, now Nissa in Servia. He pursues them, with a resolution to extirpate them.

Zenobia seizes upon Egypt.

The Bigaudes in Gaul besiege and take the city of Autun.

A. R. 1021.
A. C. 270.

..... ANTIOCHIANUS.
ORFITUS.

The remains of the Goths are destroyed in the passes of mount Hæmus by pestilence and famine. Those that escaped were either incorporated among the Roman troops, or employed in works of agriculture.

Censorinus is proclaimed emperor by a body of mutinous troops, and killed seven days after by those who had elected him.

Claudius dies of the plague at Sirmium, towards the month of *April*.

USURPERS under CLAUDIUS II.

AP. CLAUDIUS CENSORINUS.

TETRICUS in Gaul.

ZENOBIA in the East.

CLAUDIUS

CLAUDIUS II.

SECT. I.

What is known of the origin and family of Claudius II. His first rise. His accession to the throne, the only stain in his life. He was in other respects a good and great prince. The senate acknowledges him with joy. Aureolus conquered and killed. A great victory gained over the Almanni. Claudius goes to Rome. Wisdom of his government. The empire torn in pieces, and attacked on all sides. The Goths ravage the Roman territories with an army of three hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, and a fleet of two thousand sail. Claudius gains a great victory over them, and exterminates them entirely. Archan and Quintilius were employed in this war. It can hardly be doubted but that Claudius would have subdued Zenobia and Tetricus, if he had lived. But he dies at Sirmium. Praise of this prince. Honours paid to his memory. Censorinus, an usurper.

WE have already had frequent occasion to mention Claudius, before he was raised to the empire. It will be proper now to make the reader better acquainted with him.

His names were M. Aurelius Claudius; to which are sometimes added those of Valerius and Flavius. History calls him Claudius II. as being the second emperor of that name: and he is also surnamed the Gothic, on account of a great victory which he gained over the Goths.

*Trab.
Claud.
11—11.
Hist. Lit.*

His origin is little known ; and all that we can say of it with any certainty, is, that he was born in Illyricum. We are not told who was his father. Some have supposed him to be a natural son of one of the Gordians, without saying any thing farther. As the house of Constantine, which acknowledged him for its author, was interested in extolling him, flatterers were not wanting who framed a genealogy for him which went up to Dardanus and the ancient kings of Troy. The truth is, that he was of the number of those whose merit is their nobility.

Claudius had not any children : but he had two brothers, Quintillus and Crispus. Quintillus succeeded him, but reigned only a few days. Crispus was the father of a daughter called Claudia, who married Eutropius, one of the most illustrious lords of the Dardanian nation *. Of this marriage was born Constantius Chlorus, father of the great Constantine. Constantius was therefore grand-nephew to Claudius, and probably owed his name to one of this emperor's sisters, who was called Constantina.

*Hi. first
vise.
Trab.
Claud.
14—17.*

Claudius began to appear under Decius, in the quality of tribune, and had a great share in his esteem. Decius, after bestowing high commendations on him, intrusted him with the important charge of defending the streights of Thermopylae, and the entrance of Peloponnesus, against the barbarians. Valerian had an equal regard for him ; and, after trying him in several subaltern posts, at last raised him to the chief command of Illyricum. He intended to make him consul : but his sudden fall prevented the execution of that design. Claudius, thus esteemed by good princes, was feared by Gallienus, who was a bad one. This we find by a letter of his, in which he seems alarmed at

* The Dardanians occupied a part of *Mæsia*. Their capital was *Naissus*, now *Nissa* in *Servia*.

at Claudius's complaining of him. He desires that great care may be taken to appease him, and that dexterously, by the intervention of other people, acting as if of their own accord, for fear of his flying to extremities if he suspected that his sovereign was informed of his dissatisfaction. We are not told what was the issue of this affair : but we know that Claudius did not trust Gallienus. He undoubtedly followed the advice which he gave to Regillianus, always to be upon his guard against the jealous mistrusts of the prince whom they both served.

Gallienus, notwithstanding his doubts and apprehensions of Claudius, employed him, and that usefully. He was accompanied by him in his first expedition against Posthumus ; and, as we have already seen, when he left Illyricum in order to march against Aureolus, he committed to him and Marcian the care of making war upon the Goths. Claudius succeeded : and if his counsel had been followed, those barbarians would probably have been extirpated. This success revived the esteem and affection which the senate had always had for him ; and nothing can be more honourable than the acclamations and applause which that assembly bestowed upon him with a kind of transport, wishing in particular that the prince might love him as much as he deserved : which plainly shews that Gallienus's prejudices against him were no secret.

His acquiring the throne by the murder of his emperor and of all the imperial family, was odious and criminal : and he himself was very sensible of it, since he endeavoured, as we observed before, to wipe off that stain, by concealing the share he had in the death of Gallienus. We therefore shall not, with Julian the apostate, commend the rectitude of the means by which Claudius raised himself to the empire : but we may say, with truth, that this is the only blot in his whole life,

life, which, in every other respect, deserves all the praise that is justly 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.

Zonar.

Zonaras gives us an instance of the great equity of this prince, in an affair in which his own interest was concerned. Gallienus had often taken from one, to give to another : and Claudius, when emperor, shewed a readiness to redress those injustices. A woman went to him with a petition, setting forth that he himself possessed a piece of land which had been taken from her contrary to all right and reason. Finding her allegation true, he answered, “ The wrong which Claudius did you when he was a private man, and not charged with the care of seeing the laws executed : Claudius, now emperor, redresses : ” and accordingly he ordered the land to be restored to her. The same justice prevailed throughout all his reign, which unfortunately, was too short.

The senate
acknow-
ledge him
with joy.
A. R. 1019.
T. 6.
C. Ind. 4.

His first care, after the troops had acknowledged him, was to write to the senate. His messenger arrived at Rome on the twenty-fourth of March, and the senators, assembling immediately, confirmed with joy the nomination of the army. If we may judge of the manner in which the decrees of the senate were now passed, by the acts which we find in the writers of the Byzantine history ; the suffrages of that once so grave and august assembly would seem to be given at this time with greater eagerness than decency ; the assent of its members being expressed by their repeating the same words sixty or eighty times running. Thus for example, on the occasion we are speaking of, the senators cried out sixty times, “ Claudius Augustus, may the gods preserve you for our happiness ! ” forty times, “ Claudius Augustus, we always wished to have you for our emperor, or such an emperor as you : ” and

and eighty times, “ Claudius Augustus, we believe we shall find in you a father, a brother, a friend : you are a good senator : the empire acknowledges you for its worthy head.” I pass over the rest, not to tire the reader. But I cannot help observing, that this way of determining the most important affairs, wants dignity, and is liable to great inconveniencies.

Claudius, before he went to Rome, thought it necessary to get rid of Aureolus, who still held out in Milan. This rival of the new emperor's power, after the death of Gallienus, made proposals to his successor, demanding his alliance, and to be acknowledged as his colleague. But Claudius, far from inclining to any such terms, after answering him, “ That none but Gallienus, who had reason to be afraid, could think of entering into an agreement of that kind,” sent to Rome an edict addressed to the people, and a speech which was to be read in the senate, declaring Aureolus an usurper and a tyrant. Aureolus, unable to obtain peace, resolved to fight, and was conquered. He seems to have been taken prisoner, and it is certain that he was killed. The circumstances of his death are variously related. Some say, that he was killed contrary to Claudius's order ; and others, that it was by his command. Some impute the execution of the deed to the soldiers ; and others lay it to the charge of Aurelianus, who was afterwards emperor. The truth is, however, easily distinguished through this obscurity. Claudius undoubtedly desired the death of Aureolus ; but, that he might be thought merciful, he would not order it. He therefore pretended to be inclined to spare a conquered enemy, and underhand stirred up Aurelianus and the soldiers, to destroy him. Claudius cannot be absolutely blamed for providing for his own safety by the death of a rival. But the dissimulation which he practised on this occasion was surely beneath

Aureolus
conquered
and killed
Tr. h.
Claud. 5. §
Tr. Tyr.
11. Epist.
Aurel. 16.
Zos. viii.

neath him. He even carried it farther; by ordering the last honours to be paid to the man whom he had deprived of life, and a monument to be erected to him, with an epitaph in Greek, which is still extant, and which declares his pretended design to save the unfortunate Aureolus, if the soldiers had not prevented it. This tomb was between Milan and Bergamo, in a place upon the river Adda, called *Pons Aureoli*, which still retains some traces of the name of Aureolus in its present appellation of *Pontirolo*.

Tillem.

A great
victory
gained
over the
Alamanni.
Vict. Epit.

If we believe the epitome of Aurelius Victor, Claudius gained a great victory over the Alamanni, near the lake of Guarda, before he went to Rome. M. de Tillemont supports the account of that abbreviator by some conjectures. It is pretty extraordinary that Trebellius, who wrote rather a panegyric than an history of Claudius, and who, the better to celebrate him, has taken particular care to swell his stile, should omit a fact of this importance, so glorious to the prince whose praises were his theme.

Claudius
goes to
Rome.
Wisdom of
his govern-
ment.
A. R. 1020.
Tillem.

Claudius, conqueror of Aureolus, and perhaps of the Alamanni also, went at length to Rome, to enjoy the congratulations and applause of his capital, which thought itself happy in having him for emperor. In the month of January that next ensued after his accession to the empire, he took a second consulship: which proves his having held that office once before. Of this, however, we have not any monument. For though Valerian had intended to make him consul several years sooner; that design was not put in execution, as appears by the senate's desiring the consulship for Claudius, a few months before the death of Gallienus, as a reward for his exploits against the Goths. Claudius must therefore have named himself consul for the first time, in the interval between the decease of Gallienus and the then next month of January.

There

There is room to think that he stayed some months at Rome; and that to this time of tranquillity belongs what Trebellius says of the government of this prince, who enacted several wise and prudent laws, and shewed his zeal for justice by punishing wilfully corrupt judges with exemplary severity; and his mildness, by pretending not to see faults that were committed without design.

But he was soon forced to quit these pacific cares. The empire was in a violent situation, which necessarily required the melancholy remedy of war and arms. Tetricus occupied the provinces of the West. Zenobia, in the East, not satisfied with the territories which her husband Odenatus had possessed, extended her dominion by conquest, and forced Egypt to acknowledge her laws. The middle provinces were harrassed by incursions of the northern nations. It was not possible for Claudius to attack so many enemies at once: and he immediately judged that Zenobia, being the most distant, ought not to be the first object of his attention. Nor did he hesitate between Tetricus and the Goths. "Tetricus," said he, "is my enemy: the Goths are the enemies of the state." He therefore fixed his views upon the barbarians, and resolved to begin with driving them out of the empire.

I observed before, in the last year of the reign of Gallienus, that Claudius wanted to pursue the Goths after he had conquered them; but that his colleague Marcian opposed it, and let them escape. The facility with which they carried at least part of their booty into their own country, induced them to return, in much greater numbers. All the people which composed their nation, uniting, formed an army of three hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, and a fleet of two thousand * sail. The general rendezvous was at the mouth

* Zosimus says six thousand. But Trebellius, who has rather enlarged than diminished the exploits of Claudius, fixes their number at two thousand.

Treb.
Claud. 5.

The empire torn in pieces and attacked on all sides.

The Goths ravage the territories of the empire with an army of 320,000 fighting men, and a fleet of 2000 sail.
Treb.
Claud. 6—
9. Zos. 2^o nar.

mouth of the river Tyras, now called the Niester. There this terrible multitude embarked, and, keeping close to the shore, attempted a first descent at Tomi, a place rendered famous by the banishment of Ovid, and a second at Marcianopolis; but both without much success. Upon their arrival in the Bosphoran streights, the Goths suffered greatly from the rapidity of the currents, which, confined within a narrow space, drove their vessels against each other with such violence, that their pilots were not able to manage them. Many of them perished with their cargoes and crews. But this did not hinder the barbarians from attacking Byzantium; from whence, being repulsed with loss, they continued their rout towards Asia and attacked Cyzicus. Here again they succeeded no better than before: but yet, persisting in their enterprise, and still hoping to make themselves amends in Greece and Macedonia, they crossed the Hellespont, and landed at mount Athos. After careening their vessels there, they steered for the gulph of Thessalonica, to which city they laid siege, as they also did to Cassandræa, which was not far off. While the main body of their army carried on these two sieges, their fleet, doubtless divided into several squadrons, ravaged the coasts of Thessaly, and of all Greece, the islands of Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus, and the maritime parts of Pamphylia. Wherever they landed the country was plundered: but the cities defended themselves in such a manner that not one of them was taken, except Athens, of which Zonaras says, they made themselves masters. That writer mentions a singular anecdote on this occasion. The Goths, says he, finding a great number of books in that city, which was the mother of learning, were going to burn them all, out of mere ferocity and savageness of disposition, and had already heaped them up in piles;

Treb.
Cluid. 12.
Ann.
Mat.
E. xxxi.
Zon.
Zonar.

piles; when one of them, affecting greater wisdom than the rest, told his countrymen they ought to spare them, because it was owing to the reading of those books that the Greeks neglected the art of war, and became easy of conquest. This Goth did not know that the culture of learning never hindered either Alexander or Cæsar from becoming the greatest of warriors. The barbarians did not keep their conquest long. Cleodemus, an Athenian, who had made his escape before the place of his nativity was sacked, assembled a few forces, fell suddenly upon them, cut several of the enemies to pieces, and made the rest betake themselves to flight.

In the meantime the sieges of Cassandrea and Thessalonica were carried on briskly. The Goths battered both those cities with engines, of which they had learned the use in their long wars against the Romans, and were ready to take them when Claudius arrived.

This prince had taken the necessary time to make such an armament as should enable him to attack these formidable enemies with advantage, and at last succeeded therein, though not without great difficulty, because, as he himself observed in one of his letters to the senate, Tetricus possessed the best provinces of the empire, Gaul and Spain, and Zenobia was mistress of the light troops, and all the most expert archers. However, notwithstanding these obstacles, he raised a great force, and upon his arrival, the barbarians raised the siege of the two places which they had long pressed very closely.

They then moved farther up into the country, to Pelagonia, a province situated on the north of Macedonia. Claudius followed them thither: but as they had greatly the start of him, and continued bending their march towards the Danube, he could not come up with them until he reached Naissus, now Nissa in Servia. There he engaged them, in a battle which was long and obstinately disputed.

The

Zon.

Claudius
gains a
great vic-
tory over
them and
extirpates
them en-
tirely.

Treb.
Clud. 6, 7.
Zon.

The Romans gave way in several places : but at length a detachment of their army, going round by roads which seemed impassable, fell upon the rear and flank of their enemies. This unexpected attack decided the victory, and the Goths were forced to retreat, after leaving fifty thousand of their men killed upon the spot.

*Prob.
Claud. 8. §
Zet.*

Claudius now completed what Marcian had hindered him from executing two years before. Resolving totally to extirpate the remains of the vanquished army of his enemies, he instantly pursued them. The Goths, on their side, without being intimidated by the vast slaughter they had suffered, rallied their shattered forces; and fencing themselves, according to their custom, with their waggons and baggage, they made a brave defence from behind this kind of rampart, which, however, was at last forced, and the Romans, besides an immense booty, took a prodigious number of prisoners. Those that escaped this second disaster, formed again, and fell back towards Macedonia; upon which Claudius, in order to surround them, sent his cavalry forward, whilst he with his infantry followed them behind. The fierceness and valour of the barbarians was so great, that, even in the deplorable condition to which so many disasters had reduced them, they still put their conquerors in danger. They fell upon the Roman infantry with such fury, that they threw it into disorder, cut part of it in pieces, and would probably have defeated the rest, if the horse, wheeling round, had not forced them to retreat. They then took shelter in the passes of mount Hæmus, where famine and sickness completed their destruction.

Their fleet after scouring the seas, returned to Macedonia, laden with booty, in order to rejoin the army it had left there. But that army was then destroyed: and the troops on board the fleet, either hoping to retrieve the losses their nation had sustain-

ed,

ed, or flattering themselves that they should be able to prevent its total ruin, landed; by which they only increased their disaster. Their ships, abandoned by their defenders, perished and were sunk; and the men themselves, unable to penetrate into an enemy's country, where every thing opposed them, were forced to disband and separate; in which condition they were either killed, taken prisoners, or carried off by a contagious distemper which broke out among them. Thus, of ^{Treb.} all this numerous army of barbarians only a few ^{Claud. 19.} stragglers escaped, who, a few days after the death of Claudius, plundered Anchiala *, and made a fruitless attempt upon Nicopolis.

We know nothing more concerning this celebrated exploit of Claudius, which well deserved to be recorded by abler historians, more sensible of its importance, and more capable of relating its several circumstances and events. Claudius himself gives us a pretty just, but general idea of it, in a letter which I shall here transcribe. "Claudius
 " to Broecchus. (This Broecchus was commander
 " of Illyricum.) We have destroyed three hun-
 " dred 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 dead. Every road is stained with blood.
 " The great intrenchment, formed by a multitude
 " of waggons linked together, has been aban-
 " doned. We have taken so many women pri-
 " soners, that every soldier in our army can claim
 " two or three for his own slaves." Claudius's
 letter, which seems intended only to point out
 the extraordinary circumstances of the victory,
 speaks of none but female captives. History in-
 forms us farther, that there were kings and queens
 among

* A city of Thrace upon the Euxine Sea. Nicopolis lay farther up the country, at the foot of mount Haemus.

among the prisoners; and that the number of soldiers and subaltern officers who fell into the hands of the conquerors was so great, that after inrolling many of them among the Roman troops, there still remained enough to supply the provinces with a sufficiency of slaves for the culture of their lands: so that these Goths, from savage warriors becoming laborious husbandmen, were of service to their masters, at the same time that they perpetuated the triumph of Claudius.

This victory may therefore justly be compared to the greatest that was ever gained by any Roman general or emperor: and Claudius, most deservedly, took for it the surname of *the Gothic*, by which he is frequently distinguished in history.

Some writers have thought to enhance his glory by fabulously pretending that, like another Decius, he devoted himself to his country before he engaged the barbarians. But Trebellius's silence is a sufficient refutation of this anecdote, which, besides, does not agree with facts that are known and well attested.

Aurelian distinguished himself in the war against the Goths, in which he had an important command. He engaged the enemy several times, with considerable advantage: and the officers of the horse having attacked the barbarians rashly, without waiting for orders; Claudius thought he could not better guard against such inconveniences for the future, than by giving them, for their colonel-general, the same Aurelian, whose severity in maintaining discipline was known and feared.

Quintillus, the emperor's brother, was also employed in this war: but we know nothing farther of him, nor has history recorded any exploit of his performing.

Claudius, wholly intent upon the war against the Goths, which he justly considered as the most dangerous to the state, suffered other matters to take their

Zou.

Hist. uterque.

Aurelian and Quintillus were employed in this war. *Vopisc. Aurel. c. 17, § 18.*

It can hardly be doubted but that Claudius

their

their course until such time as he should be at liberty to attend to them also. It cannot be doubted but that, after conquering the barbarians, he would have turned his arms against Zenobia, who, as I observed before, had added Egypt to her other dominions. Nor can it be supposed that he would have abandoned that noble portion of the empire, Gaul, to Tetricus; besides whom, now rebels, called Bagaudes, desolated that country, and even dared to besiege the capital of the Eduans. The besieged had applied to Claudius, imploring his assistance: and we may imagine how grating it must have been to this magnanimous prince, not to be able immediately to comply with their just request, and to see the Eduans forced to open their gates to the enemy after a siege of seven months. Such interesting objects could not but stimulate Claudius's courage; whilst his extraordinary qualities insured him success. It is highly probable that he would have finished the great work which his successor Aurelian accomplished, of re-uniting to the empire all the members which had been separated from it, if he had lived. But death prevented him.

I said before, that a contagious distemper completed the ruin of the army of the Goths. The same infection spread to the Roman army. Claudius was seized with it, and died at Sirmium, in the third year of his reign, and the fifty-sixth of his age.

This prince has been justly praised for possessing, like Trajan, great talents and great virtues. Nothing would be wanting to crown his glory, if his merit had undergone the trial of a longer reign, and he had behaved in the peaceable possession of the empire, as well as he did in times of trouble and danger.

He was regretted by the senate, the people, and the army; and was ranked among the gods. That honour, than which nothing can be more mad and impious, was now become a mere matter of form.

But

would have subdued Zenobia and Tetricus, if he had lived. *Euseb. Pagan. Const. Flav. nomine, § Or. pro. Schol. Ins*

But he dies at Sirmium. *Preb. Claud. 12. Zon. Zon. A. R. 1021. Tillet. Praise of this prince. Honours paid to his memory.*

Preb. Claud. 3.

But the public affection for his memory was shewn by more uncommon honours, which custom had not vilified. The senate consecrated to him a bust of gold in the usual place of its assemblies. The people erected to him a statue of gold, ten feet high, in the capitol, facing the temple of Jupiter; and the tribunal for harangues was decorated with a pillar, on the top of which stood his statue in silver, weighing fifteen hundred Roman pounds.

Censorinus
an usurper.
Treb. 77.
Tyr. 23.

Notwithstanding the great and good qualities of this prince, a rival was set up against him. Censorinus, a senator of considerable rank and distinction, who had retired into the country on account of a wound which had lamed him, was proclaimed Augustus, probably in Italy, by the troops which guarded that country. Trebellius, from whom we have this account, does not tell us, what were the motives which induced the soldiery to take this step, nor in what manner it was transacted: neither does he say, whether they were instigated by Censorinus, or whether they forced him to obey their will. But however that may have been, they soon grew tired of him, and thinking him too severe, killed him at the end of seven days. He was buried near Bologna, and his epitaph, setting forth all the titles with which he had been decorated in his life, ended with these words: " * He " was happy in all things whilst a private man, " but a most unhappy emperor." His relations, struck with grief and fear after this melancholy event, retired, some into Thrace, and some into Bithynia, where his family still subsisted at the time when Trebellius wrote.

Tillot.

In the beginning of the third year of Claudius, died Plotinus, the master of Porphyry, who has written his life. He was a famous professor of the Platonic philosophy, which was then in vogue, and which, bewildering its followers in abstruse speculations,

* *Felix ad omnia, infelicissimus Imperator.*

lations, almost lost sight of that solid and essential object, the reformation of manners. Men who, under a specious title, troubled themselves so little about what is really useful, little deserve that we should trouble ourselves about them.

PRINCIPAL EVENTS

OF THE REIGN

OR

AURELIAN.

. ANTIOCHIANUS.
 ORFITUS.

A. R. 1021.
 A. C. 270.

AURELIAN, and Quintillus the brother of Claudius, are proclaimed emperors at the same time; the one, by the army of Illyricum; and the other, by the troops which he commanded in Italy, near Aquileia.

Quintillus, upon the news of Aurelian's election, is abandoned by his party, and causes his veins to be opened, after having reigned only seventeen days. He was ranked among the gods.

Aurelian goes to Rome, in order to be acknowledged there.

He returns into Pannonia, and forces the Goths, who attempted a new invasion, to sue to him for peace.

War, for the defence of Italy, against the Almanni, the Marcomanni, the Juthongi, and the Vandals. Aurelian is defeated near Placentia. Alarms and seditious in Rome. Aurelian retrieves his affairs, and gains three subsequent victories over the barbarians, in this and the following year.

A. R. 1022.
A. C. 271.

L. DOMITIUS AURELIANUS AUGUSTUS II *.
M. or NUM. CEIONIVS VIRIVS BASSVS.

The tranquillity of Italy is restored. The walls of Rome are rebuilt and fortified, and extended to the circumference of fifty miles.

Several illustrious persons put to death by Aurelian: among others Domitian, who had assumed the title of Augustus.

Death of Sapor, king of the Persians. His son Hormisdas succeeds him.

A. R. 1023.
A. C. 272.

. QUIETUS.
. VOLDUMIANUS.

Aurelian sets out to make war upon Zenobia. In his way through Illyricum, he defeats several troops of barbarians. Victory gained beyond the Danube over Cannabas, or Cannabald, king of the Goths.

Septimius an usurper for a few days in Dalmatia.

Aurelian passes into Asia. Bithynia submits voluntarily to him. The city of Tyana is betrayed to him by one of its inhabitants. Pretended apparition of Apollonius of Tyana to Aurelian.

Battle near Immæ, a town of Syria, at some distance from Antioch, in which Zenobia's general, Zabdas, is defeated.

Aurelian enters Antioch, which Zenobia had abandoned, and treats its inhabitants with clemency.

Battle of Daphne, in which Zenobia's troops are conquered.

General battle under the walls of Emesa. Zenobia, vanquished, shuts herself up in Palmyra. Valerian besieges her there.

Probus,

* M. de Tillemont reckons this consulship of Aurelian as his first; alledging, nevertheless, reasons and authorities which may make it be looked upon as his second. (*Note VII. on Valerian.*) The order of facts, particularly of those that follow, has determined us to prefer this last opinion.

Probus, who was afterwards emperor, subdues Egypt, and takes it back from Zenobia.

Hormisdas dies. Vararanes succeeds him.

. TACITUS.

A. R. 1024.

. PLACIDIANUS.

A. C. 273.

Some pretend that the Tacitus who was consul this year, is the emperor Tacitus, who succeeded Aurelian. But the emperor Tacitus was very old, and must, in all probability, have been consul before this time.

Zenobia, endeavouring to escape to the Persians, is taken and carried to Aurelian. The city of Palmyra surrenders. The conqueror treats that city with humanity.

The death of Longinus.

Aurelian, being in Thrace, where he defeated some parties of Carpians, learns that Palmyra had revolted: upon which he returns thither, treats the rebels with rigour, and gives their city up to be plundered.

He causes the sentence of the council of Antioch to be put in execution against Paul of Samosata.

He goes into Egypt, and there destroys the usurper Firmus.

He passes into Gaul, whither he was invited by Tetricus himself, who was grown weary of the perpetual mutiny and seditions of his soldiers, and of the people.

The battle of Châlons on the Marne, at the beginning of which, Tetricus and his son put themselves voluntarily into the hands of Aurelian.

Gaul submits again to the power of the Romans, after having disavowed it for thirteen years. The whole empire re-united under one head.

This flow of success swells the heart of Aurelian, and makes him forget his former modesty. He assumes the diadem.

He leads Zenobia and Tetricus in triumph; and afterwards treats them humanely.

A. R. 1025.
A. C. 274.

AURELIANUS AUGUSTUS III.
C. JULIUS CAPITOLINUS.

Aurelian's donatives to the people. He remits the old debts due to the state.

His rigour towards several members of the senate.

An amnesty granted to those who had borne arms against him.

He builds a magnificent temple to the sun, in Rome; and institutes games and combats in honour of that planet.

The managers of the mint raise a violent sedition in Rome, which increases to an open war. Aurelian, after conquering them in a battle fought within the walls of Rome, punishes the offenders rigorously.

He goes into Gaul, where some disturbances had arisen.

He is thought to have rebuilt, at this time, the city of Genabum, which afterwards bore his name, and is now called Orleans.

The founding of Dijon is also ascribed to him.

He marches into Vindelicia, from whence he drives the barbarians.

He abandons Dacia beyond the Danube, which Trajan had conquered; and transports its inhabitants to the right-hand side of that river, in a part of Mæsia, since distinguished by the name of Aurelian's Dacia. He may possibly have settled there part of the nation of the Carpians.

A. R. 1026.
A. C. 275.

AURELIANUS AUGUSTUS IV.
. MARCELLINUS.

Just as he was preparing to march against the Persians, he perished in Thrace by a conspiracy which

which Mnesthæus, one of his secretaries, had formed against him. He was ranked among the gods.

He was on the point of ordering a persecution against the Christians when he was killed.

USURPERS under AURELIAN.

ZENOBIA in the East.

TETRICUS in Gaul.

FIRMUS in EGYPT.

DOMITIAN.

SEPTIMIUS.

AURELIAN.

SECT. II.

Aurelian elected emperor in Illyricum, and Claudius's brother Quintillus in Italy. This last perishes at the end of seventeen days. Aurelian's first rise. After the death of Quintillus, he goes to Rome to be acknowledged there. He returns into Pannonia, fights the Goths, and grants them peace. He goes back to Italy, which is threatened with an invasion of the Germans. He gives audience to the ambassadors of the Juthongi. War attended with various success, and at last terminated by three subsequent victories gained by Aurelian. Negotiations with the Vandals. Aurelian returns conqueror to Rome, and puts to death several illustrious senators. He fortifies Rome, and enlarges its extent. He undertakes the war against Zenobia. History of that queen. Aurelian sets out, and, in his march, gains several advantages in Illyricum and Thrace. He passes into Asia. The city of Tyana is betrayed to him. He puts the traitor to death, and spares the inhabitants. Pretended apparition of Apollonius to Aurelian. A very improbable circumstance related concerning the taking of Tyana. Zenobia at Antioch. Battle

tle between the horse near the town of Imme. Zenobia flies from Antioch to Emesa. Aurelian treats the Antiochians with clemency. He advances towards Emesa. Battle near that city. Aurelian remains conqueror. Zenobia shuts herself up in Palmyra. Pretended miracles said to have happened at the battle of Emesa. Aurelian pursues Zenobia, and arrives before Palmyra. Importance of that famous city. Zenobia had taken care to provide it well. Aurelian's letter to Zenobia, exhorting her to surrender. Her haughty answer. Palmyra besieged; and distressed by famine. Zenobia, attempting to fly to the Persians, is taken. The Palmyrenes surrender, and are treated humanely. Aurelian grants Zenobia and her son Vaballath their lives. Her ministers and counsellors are put to death. The death of Longinus. Egypt re-conquered by Probus. Aurelian, being returned to Europe, is informed of the revolt of Palmyra. He goes back thither, and gives the city up to be plundered. He passes into Spain, and destroys Firmus, who had assumed the purple there. He returns into the East, and re-unites Gaul to the empire, Tetricus having voluntarily put himself into his power. Greatness and rapidity of Aurelian's exploits. His success made him forget his former modesty and simplicity. Aurelian's triumph. Tetricus and Zenobia appear in it as captives. In other respects they were treated humanely by the conqueror. Aurelian's largesses to the people. Loaves distributed instead of corn. Old debts due to the state, cancelled. Amnesty. Acts of justice. Aurelian has been accused of cruelty. Instances of a good government. He goes to Gaul, Orleans, Dijon. He drives the Barbarians out of Vindelicia. He abandons that part of Dacia which Trajan had conquered. He prepares to make war upon the Persians. Succession of the kings of Persia. Aurelian is assassinated

nated in Thrace, by his own people. His rigours were the cause of his untimely death, and have hurt his reputation. He is avenged, and ranked among the gods. His posterity. Variations in his conduct towards the Christians. Paul of Samosata. The ninth persecution. Writers under this reign.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of Claudius II. Aurelian was elected to the empire by the legions of Illyricum. But he had instantly a rival. Claudius's brother Quintillus commanded a body of troops near Aquileia, destined, without doubt, to hinder the barbarians, who were in arms in the neighbouring countries, from penetrating into Italy. When the news of the death of Claudius reached these troops, they thought no one worthier to succeed him than Quintillus, who was accordingly acknowledged emperor: not by hereditary right, as Trebellius expressly observes; but on account of his probity and the gentleness of his manners. Some have said, that the senate joined its suffrages to that of the soldiers.

It was not for the good of the empire that Quintillus should remain its sovereign, if it be true, as Zonaras says, with some probability, that he was a weak man, incapable of conducting great affairs. In effect, he was extremely terrified when he learned that Aurelian had been declared emperor at Sirmium. He harangued his troops, however, and exhorted them to remain faithful to him: but they, sensible of the difference of merit between the two competitors abandoned Quintillus, who, finding himself destitute of all resource, by the advice of his friends had his veins opened, after he had reigned only seventeen days*. This account of his death is more probable than that of Trebellius, who, always zealous for the glory of the house of Claudius, says that Quintillus's severity was what

* Vopiscus says twenty days; Zosimus a few months.

Aurelian elected emperor in Illyricum, and Claudius's brother Quintillus in Italy. This last perishes at the end of seventeen days. A. R. 1021. Treb. Claud. 82. Vop. Aurel. 17. & 37. Zon. Zon. Eutrop. Evn. Chron.

Tillem.

what incensed the soldiers, and that he fell by their fury, a victim to his zeal for the maintenance of discipline, like Pertinax and Galba. Aurelian, delivered from this rival, did not envy him the honour of an apotheosis. The medals of Quintillus shew that he was ranked among the gods.

Aurelian's
first rise.
Vop. Aur.
3-18.

Aurelian, who by this means remained sole and peaceable possessor of the empire, was, like many of his predecessors, a soldier of fortune, whose merit had made amends for the obscurity of his birth. He was born in one of the provinces of Illyricum, either Pannonia, Dacia, or Mœsia. We know not the name or condition of his father, any otherwise than that the epitome of Victor says of him, that he cultivated the lands which a Roman senator, called Aurelius, possessed in the country where he lived. His mother was priestess of the sun in her village: and he always retained a singular veneration for that planet, which he worshipped as his tutelary deity, and as the greatest of the gods. She also pretended to divination. But we do not find by any thing we know of her son, that he was in the least given to this last weakness.

Vop. Aur. 49.

Aurelian, quick of mind, and robust of body, shewed from his infancy a passion for war, which was so strong in him, that he never suffered a day to pass without exercising himself at shooting with the bow, throwing the javelin, or some other military operation. This taste remained all his life: for even after he was emperor, he tired several horses every day with hard riding. He entered into the army as soon as his age would permit; and was so extremely ardent and ready to draw his sword, that to distinguish him from another officer of the same name who served in the same corps, he was called * *Aurelian, sword in hand*. This personal bravery was displayed, not at the expense of his fellow citizens by fighting duels with them,

* *Aurelianus manu ad ferrum.*

them, but at that of the enemies of the state. He is said to have killed, with his own hand, forty-eight Sarmatians in one day, and nine hundred and fifty within some days after. We observed elsewhere, that he was the first Roman who fought against the Franks, and had the honour of conquering them.

His valour made the troops esteem him, and they celebrated it in their rude songs : but at the same time his severity made them fear him. We may judge with what rigour he insisted on a strict observance of military discipline, by the following letter which he wrote, when tribune, to an officer whom we may call his lieutenant-colonel. “ If, “ says he, you would advance yourself in the ar- “ my, or rather if you would live, hinder the sol- “ diers from stealing. Let not any one rob the “ peasant of his poultry ; let him not touch a “ sheep which does not belong to him ; let him “ not spoil the corn upon the ground, nor even “ take a bunch of grapes that is not his own. “ Suffer not those who are under you to extort “ oil, salt, or wood. Let them be content with “ their allowances. If they would have any thing “ more, it is by the blood of their enemies that “ they ought to acquire it, and not by the tears “ of the subjects of the empire.” Aurelian then enters into a pretty long detail concerning their armour, their dress, and the proper care of their horses and mules : after which he adds : “ Let “ them serve one another mutually, as if they were “ each others slaves.—Let them not consult “ diviners : let them respect the honour of the “ women in whose houses they lodge ; and if any “ one raises a quarrel, let him suffer the bastina- “ do.” Such were the laws which Aurelian pre- scribed ; of which he insisted on the literal obser- vance ; and which none could violate with impu- nity. Being informed that a soldier had commit- ted adultery with his landlord’s wife, he ordered the criminal to be quartered, by fastening his legs
and

and arms to four branches of trees bent down for that purpose, and afterwards let go in such manner as to tear him asunder. This punishment seems cruel, and doubtless is so. But great evils require violent remedies: and the writer of Aurelian's life observes, that his inexorable severity succeeded; and that the soldiers, finding what commander they had to deal with, took care to mend their manners and avoid those faults of which the punishment was sure and rigorous.

I observed before that the emperor Valerian feared lest his son might be hurt by Aurelian's severity. But notwithstanding that, he did ample justice to the extraordinary merit of this great warrior, and took a pleasure in employing him in the most brilliant and most difficult affairs. He charged him with the care of visiting all the Roman camps, as inspector and reformer; gave him the command of Illyricum under Ulpius Crinitus, whose infirmities rendered him incapable of acting; sent him ambassador to Persia; and lastly made him consul, when, on account of his glorious poverty, he ordered the public treasury to defray the expences which that high office then required.

This consulship of Aurelian has been mentioned elsewhere: but I cannot omit here a judicious and useful reflection which the historian of his life makes on this occasion. * We lately saw, says Vopiscus, the consul Furius Placidus spend such vast sums upon the games which he exhibited in the circus, that he seemed rather to be giving away rich estates, than distributing suitable rewards to charioteers. All good men were grieved at it: for things are now come to such a pass that

* Vidimus proxime consulatum Furiæ Placidi tanto ambitu in circo editum, ut non præmia dari aurigis, sed patrimonia viderentur.—ingemissentibus frugi hominibus. Factum est enim ut jam divitiarum sit, non hominum consulatus.—Perierunt casta illa tempora, & magis ambitione populari peritura sunt.
Vop. Aurel. 15.

that the consulship is bestowed, not upon the man, but upon his riches. Those happy times are past in which dignities were the recompence of merit; and the present will degenerate still more and more by that ostentatious pomp which is intended to catch the eyes of the multitude.

Aurelian probably took possession of the consulship on the twenty-second of May of the year of Christ 258, two years before Valerian's misfortune. No mention is made of him under Gallienus; either because that prince had removed him out of jealousy and hatred of his merit, or because he himself scorned to serve the most indolent and most despicable of men. Under Claudius, who was a friend to, and a just estimator of virtue, Aurelian began to appear again. He helped that emperor to destroy Aureolus, and, after shining greatly in the war against the Goths, was judged, as I said before, worthy to succeed him.

After the death of Quintillus, he went with all speed to Rome, there to be acknowledged: and, according to the custom of new princes, he shewed a tendency to mildness, and a readiness to listen to the counsels that should be offered him. A senator who thought to please him by commending his severity, which sometimes amounted to cruelty, told him that the way to reign securely would be to use both steel and gold: steel against those who should fail in their duty towards him, and gold to reward his faithful servants. This sycophant was justly requited for his base advice, being himself the very first that suffered by Aurelian's steel.

This prince could not stay long at Rome, but was soon obliged to return into Pannonia, which the Goths, notwithstanding the late dreadful defeat of their vast army, threatened with a new invasion. To hinder them from penetrating far, he wisely ordered the inhabitants of the country to send all their corn, cattle, and provisions, to the cities, there

After the death of Quintillus, he goes to Rome, to be acknowledged there.
Zos. Zen.

He returns into Pannonia, fights the Goths, and grants them peace.
Zos.

to

to be taken care of; that the barbarians might not only be disappointed of their expected plunder, but also be stopped in their career by want of the necessaries of life. These measures might perhaps have sufficed, if the Romans had been at liberty to wait the event. But Italy was at the same time menaced by a formidable league of the German nations, who were preparing to enter that country in an hostile manner. Aurelian was therefore obliged to hasten against the Goths, who had passed the Danube. The two armies engaged, and the battle lasted until night, without any decisive advantage on either side: but in the night, the barbarians retreated and repassed the river, from the other side of which they sent deputies to sue for peace, which was granted them.

He goes
back to I-
taly, which
is threaten-
ed with an
invasion of
the Ger-
mans.

Vop. Aurel.

18.

Zor. Dexip.

p. 8. Legat.

Italy stood in need of his presence to awe the German confederacy I have just spoken of. Four of these nations, whose names we are acquainted with, were the Alamanni, the Marcomanni, the Juthongi, and the Vandals. It is not easy to determine whether these people acted in concert, or each of them separately: and it is perhaps still more difficult to form a connected narrative out of the detached scraps which we find in different authors concerning Aurelian's exploits against them. All that can be said on this head must necessarily be intermixed with perplexity and doubt.

The first seat of the war seems to have been the country bordering upon the Danube, where Aurelian having gained some advantage over the Juthongi in particular, these people agreed to send him an embassy, to propose peace. This step of submission was accompanied with haughtiness; their ambassadors being ordered not to speak in the humble stile of a conquered nation, but to offer their friendship and alliance, on the express condition of their receiving again the pensions which the Romans had used to pay them.

Aurelian,

Aurelian, knowing their instructions, thought to awe and intimidate them by the formidable magnificence of his appearance. When they were arrived in his camp, he did not give them audience immediately, but deferred it until the next day. All the Roman troops were then drawn up under arms, and ranged as if for battle. The emperor, cloathed with purple, ascended a lofty tribunal. All the principal officers surrounded him on horseback, forming a semi-circular avenue to his throne; and behind him appeared the standards and eagles of the legions, the golden images of the prince, and tables on which were written the names of the legions in letters of gold; the whole supported by spears of silver. The ambassadors of the Juthongi were, in effect, struck with wonder and admiration at the sight of this pompous splendour. They remained for some time silent: but recovering from their first surprize, they at length spoke, and not with less haughtiness than they had been directed to use.

They said, that if they desired peace, it was not because they had met with a small check which had scarcely hurt them, but because they believed that peace and alliance between them and the Romans would be of mutual service to both nations. They boasted of their strength, which, said they, the Romans had experienced under Gallienus; and pretended that if they were forced to fight again, the same success would still accompany their arms. They warned Aurelian not to trust to fortune, nor depend too much upon a slight advantage, owing to particular circumstances, and which might be followed by a greater reverse. And lastly they declared, that in return for their alliance, which they offered to the Romans, who would be greatly benefited thereby, they expected and insisted on the renewal of their former pensions, without which they should become equally irreconcilable and invincible enemies.

Aurelian

Aurelian was fully determined not to grant the Juthongi any part of their demand, and therefore might easily have signified his resolution to them in few words. But his historian has thought proper to lend him a very long answer, containing particularly great encomiums on the prudence which directed all the operations of the Romans, widely different from the barbarians, who, always impetuous in their attacks, were always weakened by a first miscarriage. He reproached the Juthongi with having violated their treaties, and inferred from thence that it ill became them to demand as a tribute what was in fact only a voluntary gratuity, or recompence for their former services. He concluded with declaring that he was resolved to take vengeance on them for their insults, by ravaging their country with fire and sword: and as an earnest of what they were to expect, he instanced, according to this speech thus made for him, the example of the three hundred thousand Goths lately conquered and extirpated by the Romans.

War attended with various success, and at last terminated by three subsequent victories gained by Aurelian.

Pop. Aurel.
17. 21.

The embassy of the Juthongi having proved unsuccessful, war and arms were of course recurred to: and if we would endeavour to connect facts, we must be obliged to suppose that the Juthongi did in common with the Marcomanni, and perhaps the Alamanni and Vandals, what Vopiscus relates of the Marcomanni only. We shall use the word *barbarians*, which includes them all.

Aurelian, proud of the advantage I have mentioned, and of having made the Juthongi desire a renewal of their ancient treaties, formed the design, not of driving the barbarians back to their own country, but of destroying them, as Claudius had done, by cutting off their retreat. To that end he placed himself behind them, hemming them in between his army and Italy. His plan was well concerted, and must in all probability have

have been attended with success, if the barriers of Italy had been well guarded. But they were not sufficiently secured. The barbarians forced them, and penetrated on the side of Milan. Rome was immediately alarmed, and all the evils which Italy had suffered under Gallienus were again apprehended. The fears of the people even produced some seditions, which Aurelian afterwards punished with his usual rigour.

He pursued the barbarians, and came up with them near Placentia. But always more eager to attack the enemy, than careful to defend himself, he fell into a snare which they had laid for him in the woods. His army was attacked towards the evening, and entirely defeated, with such loss as it was feared would bring on the ruin of the empire.

Aurelian himself began then to be afraid. He wrote to the senate, ordering the books of the Sibyls to be consulted. This, indeed, had been thought of the moment the barbarians entered Italy: but some flatterers had opposed it, saying, that the prince's valour was such as rendered it needless to implore the assistance of the gods. Aurelian, sensible of his danger, blamed this way of thinking, in his letter to the senate; and declared that there could be no shame in conquering with the assistance of the divinity. A remedy for the present evils was therefore sought for in the oracles of the Sibyls, and all the superstitious practices which the priests of Apollo and the pontiffs pretended to find recommended there, and which resembled those of which we have seen several examples in the history of the republic, were carefully observed and executed: such, among others, were lustrations of the city and country, hymns sung by two choirs of children whose fathers and mothers were living, and sacrifices of various kinds. It is remarkable, that Aurelian, in offering whatever is necessary

for

for the celebration of these feasts, promises to send prisoners of whatever nation may be desired. A proof that the cruel and impious custom of sacrificing human victims was practised at Rome as long as idolatry prevailed in that city.

Vopiscus ascribes the return of Aurelian's good fortune to these wretched and criminal superstitions. The truth is that this prince, being a good warrior, and warned by his miscarriages to proceed with more circumspection, regained the superiority over the barbarians, who had advanced as far as Fano near the river Metaurus. There he defeated them, and forced them to return back towards the country from whence they came. He gained a second victory over them near Placentia, and a third in the plains of Ticinum, now Pavia. By this means he drove them quite out of Italy: and there is room to think that he even pursued them beyond the Alps, if we may ascribe to this time, as M. de Tillemont does with great probability, what Dexippus relates concerning the Vandals.

Dexipp.

Negotiation with the Vandals.

These people, having been conquered by the Romans in a great battle, sued for peace. To this end their kings had an interview with the emperor, who would not come to any final agreement with them until he knew the sentiments of his army; a circumstance which shews to what degree even the haughtiest and most resolute of the Roman emperors were then dependant on the soldiery. Aurelian therefore assembled his troops, and laid before them the treaty proposed by the Vandal kings. The soldiers, weary of a war in which they had experienced so many vicissitudes, declared that they chose to rest satisfied with the property they then enjoyed, without running any farther hazard: upon which the treaty was settled, and peace concluded. The Vandals engaged to return to their own country: and Aurelian undertook to furnish them with provisions until they reached the Danube. The kings
of

of the Vandals gave their own children, and those of the principal chiefs of the army as hostages for the performance of their promise; and two thousand of their cavalry inlisted among the Roman troops. Most of the Vandals retired quietly: but some of them going out of their road as they were crossing the territories of the empire, in hopes of plunder; the Roman commander who was directed to escort their march, fell upon them with his troops, and killed five hundred of them: of which their kings were so far from complaining, that they ordered the ringleader of these marauders to be shot to death with arrows. Aurelian, thus freed from the Vandals, led his army back into Italy, which the Juthongi were again preparing to invade. But their menaces were not put in execution, at least that we know of, and Italy enjoyed perfect peace during all the rest of Aurelian's reign. This important war was ended in the year of Christ 271, that is to say, in about twelve months after it began. A. R. 1022.

Aurelian returned to Rome, not with the satisfaction of a conqueror who goes to his capital to enjoy the applause due to his exploits, but with the resentment of an offended prince, who breathes revenge. I have already observed, that the unsuccessful beginning of the war occasioned some seditions at Rome; the cause of which Aurelian, in his own mind, imputed to the artful practices of ambitious men who privately aspired to the sovereignty. Whether this suspicion was grounded, is more than we can say. But among those that were put to death on this account, we find a Domitian; possibly the same who had assumed the title of Augustus, as we find by some medals; or a general of that name, mentioned in history, who defeated Macrian in the reign of Gallienus, and pretended to belong to the family of Vespasian. These, however, are only mere conjectures, entirely

Aurelian returns conqueror to Rome, and puts to death several illustrious senators. *Vop. Aur. 21. & Zoi.*

Tillem.

unnoticed by Vopiscus, who though always ready to praise Aurelian, owns that he behaved on this occasion with greater rigour than a prince more inclined to mercy need have done: and that he shed the blood of several illustrious senators upon the bare, and often groundless, accusation of a single witness, whose own character was, sometimes, very bad. The public hatred became the just reward of this cruelty. Aurelian was esteemed for his great abilities, both in the management of war, and the government of the state: but none could love him; and he at last experienced, as we shall see, what a prince ought to fear who is feared by all.

He fortifies Rome, and enlarges its extent.
Vop. & Zos.

The repeated dangers to which Rome had been exposed by the incursions of the barbarians, were a warning to Aurelian to put it in a state of defence. For five hundred years past, that is to say, since the wars of Hannibal, that city had not had cause to fear any foreign enemy. Far from trembling for her own safety, she had extended the terror of her name and arms to the extremities of the world. But in the meanwhile her fortifications had been neglected, and her walls had perished. Aurelian undertook to rebuild and fortify them according to the method then in use: and at the same time he extended * the limits of the city to the

Vop. Aurel. 59.

* Though I have elsewhere made use of this expression to render what the Romans called *pomarium proferre*, there was however a difference in this, but which is not easily understood. The *pomarium* was a certain space consecrated by the augurs within and without the walls of the city; and the extending of that space was a privilege and honour reserved to those who had extended the empire by conquest. The want of room for an increased number of citizens was a sufficient reason for enlarging the extent of the city. But Aurelian did not then extend the *pomarium*. This last was the work of a latter time: and I know not well what right he had to do it, as I cannot find that he ever added any country to the dominion of the Romans. So far from it, that he aban-

the circumference of fifty miles. Though he did not live to complete this great work, which his successor Probus finished, it nevertheless bore his name, and is marked accordingly in M. d'Anville's plan of Rome prefixed to M. Rollin's Roman History.

But these were not Aurelian's principal cares. His great object, after having secured Italy by the defeat of the barbarians, was to re-unite to the empire all the vast territories which had been dismembered from it through the negligence and indolence of Gallienus. Tetricus, who held Gaul, did not seem to be at all enterprising, and therefore the war against him might be deferred without fear or danger. Zenobia, an active princess, ardent, and ambitious, after having added Egypt to the dominions which Odenatus possessed, extended her pretensions and her arms to Bithynia. Aurelian judged it most adviseable to begin with her, and to re-conquer the countries over which she reigned in despite of the Romans. It may not be improper here to give some account of this heroine, whose humiliation and defeat was Aurelian's greatest glory.

Zenobia called herself a descendant of the kings of Egypt, and decorated her pedigree with the names of the Ptolomy's and Cleopatra's from whom she pretended to derive her origin. She had all the graces of her sex, beauty and regularity of features, fine eyes, and teeth as white as pearls: only the heat of the climate where she was born, had given her a somewhat brown complexion. With the embellishments of her sex, she likewise possessed its foibles, the love of dress, of money, and of shew. Her court resembled that of the kings of Persia, and, like them, she made her subjects worship her. Her chastity, which was such

2

that

done all Trajan's Dacia, as we shall soon have occasion to observe.

He undertakes the war against Zenobia. History of that queen, *Vop. Aur.* 22. & *Zor.*

Treb. Tr.
Tyr. 30.

that she declined even the lawful use of marriage for any other than the immediate end ordained by the Creator, deserves great praise. She had several children by her husband Odenatus, three of whom are known in history: Herennianus, Timolaus, and Vaballath*. Their mother certainly had her reasons for giving these three princes names borrowed from three different languages; the first Latin, the second Greek, and the third Syrian or Arabic.

Treb. Tr.
Tyr. 27, 28.
& Vop.
Aur. 36.

Treb. Tr.
Tyr. 30.

27.

20.

By the qualities of the heart and mind, Zenobia was raised above her sex. She had all the virtues and all the vices of an hero: ambition, intrepidity, thirst of conquest, courage in danger, perseverance in labour, extensive views, dignity and authority of command. She always spoke in high terms of Dido, Semiramis, and Cleopatra, and resembled them by her talents. Her dress was a mixture of feminine luxury and military grandeur. From the time of Odenatus's death, she wore, with the diadem, an imperial coat of mail, richly adorned with jewels. She harangued her soldiers, with a helmet on her head, and her arm naked. Accustomed, like her husband, to the fatigues of hunting, she was a stranger to all personal indulgence and affected delicacy. When she went in a carriage, the plainest and roughest was that which pleased her most: but she generally rode on horseback. Sometimes she walked, even journies of several miles. Though she was very sober, yet, as the necessity of her affairs required her being often in the company of men, she drank as they did; and even in her grand entertainments she kept pace with her generals

* M Vaillant, in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres*, Vol. II. undertakes to prove that Vaballath was not the son of Zenobia, but the grandson of Odenatus by Herod. I have followed the common opinion. In facts concerning which so few monuments remain, it is very difficult to determine with absolute certainty.

als and the Persian and Armenian lords. Skilful in the art of governing, she knew how to blend rigour and indulgence, according to the merits and exigency of the case; and notwithstanding her natural inclination to accumulate, she spared no cost when money was necessary for the execution of her designs.

This princess loved learning, and even cultivated it herself. She had with her the celebrated Longinus, who instructed her in the knowledge of the Greeks. Besides her mother-tongue, which was the Syrian, she spoke the Egyptian language perfectly, was well acquainted with the Greek, and understood the Latin, though, not being sufficiently mistress of it to speak it with ease, she never used it. But she made her sons, whom she treated on the footing of Roman emperors, always speak Latin, that being the language of the empire. She studied history, which is the school of princes; particularly that of her own country, and of the Ptolomy's, whom she reckoned among her ancestors: and that her ideas of it might be the more complete and permanent, she herself wrote an abridgment of history. She read the Roman history in the Greek authors who have written it.

Zenobia is thought to have had a great share in the brilliant exploits by which Odenatus humbled the pride of Sapor. But she is highly criminal, if it be true, as there seems to be but too much reason to suspect, that she turned against her son-in-law, and even against her husband, that intrepid boldness which did her so much honour when displayed against armed enemies. After the death of Odenatus, she took possession of the plenitude of power under the name of her sons, each of whom she decorated with the title of Augustus; and by the death of Maonius, who had hoped to reap the spoils of his prince whom he assassinated, and who enjoyed the fruit of his crime but for a very short time, she found herself sole queen and
 empress

Top. Aur.
30.

Trebell.

*See before
the Life of
Gallienus.*

*Treb.
Claud. 11.
& Zor.*

empress of the east. Gallienus's feeble efforts to disturb her, were easily defeated. Under Claudius, she did more: for she enlarged her dominions: and whilst that prince, sufficiently employed in stemming the torrent of the Goths, kept peace with her, that he might not have too many enemies upon his hands at once; she took advantage of the opportunity, and conquered Egypt.

This acquisition was not made without difficulties and battles. Zenobia had secured a party in that country, by the means of Timagenes, an Egyptian, who was in her service; and to back it, she sent thither her general Zabdas at the head of seventy thousand Palmyrenes and Syrians. The greater part of the Egyptian nation had, however, not been gained over by Timagenes. On the contrary, we find that the old hatred of the Egyptians against the Syrians revived on this occasion, and that they met Zabdas with an army of fifty thousand men. A battle was fought: the Egyptians were conquered: and Zabdas, thinking the work done, left only five thousand men in the country, and returned with the rest of his forces.

Just at this time Probus, or rather Probatas, was chasing the ships of the Goths at sea, in consequence of the orders he had received from Claudius: but learning the revolution in Egypt, he repaired immediately thither, and, re-animating the courage of the conquered nation, which suffered impatiently the yoke of the Palmyrenes, (for by that name we shall call, as the ancient authors do, all those that obeyed Zenobia) he easily delivered that country from the five thousand men which Zabdas had left there, and Egypt returned with joy to its allegiance to the Roman emperor.

This advantage was of short duration. The Palmyrenes returned to the charge, and, though defeated at first in a great battle, at last regained an entire superiority: for the conquerors having possessed

sessed themselves of a mountain near Babylon, a city * within a small distance of the Nile, in hopes of cutting off the retreat of the Palmyrenes; Timagenes, who was born in that country and knew it extremely well, found means, by private roads with which he was acquainted, to gain the summit of the hill, from whence falling suddenly upon the enemies, he entirely defeated them. Probatas was taken prisoner, and killed himself out of despair. Egypt then destitute of forces and of a chief, remained obedient to Zenobia, who reigned over it in peace.

Whilst her arms prospered in Egypt, all the nations bordering upon Palmyra were awed by her authority, and the terror of her name. The Saracens, the Arabs, and the Armenians respected her, and did not dare to stir. *Treb. Tr. Tyr. 30.*

This ambitious queen seems even to have formed the design of subjecting the whole Roman empire to her power, and, like Cleopatra, whose descendant she called herself, to have entertained thoughts of dictating her laws in the capitol. It was doubtless in this view that she endeavoured to make an alliance with Victoria, whose influence was very great in Gaul, in order to attack Rome on both sides at once, on the east and on the west. This plan miscarrying, either by the death of Victoria, or by some other accident, Zenobia still kept up her pretensions; and towards the latter end of the reign of Claudius, and in the beginning of that of Aurelian, she gained ground in Asia Minor. Cappadocia, and even Bithynia *z. 20.* had already acknowledged her sovereignty, and the passage is very short from thence to Europe.

It was time that Aurelian should stop her progress; which he made it his first care to do, as soon as he had secured the tranquillity of the west. In *Aurelian sets out, and, in his march,* the

* It was situated above the place where that river, dividing into two branches, forms the Delta. A ruined part of old Cairo still retaining the name of Babylon.

gains several advantages in Illyricum and Thrace.
Vop. Aur.
22.
Vict. Epit.

the second year of his reign, he set out from Rome to march against Zenobia, taking his rout through Illyricum, and rooting out the latent seeds of discord wherever he passed. In Dalmatia, he destroyed the usurper * Septimius, who had caused himself to be proclaimed Augustus by the soldiers under his command, and whom those very soldiers, either intimidated or bribed by Aurelian, killed within a few days. Advancing into Illyricum, he defeated several parties of barbarians, and afterwards passed the Danube to encounter Cannabas or Cannabald, king of the Goths, whom he conquered, and killed in battle, with five thousand of his men. He likewise gained some advantages in Thrace over other barbarians who ravaged that country; and in this manner he arrived at Byzantium.

He passes over into Asia. The city of Tyana is given up to him by treachery.
Vop. & Zos.
Vop.

As soon as he had crossed the Streights, Bithynia submitted without resisting. Ancyra, the metropolis of Galatia, likewise opened her gates to him. Tyana stopped him in Cappadocia; which threw him into such a passion, that he swore he would not leave a dog alive in the city; that was his expression. Accordingly he prepared to besiege it. But one of its inhabitants, whose name was Heraclammon, thinking it madness to pretend to hold out against an imperial army commanded by the prince in person, and fearing to be enveloped in the disaster of his country, chose rather to save himself, as he hoped, by betraying it. He let Aurelian into the city, and at once put him in possession of it.

He puts the traitor to death, and spares the inhabitants.

Aurelian behaved on this occasion like a great prince, doing justice, and at the same time shewing mercy. Heraclammon's treason, though useful to him, did not appear the less odious: and being sensible that he could never trust the man who had betrayed his own country, he made him suffer the just

* This Septimius may possibly be the Eptimius whom Zosimus mentions as one of the senators that Aurelian put to death.

just punishment of his crime, by ordering some of his soldiers to kill him privately. Careful, however, not to exceed the bounds of a just severity, and to avoid even the suspicion of avarice, he spared the children of a guilty father, and gave them their parent's estate, which was very considerable.

It was a great comfort to the unfortunate Tyrians to be revenged of the traitor by the hand of their conqueror: besides which, they themselves experienced the clemency of Aurelian, whom the unexpected facility of the conquest had probably soothed. Heraclammon was the only one among them that perished. No other lost either life or fortune. The Roman soldiers, remembering the expression which had escaped their emperor, desired leave to plunder the city and massacre all its inhabitants. "That," said Aurelian, "is not what I swore. Go, kill all the dogs." By this favourable construction he mercifully eluded the apparent meaning of his rash vow; and the Roman troops were so strictly disciplined under him, that they obeyed without murmuring, though disappointed in their hopes of a rich booty.

The historian of this emperor introduces here the marvellous. He ascribes Aurelian's mildness towards the people of Tyana to an apparition of the philosopher Apollonius, who, interesting himself in behalf of his country, appeared to the emperor in a dream, and speaking to him, not in Greek, though that was his mother tongue, but in Latin, to be the better understood by him to whom he spoke, repeated thrice these words: "Aurelian! If you would conquer, spare my fellow-citizens." The author of this story believed all the fables that have been related concerning Apollonius: and it cost him no great trouble to add this to so many others.

The same writer, in the detail he gives us of the manner in which the city was taken, introduces a circumstance, which, though not of the same kind

Pretended apparition of Apollonius to Aurelian.

An improbable circumstance related concerning the taking of Tyana.

as the miraculous dream of which I have been speaking, will find little more credit with judicious readers. He says, that the traitor pointed out to Aurelian a place where he could easily climb up to the top of the wall: that he accordingly did climb up in his purple coat of mail; and shewing himself from thence both to the besieged and the besiegers, filled the city with terror, and his own people with joy, and by that means became master of the place. Can any one believe that a general, and an emperor, should thus wantonly expose himself for what the lowest officer in his army could have done full as well?

Zenobia is
at Antioch.
A battle
between
the horse
near the
town of
Immae.
Zoa. &
Georg.
Synce.

Zenobia, either less quick in her motions than Aurelian, or unwilling to remove too far from the center of her dominions, waited for the enemy at the entrance of Syria, where she had assembled great forces. Antioch was her place of arms: and when she knew that the Roman emperor was marched thither, she sent against him her general Zabdas at the head of a powerful army. A great battle was fought by the horse of each side near Immae, a town of Syria, at some distance from Antioch. Aurelian feared the heavy-armed cavalry of the orientals, though they had never seemed formidable to any but the ancient Romans; and to conquer them, he had recourse to a stratagem. He ordered his horse to fly before that of the enemy, until such time as the latter should be fatigued and exhausted by the pursuit, and then to face about and charge them. This artifice, so common in war, succeeded. The Palmyrenes eagerly pursued the Romans, whose flight was only feigned: and when these last perceived that their adversaries were quite spent, overcome with heat, and scarce able to bear the weight of their arms, they turned upon them, attacked them vigorously, put them in disorder, felled them to the ground, and trampled to death under the feet of their horses even more than they killed with the sword,

Zoa.

sword. In this battle an officer called Pompeianus, Eus. Chron. and surnamed *Francus, the Frank*, distinguished himself greatly. This surname seems to indicate that he was a Frank by origin, though his name is Roman.

Zabdas, having thus lost that part of his forces in which he confided most, retreated towards Antioch: and in order to gain admittance into that city, which he doubted whether the inhabitants would otherwise grant him, he caused it to be reported upon the road, that he was conqueror, and had taken the Roman emperor prisoner. He carried with him in fact, as captive, in the middle of his troops, a man decorated with the imperial ornaments, and not unlike Aurelian in shape and age. He entered Antioch under favour of this deceit: and having informed Zenobia of what had happened, they both left the city in the night, taking with them all the Palmyrene troops, and made the best of their way to Emesa, there to prepare to sustain a new attack. Zenobia lies from Antioch to Emesa.

Aurelian, who did not expect Zabdas's retreat, marched out of his camp the day after this engagement of the horse; in order to come to a general battle. But finding that his enemies were gone, he pursued them, and arrived at Antioch, from whence the fear of his severity had driven away great part of its inhabitants. Their alarm was groundless; for Aurelian immediately declared that he looked upon what they had done, as effect of necessity, and not of any ill-will towards him or the empire: and in consequence of this, he ordered proclamation to be made in all the neighbouring cities, assuring the fugitives that they might return with perfect safety. They did so; and Antioch was soon re-peopled. Aurelian treats the Antiochians with clemency.

When Zenobia fled from Antioch, she left a body of troops upon an eminence which commanded the famous suburbs called Daphne. Her design probably was to stop Aurelian's pursuit, until she could He advances towards Emesa. Vop. Aur. 25. & Zos.

could have time to look about her, and be ready to give him a proper reception. In effect, Aurelian was obliged to fight these troops before he could dislodge them from their advantageous and important post: after which, continuing his march towards Emesa, he made himself master of Apamæa, Larissa, and Arethusa, which lay in his way, and which voluntarily opened their gates to him.

Battle near
that city.
Aurelian
remains
conqueror.
Zenobia
shuts her-
self up in
Palmyra.

Upon his arrival near Emesa, he found the Palmyrene army consisting of seventy thousand men, waiting for him under the walls of that city. We are not told the number of Aurelian's troops: but in all probability they at least equalled, if they did not surpass, those of Zenobia; and great part of them consisted of Europeans inured to war by their several frequent engagements with the barbarians of the north. Others of them were Asiatics, among whom Zosimus mentions the soldiers of Palestine, who, besides the usual armour of other troops, had great clubs and poles, of which they made admirable use in the time of action.

The two armies were not long in presence of each other before they engaged, and the victory was obstinately disputed. The Palmyrene cavalry gained a complete advantage over that of the Romans. It was more numerous: and the Romans having made a movement in order to extend their front, to prevent being surrounded, the enemy's horse, which attacked them at that very instant, easily broke their disordered ranks, and put them to flight. But at the same time, they made the rest of their army lose the fruit of this happy beginning, by amusing themselves with pursuing the fugitives. The Roman infantry, whose strength was invincible, seeing that of the orientals deprived of the assistance of its horse, advanced against it, and put it in disorder. Then it was that the troops of Palestine did excellent service, by knocking down with their heavy clubs, men covered with iron, whom
swords

swords and darts could not easily pierce. The cavalry of the Romans, reanimated by the courage and success of their infantry, rallied and formed anew, and Aurelian gained a decisive victory. The Palmyrenes left the field of battle strewed with their dead: and such of them as escaped took shelter in Emesa. Zenobia having collected together the shattered remains of her army, held a council to consult what was best to be done. She could not depend upon the affection of the people of Emesa, who were all Romans in their hearts and inclinations; and a speedy remedy was requisite to guard against farther danger from Aurelian, who was not of a temper to leave his victory imperfect. She therefore determined to remove farther, and shut herself up in Palmyra, her capital, a strong city, well provided, and able to bear a long siege, during which she hoped to find fresh resources, and to retrieve her fortune by dint of perseverance.

The battle of Emesa is so great an event, that the account of it could not fail to be established with somewhat of the marvellous. Vopiscus relates, that in the beginning of the action, whilst the cavalry gave way and quitted the fight, a divinity, of august form, far above the condition of mortals, was seen to exhort the infantry to advance and attack the enemy. The same writer adds, that Aurelian, after the victory, entering Emesa, where he was received with joy, and thinking it incumbent on him to repair directly to the temple of the god Elagabal, to pay to him the duties of religion, immediately knew again, in the form under which that god was worshipped, the divine object which had been so serviceable to him in the battle. It is not an easy matter to conceive the possibility of this resemblance: for the divine object, as it is called, which exhorted the Roman soldiers to fight, doubtless appeared in a human shape; and the god Elagabal was a stone

Pretended miracle with which the account of the battle of Emesa has been embellished.

of

of conic form. But Vopiscus does not mind such trifling distinctions. He says that Aurelian, struck with this wonderful resemblance, instantly found that he owed his victory to the protection of this god, and that in consequence thereof he adorned the temple of Emesa with rich offerings, and afterwards built a magnificent temple to the sun, which was the same as Elagabal, in Rome. It is true that Aurelian signalized his superstitious piety towards the sun in every shape. But, as we observed before, he had imbibed in his infancy a veneration for that planet, of which his mother was priestess: and a speech of his, made in the time of Valerian, shews us how faithfully he had preserved those first impressions by which he had been taught to look upon the sun * as the sure and visible god.

Vop. Aur.
14.

Aurelian
pursues her
and arrives
before Pal-
myra.
Vop. 26.

Aurelian immediately pursued Zenobia. In his march from Emesa to Palmyra, he was harassed by the Arabs, who, robbers by profession, accustomed to live by plunder, and quick as lightning in their attacks and retreats, followed then the very same trade as they do now. Such enemies, though very troublesome, were not able to obstruct Aurelian's progress. He arrived before Palmyra, and prepared to besiege it, in order to end the war by the reduction of that place.

Great im-
portance of
that fa-
mous city.
Tillem.

The city of Palmyra, very famous in antiquity, and of which some magnificent ruins still remain, was founded by Solomon, according to the testimony of Josephus, who assures us that the city called Thadmor in the original text of the Scriptures, is the same with Palmyra. Its situation rendered it strong and important, being in the middle of a fertile track of land, well watered with excellent springs, and entirely surrounded by arid and uncultivated deserts: so that, to use Pliny's expression †, it was in a manner separated by nature from

* Dii facian, & Deus certus Sol, &c.

† Velut terris exempta à rerum natura. *Plin. V. 25.*

from the rest of the world. Thus placed between two great empires, that of the Parthians, and afterwards of the Persians on the east, and that of the Romans on the west, it preserved itself, merely through the excellence of its situation, independant of both; was always courted by them when they quarrelled or went to war, and had never been reduced by either. Under Odenatus and Zenobia it rose to its highest pitch of grandeur, and became the capital of a vast empire.

Zenobia took care not only to make it a rich city, but to provide it well with all necessaries for war. This is attested by Aurelian, in a letter which he wrote whilst he was besieging it. "One would hardly believe, says that prince, what quantities of arrows, darts, and stones for annoying an enemy, there are in Palmyra. Every part of its walls is defended with three or four engines for hurling those stones, whilst others throw out fire: in short, no kind of military stores is wanting in the place, than which none ever was better prepared to make a long and vigorous resistance."

Zenobia had taken care to provide it well. Vop.

Aurelian, foreseeing how difficult it would be to take Palmyra by force, resolved to try the gentler means of negociation. He probably flattered himself that his presence in the country, backed by a victorious army, might have damped Zenobia's courage, and disposed her to prefer the assurance of a mild and favourable treatment to the hazards of war. Upon this supposition, he sent her a letter couched in the following terms: "Aurelian, emperor, and restorer of the Roman power in the east, to Zenobia and all that are engaged in her cause. You ought to have taken of your own accord the step which I now order by this letter. I command you to surrender yourselves to me, upon my promising, as I am graciously pleased to do, that I will permit you to live. You, Zenobia, in particular, shall spend

Aurelian's letter to Zenobia, to induce her to surrender.

“ spend your life quietly in the place where I will
 “ settle you with the advice of the senate. You
 “ shall deliver up to the Roman people all your
 “ jewels, gold, silver, silk, horses, and camels.
 “ I will continue the Palmyrenes in all the rights
 “ they have hitherto enjoyed.”

Zenobia's
 resolute
 answer.

This letter had not the effect which Aurelian expected. Zenobia was too resolute to think of a voluntary degradation: and accordingly she replied in a stile as haughty as that in which she was addressed.

The following was her answer: “ Zenobia, queen
 “ of the east, to Aurelian Augustus. Never did
 “ any one demand by letter, what you require. It
 “ is by the strength of arms that wars are ended.
 “ You would have me surrender, as if you did not
 “ know that Cleopatra, formerly, preferred death
 “ to servitude, even though attended with the
 “ greatest mitigations. We expect immediate
 “ assistance from the Persians: the Saracens and
 “ the Armenians are for us. A few Arabian rob-
 “ bers have defeated your army, Aurelian. What
 “ then will be the case when the forces of our
 “ allies shall have joined us? You will surely
 “ then lay aside that haughtiness with which you
 “ command me to submit, as if you was already
 “ conqueror.”

The siege
 of Palmyra.
 Pop. 28. of
 Lar.

Zenobia's answer leaving no hopes of a voluntary submission; Aurelian, determined to force her, formed the siege of Palmyra, in the course of which he behaved like a brave and experienced commander. He took great care to have his army well supplied with all necessaries; and as he was encamped in a barren country, he ordered all the people round about it, that were under his obedience, to bring him daily plenty of provisions. He defeated the Persians who were coming to the assistance of the besieged; and, partly by persuasion, partly by force, made the Saracens and Armenians change sides and join him. He fought in person in several engage-
 ments,

ments, and in one of them was wounded by an arrow.

The Palmyrenes defended themselves at first with such advantage, that they even insulted their besiegers, ironically advising them not to attempt impossibilities. One of them attacking the emperor with abusive words, was justly punished for his daring insolence: for whilst he was indulging himself in impertinent bravadoes, a Persian archer, who was near Aurelian, said to him: "If you approve of it, my lord, I will chastize that fellow for his impudence." Which Aurelian having agreed to, the Persian placed some of his comrades before him whilst he bent his bow, and then let fly an arrow which instantly brought down the Palmyrene, who fell from the walls, dead, in the midst of the Romans.

The siege lasted a great while, and nothing but the want of provisions could at last get the better of Zenobia's resistance: though even then she disdained to submit to the conqueror. To avoid this, she resolved to fly to the territories of the Persians, to solicit their assistance: and accordingly she mounted one of her swiftest camels, and reached the Euphrates, which was only a day's journey from Palmyra. But Aurelian, being immediately informed of her flight, sent after her a detachment of his horse, which overtook her just as she had stepped into a boat to cross the river. The Romans seized her, and carried her to the emperor, who, upon her being presented to him, asked her with an angry voice, how she had dared to insult the Roman emperors. Her answer was flattering, but neither mean nor timid. "I acknowledge you for emperor, said she to him; you who know how to conquer: but Gallienus, and others like him, never seemed to me worthy of that name."

According to Zosimus, the Palmyrenes did not all agree to surrender their city to Aurelian even

The city is distressed for want of provisions. Zenobia, attempting to fly to the Persians, is taken.

Trab. Tr. Tyr. 30.

The Palmyrenes surrender, and are treated humanely.

after he had taken Zenobia. But it is more probable that she, at the time of her leaving them; had exhorted them to hold out until she should return with assistance from the Persians; and that having lost all hopes by her being made prisoner, they embraced the only remaining remedy, and implored the mercy of the conqueror. Aurelian, moved by their prayers, granted them life and liberty, and contented himself with stripping them of their riches.

Aurelian grants Zenobia and her son Vaballath their lives. *Vop. Aur. 30, & Zos.*

Treb. Ty. Tyr. 20.

Vop. & Zos. Tillem.

Thus master of Palmyra, and thinking his authority sufficiently established in it, Aurelian returned to Emesa, and there ordered Zenobia and her adherents to be tried by a court, at which he himself presided. The Roman soldiers demanded her death: and if we believe Zosimus, she purchased her life by meanly laying all the blame of the war upon her counsellors and ministers. For my part, I rather prefer Vopiscus's account according to which this princess owed her life to the generosity of Aurelian, who thought it would be an inglorious action to put to death a woman who was become his captive. He likewise judged that the Roman empire was under an obligation to Zenobia, whose courage and good conduct had preserved the provinces of the east from being attacked by the Persians. And lastly, his vanity was flattered with the thought of having his triumph graced by the presence of so illustrious a prisoner: for he valued himself much upon his victory, and was highly offended at some who said that the conquering of a woman was no great exploit. Such a woman as Zenobia justly seemed to him preferable to many men. He therefore spared the life of this princess, and extended the same mercy to her third son Vaballath. As to the two others, Herennianus and Timolaüs, authors differ greatly concerning them. Some, contrary to all probability, say they were put to death by Aurelian; and others, that they died a natural

ral

ral death; whilst others again pretended that they were led in triumph with their mother. All we know of them with any certainty, is that they had reigned with their mother, and that Timolaüs was a great proficient for his age in the Latin eloquence. In other respects they are but little known, and Vaballath is the only one of Zenobia's sons of whom antiquity makes any mention after Aurelian's triumph.

The principal persons of Zenobia's court, and particularly those to whom the first undertaking of the war was imputed, or who had assisted in carrying it on, were not treated with the same indulgence as their queen. Aurelian ordered them either to be put to death directly, or to be kept until he crossed the Thracian Bosphorus, and then to be drowned in the sea.

Her ministers and counsellors are put to death.
Vop. & Zoz.

Among those who perished at Emesa, was the celebrated Longinus, whose death reflects shame on him that ordered it. He excelled in rhetoric and philosophy, and we still have in his well known treatise of the sublime, an indisputable proof of his superior merit. His crime was that he had drawn up the letter which Zenobia sent in answer to Aurelian's command to her to surrender. Can Longinus be deemed guilty for having entered into the spirit of the queen whose secretary he was? He suffered death with great fortitude, even endeavouring himself to comfort those whom his melancholy fate filled with pity and indignation.

The death of Longinus.

Whilst Aurelian made war upon Zenobia in the east, his lieutenant Probus reconquered Egypt from her. This general, who afterwards became empero., had triumphed over all the efforts of the Palmyrenes, who had fought bravely to defend their conquest, but had not been able to resist the superior force and merit of their enemy. Aurelian, having thus re-united to the Roman empire

Egypt reconquered by Probus.
Vop. Probus.

Aurelian, having reached Europe, learns the revolt of Palmyra. *Vop. Aur. 30, 31. & Zos.*

all that Zenobia had dismembered from it, set out on his return to Europe.

He had crossed the Bosphorus, and even defeated some parties of Carpians who were over-running Thrace, when he learned that the Palmyrenes had revolted. One Apsæus, who had been attached to Zenobia, and had escaped Aurelian's inquiries and revenge, returning to Palmyra, exhorted its inhabitants to shake off their yoke, and was listened to. They sounded Marcellinus, who commanded in Mesopotamia, and endeavoured to prevail upon him to assume the purple. But he, faithful to his prince, put them off from time to time, whilst he informed Aurelian of what was passing; until at last, growing weary of his delays, they massacred the Roman garrison that was in their city, with its commander Sandarion, and proclaimed emperor a relation of Zenobia, who is called Achilleus by Vopiscus, and Antiochus by Zosimus.

He returns thither, and gives the city up to be plundered.

Aurelian, always ready, turned back immediately upon the receipt of this news, and arrived at Antioch before the Palmyrenes heard of his having left Europe. Astonished at this amazing dispatch, they opened their gates to him without attempting to resist. But this forced submission did not save them from the rigorous chastisement which Aurelian thought justly due to their rebellion. The city was delivered up to the fury of the soldiers, who plundered and sacked it, and shed torrents of blood, without respecting either sex or age. This dreadful execution lasted several days: at the end of which Aurelian, at last satisfied, ordered his troops to cease their rage against the deplorable remains of a late most flourishing people. The usurper of the purple seemed to him too mean an object to be deprived of life: nor would he * destroy the buildings of the city for

* Vopiscus and Zosimus say that Aurelian destroyed Palmyra. But Aurelian's own letter, quoted by Vopiscus himself,

for the fault of their wretched inhabitants: so far from it, that he ordered the temple of the sun, which the greedy soldiers had robbed of its ornaments and riches, to be restored to its former magnificence and splendour. Palmyra then was not destroyed: but it suffered greatly, and did not recover from this severe disaster until a long time after. It remained in a state of ruin and desolation, until Justinian repaired and fortified it anew, to make it a barrier against the incursions of the Saracens.

*Procop. de
Edif. l. 11.*

Aurelian, after having punished Palmyra, had Egypt again to reduce, which had revolted at the same time. The author of this rebellion was Firmus, an old friend and ally of Zenobia, who, seeing the power of that queen destroyed, had taken advantage of the conqueror's absence, and of the fickleness of the Alexandrians, ever fond of novelty, to get himself proclaimed Augustus. His riches facilitated the success of his enterprize. Great part of the paper * manufactures of Egypt belonged to him, and he traded by sea to India, and received from each of these branches a vast income. His allies

*He goes
into E-
gypt, and
destroys
Firmus,
who had
assumed
the purple
there.*

*Vop. Aur.
32. § Prim.
Zoi.*

mentions particularly that the city subsisted after the massacre of its inhabitants.

* According to Vopiscus, he used to say, that he could feed an army with his paper and paste: by which M. de Tillemont understands the profit which those two commodities brought him in. Casaubon and Salmasius, in their notes upon Vopiscus, thinking it incredible that he should have such immense riches, put another construction upon these words of Firmus. As both the juices of the plant *papyrus*, and paste made of flour, might afford a sort of nourishment, they suppose that Firmus meant, that he could gather as much of the *papyrus*, and make as much paste, as would subsist an army that should feed upon them in kind. But the juice of the *papyrus*, and Firmus's paste, would have been poor food indeed. The reader will perceive by this why I have not mentioned Firmus's saying in my text, but have inserted it here, that he may not be deprived of it.

allies were the Blemmyes * and the Saracens, both warlike nations, and he himself was a man of parts and resolution, capable of conducting great affairs. Aurelian went from Mesopotamia to Egypt, to fight him. The war was not long, nor the event doubtful. Aurelian himself speaking of it in an edict addressed to the Roman people, says: "We have put to flight the Egyptian robber, Firmus: we have besieged him, taken him, and made him expire on the rack."

The last words of the fragment of this edict, which Vopiscus has preserved, are remarkable, and shew that the Romans were now absolutely no better than an idle and voluptuous people. So greatly had they degenerated from their pristine glory! After acquainting them that the supplies of corn from Egypt, which Firmus had suppressed, would be sent regularly for the future, Aurelian adds; "I will take care † that Rome shall not be disturbed by any uneasiness. Follow your diversions, your games, and your races in circus. The care of the public is our business: let pleasure be yours."

A. R. 1024. Firmus cannot have reigned longer than a few months. Both his ambitious elevation and his fall happened within the course of the year of Christ 273, which is also that in which Zenobia was taken prisoner, and Palmyra was sacked. Surprising things are told of the strength of body of this usurper, and of the capacity of his stomach for eating and drinking. Such as are curious of those details, may find them in Vopiscus.

To Aurelian's war against Firmus, or to that of Probus a little before in Egypt, may be referred

* A people bordering upon the south frontier of Egypt.

† Ego efficiam ne sit aliqua, sollicitudo Romana. Vacate ludis, vacate circensibus. Nos publicæ necessitates teneant, vos occupent voluptates. *Vop. Firm. 5.*

red the destruction of Bruchium, a great quarter of Alexandria, which, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, was ruined under Aurelian, and remained deserted ever after. *Amm. lib. XXII.*

Aurelian, conqueror of Palmyra and of Egypt, returned into the West, to complete, by the reduction of Gaul, the re-union of all the parts which had been dismembered from the empire. He succeeded easily in this expedition, being assisted by the very person against whom he made the war. He returns into the West, and re-unites Gaul to the empire, Tetricus having voluntarily surrendered himself up to him. *Pop. Aur. 32, & Trel. Tr. Tyr. 24, & 25. Eutrop. Aurel. Fict. Zoo. Zen.*

Tetricus had reigned six years over Gaul, Spain, and Britain; or rather he bore the title of emperor in those provinces, without having much power. Continually exposed to the murmurs and seditions of troops mutinous of themselves, and rendered still more so by one Faustinus, of whom we know nothing farther, he was grown so weary of the violent agitations in which he passed his life, and of the dangers which surrounded him incessantly, that he longed to return to his first private station, but could not obtain even that satisfaction. His name was necessary to the rebels, to cover their pretensions. Thus tyrannized by those who called themselves his subjects, he implored Aurelian's assistance, using in his letter to him on that occasion this half line of Virgil, *Eripe me his Invictis, malis*: "Invincible prince, deliver me from these evils." Aurelian did not want any great invitation to go to Gaul, than which nothing could please him more. Tetricus made a shew of intending to fight, and the two armies met near Chalon on the Marne: but as soon as the battle began, Tetricus and son went over to Aurelian, and put themselves in his power. The rebels, though abandoned by their leader, persisted in their obstinancy, and fought; but with vast disadvantage: for having no regular or fixed command among them, they were soon thrown into disorder, and cut in pieces or dispersed, so that Aurelian remained

mained completely victorious. The fate of this battle determined the war. All the countries under Tetricus submitted to Aurelian: and after a kind of schism of thirteen years, that is to say, from the usurpation of Posthumus, Gaul, Spain, and Britain again acknowledged the laws of Rome.

*Aurel. Vict.
Vap. Proc.*

Gaul, thus recovered by Aurelian, was also protected by him against the Germans or Franks, whom he drove beyond the Rhine. The inhabitants of Lyons were most severely punished by him; but we know not for what reason.

*Greatness
and rapidity
of Aurelian's
exploits.*

Aurelian had made the most of every moment of his reign: nor would it be easy to name any prince that ever did such great things in so short a time. In the year of his accession to the throne, which was the 270th of Christ, and the following, he made war upon the barbarians of the North, and drove the Alamanni and their allies out of Italy. In 272, he marched into the East, gained three victories over Zenobia, and besieged her in Palmyra. The year 273, is so full of exploits, that one can hardly conceive how Aurelian could possibly perform them all within that space. Zenobia stopped in her flight, and brought back prisoner; Palmyra taken; the Carpians beaten in Thrace; a second revolt of Palmyra severely punished; Egypt re-conquered from Firmus; and Gaul re-united to the empire by the * battle of Châlons and the surrender of Tetricus: all this Aurelian did in one year. But this vast success unfortunately swelled his heart with pride; the too usual attendant on great prosperity.

*His success
made him
forget his
first modesty
and simplicity.*

In the beginning of his reign his deportment was remarkably modest; such as shewed that he did not forget either the obscurity of his origin, or the mediocrity of his first fortune. He did not
make

* Some place the battle of Châlons under the year 247. We follow the authority of M. de Tillemont.

make his grandeur consist in the magnificence of ^{*Top. Aur.*} his equipages; nor did he, when emperor, dress ^{45, 46, 49,} his slaves otherwise than before his elevation. His ^{50.} wife and daughter managed his domestic affairs with all the regularity of a private family. He never wore any garment made of silk; and when the empress desired one day to have a robe of that sort, he refused it her, saying: "May * the gods forbid that I should ever purchase a dress which would cost its weight in gold." For such was then the enormous price of silk. No delicacies spread their table: but it was plain and decent. The simplicity which he observed with respect to himself and his family, extended to his conduct towards others, and even to his regulations for the public. He gave to his friends, but with moderation: his intention being to set them above want, but not to expose them to envy by loading them with riches. He forbid all superfluous ornaments in the dress of men, but allowed them to the weaker sex. As eunuchs were much in fashion in great families, and for that reason very dear, he fixed the number which each might have according to its rank and dignity: and he once had thoughts of forbidding gold to be used for lace or gilding, by which so much of that valuable metal is lost to society.

His great successes altered this plain and just ^{28, 29, 30,} way of thinking. After he had conquered Zenobia ^{46.} and all the nations that went to her assistance, Persians, Armenians, Saracens, his head grew giddily, and he shewed, says his historian, more pride and arrogance. He imitated the pomp and luxury of the orientals whom he had vanquished, grew fond of magnificence in dress, and wore cloth of gold enriched with jewels. He received, as a great present, a robe of Indian purple, which was sent ^{*Vict. Ept. 1*} ^{*Top.*} ^{*Vict. Ept.*} ^{*Tillem.*} ^{*Aur. art.*} ^{14,} him

* *Abest ut auro illa pensenter. Top. 45.*

him by the king of Persia, and which surpassed in splendour all that were made in the west. It was probably then that he assumed the diadem, unknown before to any of the Roman emperors, if we except Caligula and Heliogabalus; the former of whom was dissuaded from wearing it by being told that he was much above the rank of kings, and the other never dared to put it on but in his own palace: whereas Aurelian appeared in public with the diadem, and was represented with it upon his coins. I cannot think he wore the Tiara, though Vopiscus seems to say he did. But it is very probable that it was this prince who first introduced into the Roman armies the custom of having figures of dragons for their standards. Such were used among the Persians; and Aurelian might like them, not only as having a more terrifying aspect, but also as being more glaring and pompous than those of the Roman soldiery. They are often mentioned in later times.

28.
Eapr. de
Mitt. Rom.
IV. 3.

Aurelian having abated of his first severity in regard to himself, likewise favoured the increase of luxury among his subjects. He permitted both the senators and their wives, and even the soldiers, to wear and use ornaments which had been prohibited before. But the detail of such matters does not belong to my subject.

This prince was naturally haughty: and it is not to be wondered at if his victories made him more so. After his return to Europe, having defeated some of the Carpians in Thrace, the senate decreed him the surname of *Carpicus*. But he rejected with scorn a title borrowed from so insignificant a nation, whilst he bore the much more famous ones of *Gothicus*, *Sarmaticus*, *Parthicus**, *Palmyrenicus*, *Armenicus*,

* One would think that Aurelian should rather have been called *Persicus*, as the Parthians had long been stripped of their empire, which had passed into the hands of the Persians. But

cus, and *Adiabenicus*; and even laughed at the senate, in one of his letters to them, for thinking to honour him by the addition of so trifling a name. The truth is, and it appears by his medals, that he wanted to be called *Lord and God*: a sacrilegious usurpation, of which Domitian alone, among all his predecessors, had set him the example. This was indisputably the height of arrogance as well as of impiety. But the Pagans were accustomed to treat their gods so familiarly, that it may perhaps seem still more surprising that Aurelian should so far despise and trample upon the rules of human decency, as to lead in triumph Tetricus, a Roman, a senator, a consular, whom all these titles ought to have exempted from such ignominy, and who, besides, had not been reduced by force of arms, but had submitted voluntarily to him, as to a friend and deliverer.

Aurelian was justly intitled to a triumph, and all the magnificence which he displayed in it might have been proper enough, had he not been guilty of the injustice and insolent cruelty I have just mentioned towards Tetricus. The following is the description which Vopiscus gives us of this triumph.

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 had been 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 foreseeing that it would be her fate to follow that very chariot, as a captive. Vopiscus mentions a fourth chariot, less magnificent, without doubt, than

we shall have occasion to observe that the Romans were not yet well accustomed to distinguish between those two nations, and that they frequently named them one for the other.

than any of the former, but not less singular. This was the chariot of the king of the Goths, drawn by four stags. Aurelian, who had taken it in battle, made his triumphant entry in it, according to the authors quoted by this historian, and upon his arrival at the capitol sacrificed the four stags, in consequence of a vow he had made to that effect. According to Zonoras, Aurelian's chariot was drawn by four elephants.

A great number of wild beasts brought from distant countries, such as elephants, lions, leopards, tygers, elks, and camels, formed part of this pompous shew; after which marched eight hundred couple of gladiators, destined, probably, to fight at the games that were to be given afterwards. As to the beasts, the historian observes that Aurelian made presents of them, after his triumph, to several private persons, that the public might not be put to the expence of keeping them.

A vast train of foreigners, of all the nations of the world, preceded the triumpher's chariot, divided, so far as we can guess at the meaning of an author who expresses himself very badly, into two classes, the one consisting of ambassadors, the other of captives. Before the ambassadors, who came from the Blemmyes, the Auxumites *, the inhabitants of Arabia Felix, the Indians, the Bactrians, the Saracens, and the Persians, were carried the presents which their masters offered to the emperor. The prisoners, Goths, Alans, Roxolans, Sarmatians, Franks, Suevi, Vandals, Germans, marched sorrowfully, with their hands tied behind them. Among this last division were also some of the principal people of Palmyra, whose lives Aurelian had spared; and numbers of Egyptian rebels. Ten women, who had been taken fighting among the Goths in the dress of men, likewise made their appearance, under the

name

* Auxuma was a considerable city of Ethiopia.

name of Amazons: and that all these various nations might be the more easily distinguished, their several names, written in large letters, and fixed to the top of pikes, were carried before them.

The march of the prisoners was closed by Tetricus and Zenobia, both magnificently adorned. Tetricus had on the imperial robe of purple, over a rich Gaulish dress. He was accompanied by his son, to whom he had communicated the title of emperor, in Gaul. Zenobia was so loaded with diamonds, jewels, and ornaments of all sorts, that she could scarcely bear their weight; but was often obliged to stop. The chains of gold round her ancles, wrists, and neck, were supported by some of her guards. Her children, both sons and daughters, walked on each side of her.

Tetricus and Zenobia appear in it as captives.
Pop. Tr. Tr. 21, 23, 30. Aurel. Vict. Eutrop.

After these were carried the crowns of gold which the cities and nations of the empire had sent to the triumpher, according to custom: and,

Lastly, Aurelian himself appeared, in his chariot, followed by his troops dressed in splendid attire, and by all the orders and companies of the city of Rome with their respective ornaments and banners. Among these the senate held the first rank, fuller of admiration for the conqueror's victories, than of esteem for his person. The senators knew that Aurelian did not love them; and his treatment of Tetricus, who was one of their members, seemed to them a reflection upon their whole body.

So numerous a procession could not but move very slowly. It was the ninth hour of the day (three o'clock in the afternoon) when Aurelian arrived at the capitol, and he did not get back to his palace until pretty late at night.

Aurelian having satisfied his vanity by leading Tetricus and Zenobia in triumph, treated them in other respects humanely and generously. He assigned Zenobia a pleasant and convenient retreat in the territory of Tibur, not far from Adrian's villa, where

In other respects they were treated humanely by the conqueror.
Georg. Sym. Zon.

where she spent the rest of her days living like a Roman lady. Some writers say that he married her to a senator; and that from this marriage issued the Roman posterity of Zenobia, which subsisted with honour at the time when Eutropius wrote. But that posterity may, with equal probability, be supposed to have proceeded from her daughters, whom Aurelian married, according to Zonaras, to illustrious citizens of Rome.

Tillem.
Aur. art. 5.

To conclude what I have to say of this princess, I shall add here, after M. de Tillemont, that St Athanasius took her to be a Jewess, meaning, without doubt, in respect of her religion; and that, according to Theodoret, it was to please her that Paul of Samosata, whom she patronised, professed opinions very like those of the Jews concerning the person of Jesus Christ, saying that he was only a mere man, who had nothing in his nature superior to other men, nor was distinguished from them any otherwise than by a more abundant participation of the divine grace.

Vop. Aur.
38.
Tillem.
Aur. art.
12.

I have already observed that Herennianus and Timolaüs, the two eldest of Zenobia's sons make but little figure in history, and seem to have died when very young. The case is not quite the same with regard to Vaballath, whose name we find on medals, joined to that of Aurelian Augustus: from whence it may reasonably be conjectured, that Aurelian, after leading him in triumph, gave him some small territory, which he enjoyed under that emperor's protection.

Vop. 39.
Fieb. Ty.
Thy. 24, §
25.
Aurel. Vict.
Vict. Epict.

As to Tetricus, Aurelian not only restored him to the senatorial dignity, but appointed him Visitor* and reformer of Lucania, and of great part of Italy: and upon giving him this post, he said to him

* So I render the title of *corrector*, which denotes a magistrate introduced under the emperors for the particular government of certain parts of Italy, with a rank inferior to the proconsuls, and superior to those that were called *praesides*.

him pleasantly enough, that it was better to govern a canton of Italy, than to reign in Gaul. At the same time he treated him with great distinction, calling him his colleague, and giving him sometimes even the name of emperor. Tetricus the son likewise enjoyed all the honours he could lawfully desire. He lived with his father in a magnificent house in Rome in which they caused their story to be painted in Mosaic. Aurelian was represented giving them the robe *Prætexta*, which was then the dress of the senators; and receiving from them the scepter, the crown, and the other ornaments of the imperial dignity. We are told, that when the work was finished, they invited Aurelian to dine with them, and see this painting. Both of them were wise enough to forget entirely the high rank from which they had fallen: and the consequence of their modest behaviour was that they lived quietly, free from danger, and greatly respected by Aurelian and his successors. Scaliger, upon the strength of some of their medals, on which is found the word *CONSECRATIO*, asserts that divine honours were decreed them after their death. But it is scarcely probable that an apotheosis should be granted to men who died in a private station, and were no way related to the reigning family: and I believe the thing is without example, at least on the part of the Roman senate. It is not impossible but that some of the Gauls, over whom the Tetricus's had reigned, might take that method to express their gratitude and respect to their memory.

The public rejoicings, races in the circus, theatrical entertainments, combats of gladiators, hunting of wild beasts, and representations of sea-fights, were continued for several days after Aurelian's triumph. Not that this prince was himself fond of any of those diversions: for he seldom was present at them. Pantomimes were what pleased him most; and he was delighted to see a professed glutton de-

your

*Scal. An-
noto. in
Eut. Chron.*

v. p. 33.

v. p. 50.

your incredible quantities of victuals, such as eating at one meal a whole boar, a lamb, a sucking pig, and drink a barrel of wine poured down his throat through a funnel. We may judge by this specimen, that Aurelian's pleasures were not over delicate; though he suited himself to the taste of the people in the public diversions which he gave.

Eur. Chron. About this time he instituted to perpetuity solemn games and combats in honour of the sun.

Aurelian's largesses to the people. Bread distributed instead of corn. Pop. 35, 45, 47, 48.

The festivals for his triumph were accompanied with largesses, particularly of bread ready baked instead of raw corn that used to be given before. What occasioned this change, was as follows. Aurelian, who probably then thought of introducing it, in order to please the people by saving them the expence and trouble of making their bread, promised, when he set out for the war in the East, that if he returned conqueror he would distribute to the citizens crowns of two pounds weight. The people, always greedy, imagined they should receive crowns of gold. But all the riches of the state would not have been sufficient for such a largess. On his return, he explained his meaning, and let the citizens know that he would give them daily two pound loaves, made of fine flower, in the shape of crowns. This weight answered to the quantity of corn which had used to be distributed: and Aurelian soon after added to it another ounce, to defray which, Egypt was subjected to a new tax upon glass, flax, paper, and other products of that country. Highly pleased with himself for this augmentation, as appears by one of his letters which we have, he looked upon it as an acquisition of great glory to his reign, and had the strict observance of it extremely at heart: "for", said he, nothing is more loving than the "Roman people, when they are well fed."

Aurelian

* Neque enim populo Romano saturo quidquam potest est letius. *Pop. 47.*

Aurelian, likewise established a distribution of pork, and thought of adding to it a largess of wine. His design was to buy of such persons as should be disposed to sell them, some of the uncultivated lands of Etruria, to plant them with vines, which were to be cultivated by prisoners of war of the barbarous nations he had conquered, and to devote their produce to the use of the Roman citizens. However, he did not execute this design; being either prevented by death, or dissuaded from it by his pretorian prefect, who represented to him, that if he gave the people wine, the next step must be to give them fowls.

This observation is very just: and every one, I believe, must be sensible that these extraordinary largesses, introduced by the Roman emperors in order to gain the love of the people, could not but encourage idleness and extinguish industry. The people, without doubt, must live: but for their own sakes and for that of the state, they ought to live by their labour. Yet the abuse of these distributions increased daily: and under some of the following emperors three pounds of bread, or thirty six ounces (for the Roman pounds consisted of twelve ounces) were given every day to each of the citizens. Salmat. ad Pop. Aur. 35.

Besides these stated largesses, Aurelian gave three extraordinary ones. He made the people presents even of cloaths, of white vests with sleeves, the wearing of which was looked upon in ancient times as an act of effeminacy; of vests made of African and Egyptian flax; and of handkerchiefs, which the citizens made use of at the game of the circus, to express, by waving or shaking them, which of the champions or racers they interested themselves for; instead of shaking their *togas*, or gowns, as they had used to do before on these occasions. Pop. 48. & ibi Casaub.

Aurelian's liberality was not confined to the people of Rome. He generously remitted all old debts due to the state. Remittance of old debts due to the state.

Amnesty.
Acts of
justice.
Top. 39.
Aur. Vict.

due to the state, and burnt publicly in Trajan's square all the deeds and writings relative thereto, that the debtors might never be molested on that account. He desired that every one should enjoy perfect tranquillity under his government: the better to secure which, and at once to stop all prosecutions of those who had carried arms against him, he published a general amnesty. He suppressed, with uncommon vigour, that pest of society, informers, who, under pretence of zeal for the interests of the exchequer, harassed and oppressed numbers of private persons: and all public extortion was punished with the utmost rigour. In short, Aurelian was a just prince. It is pity that his severity was carried too far.

He is ac-
cused of
cruelty.
Top. 49.

Inclination, and not necessity, was his motive. This appears from his chusing to be present when any of his slaves were punished, instead of committing that disagreeable office to one of his domestics; and from his often inflicting punishments greater than the offence deserved: as when he passed sentence of death for an adultery committed by a woman-slave with a man of the same condition, though the laws did not look upon any contract between slaves as equivalent to marriage. The action was undoubtedly wrong: but surely it did not deserve so severe a punishment, because it was authorized.

Joan. Ant.
ap. Val.

His severity, or, to speak perhaps more properly, his cruelty, was not confined to men of low condition only. Senators were frequently the object of it; and he is even accused of having sometimes charged innocent persons with false imputations of conspiracy and rebellion, in order to have a pretence for taking away their lives. This censure of Aurelian may perhaps have arisen from what the historian John of Antioch relates, of several senators being put to death as guilty of corresponding * with

* If this fact be true, it must have happened before the publication of the amnesty we have spoken of.

with Zenobia. The sedition raised by the managers of the mint at Rome, may likewise have given Aurelian occasion to exercise his rigour upon persons of great distinction: for it became a downright war, and it can hardly be supposed to have attained the height which history says it did, without the assistance of some powerful men.

These managers, or directors of the mint, having villainously debased the current coin, and fearing without doubt, the just punishment of their crimes, rebelled, and were headed by one Felicissimus, who, from being the emperor's slave, was become keeper of the imperial treasury. We may judge how formidable this faction must have been, since nothing less than an army could get the better of it. A bloody battle was fought within the walls of Rome, in which the seditious were conquered; but not until after they had killed seven thousand of the emperor's troops. Aurelian punished this rebellion with excessive severity; and perhaps his vengeance may have extended to several noblemen, whom their friends have represented as innocent. He is even charged with having put to death his own nephew, the son of his sister, without any just cause: but the writers who mention this, do not explain themselves any farther. All these facts are known to us but by halves: for which reason we can neither justify nor absolutely condemn Aurelian: though it must be owned that he has been looked upon, both during his life and after his death, as a cruel and bloody prince; that he in fact struck off many heads; and that, in consequence thereof, he was feared and hated by the senate, whose pedagogue the people called him.

What ought, after all, to keep us from too hastily arraigning the memory of Aurelian, is that he proved himself estimable not only by his exploits in war, but also by several actions well suiting a good government in civil affairs. Of this we have al-

*Pop. 38.
Eutrop.
Vict. ulter.
q^{ue}.*

*Pop. 36. §
39.*

Pop. 37.

*Character
of his go-
vernment.*

Zer.
Pop. 33, 49.

readily mentioned some instances: but the subject is not yet exhausted. After he had quashed the sedition of the coiners, he called in all the bad money they had circulated, and issued good in lieu of it. He likewise made several regulations for the welfare of the state: and though few of them have reached our times, yet, besides those before spoken of, we know that he forbid the keeping of concubines of free condition: by which we may judge of his care to preserve decency of manners. He respected the public order so much as to let even his own slaves be tried by the common courts of justice if they were accused of any crime.

67.

He took great care that Rome should be well supplied with provisions: and to render this the more easy and certain, he established companies of mariners upon the Nile and the Tiber. His capital was indebted to him for several works of great use to its citizens. I have mentioned his rebuilding and fortifying the walls of Rome. He made stately quays on each side of the Tiber, and cleared the bed of that river where its navigation was obstructed. And all this he did in a very short reign, disturbed by almost continual wars. He

45.

had other views, of which his too sudden death prevented the execution. Of this number were public baths, which he intended to build on the other side of the Tiber, and a fine square which he began in Ostia.

25. 39, 41.
Entrop.
Zer.

He loved magnificence; and he built in Rome, in honour of his favourite divinity, the sun, a noble temple, in which he consecrated fifteen thousand pound weight of gold. All the temples of the city were enriched with his offerings, and the capitol in particular was filled with the gifts he had received from the barbarians conquered by his arms. Vopiscus mentions also revenues and emoluments of his appointing in favour of the pontiffs: in which there is nothing improbable. But I cannot believe upon the bare authority of that writer, that so grave

Pop. 49.

and

and severe a prince ever thought of re-establishing the senate of women instituted by Heliogabalus. Such a design does not suit with the character of Aurelian.

The pacific cares of which I have been speaking, He goes to Gaul, Orleans, and Dijon. busied him only for a short time after his triumph. Vop. 35. Loving always to be employed in action, he went Zonar. into Gaul, where his presence soon prevented the Syme. rise of a rebellion which threatened to disturb the Tillem. tranquillity of that province. It is thought to have been in this journey that he re-built and enlarged the ancient city of Genaubum on the Loire, and gave it his name, which it still retains to this day, though somewhat disfigured. He called it *Aurelianum*, from whence has been formed by corruption the word *Orleans*. Cellar. Geogr. Ant. II. 2. It became from that time Lougueruz Description de la France. a city of much greater importance than it ever was before; having until then held only the second rank among the places of the Carnunti, that is to say of the people who inhabited the country now called *pais Chartrain*. To the same emperor, and to the same time, is ascribed the founding of Dijon, which, in its origin, was only a castle, and not a city.

Aurelian went from Gaul into Vindelicia, which He drives the barbarians out of Vindelicia. was infested by barbarians, perhaps the Alamanni. Vop. 35, 39. He drove them from thence, restored peace to the Entrop. country, and advanced into Illyricum, where he did a thing, dictated indeed by prudence, but which it is somewhat surprising that a prince of his brave and warlike disposition should resolve on. He abandons Trajan's Dacia. Despairing of being able to keep that part of Dacia which Trajan had conquered beyond the Danube, he abandoned it; removing its inhabitants to the right hand side of the river, into a part of Mœsia, situated exactly in the middle of that province: so that Aurelian's new Dacia cut Mœsia in two. In this Dacia stood the city of Sardica, famous in the Ecclesiastical history of the fourth century for a great council held there. By this means Aurelian contracted

contracted the boundaries of the Roman empire, in making the Danube its barrier on that side: and this is a farther instance, which may be added to those I have mentioned elsewhere, of the necessity the god Terminus was under of retrograding, even in the time of Pagan Rome; and an additional answer to the invectives which the worshippers of idols vented against Christianity on account of Jovian's treaty with the Persians.

*Aurel. Vict.
in Dioclet.*

Among the inhabitants with which Aurelian peopled his new Dacia, there probably was a number of Carpians: for we are told that he removed part of that nation into the territories of the empire, where Dioclesian afterwards settled them all.

*He pre-
pares for
war against
the Per-
sians.
Fop. 35.*

From thence Aurelian prepared to march into Asia and the east, to make war upon the Persians: for which we can assign no cause, unless it be, that having pacified and re-united the whole empire under his laws, he thought he had a right to take advantage of the prosperous situation of his affairs, and of his great strength, to avenge the captivity and sufferings of Valerian. It is true that the Persians, by sending succours to Zenobia, had furnished the Roman emperor with a reason for attacking them. But he certainly must have made some agreement with them after that event, since he received from their king a chariot, and other presents, which formed part of the ornaments of his triumph. After he had vanquished Zenobia, Gaul still remained to be re-conquered; and this was doubtless the consideration which made him defer shewing his resentment against the Persians: but when all his enemies were subdued, he thought it time to take satisfaction for the insolence with which Sapor had treated the Roman name.

*Succession
of the
kings of
Persia.
Sync.*

That prince was not upon the Persian throne at the time we are now speaking of. He died towards the end of the year of Christ 271, after a reign

reign of thirty-one years, and was succeeded by his son Hormisdas, who reigned but one year, and was replaced by Vararanes, who reigned at least three years. It was therefore against this last that Aurelian thought of making war, when an unexpected death put an end to his reign.

His excessive severity occasioned the conspiracy by which he perished. In the beginning of the year of Christ 275, he was at † Cænophrum in Thrace, between Heraclea and Byzantium, waiting only for fair weather to cross the streights and take the field. There, he had some reason to be dissatisfied with Mnestheus, one of his secretaries, whom, justly suspecting him of rapine and extortion, he threatened to punish. Mnestheus, well knowing that Aurelian never menaced in vain, resolved to prevent him; and to that end devised a dark and horrid plot. Counterfeiting the emperor's hand, which he had long practised, he drew up, in imitation of his writing, a list of the principal officers of the army, as if doomed to death by Aurelian; mixing with them the names of several persons who were known to have just cause to fear the prince's anger, and, as a farther confirmation of what he said, his own. Those who were set down in this fatal list, being well acquainted with Aurelian's rigour, and never suspecting it to be forged, concerted together, and watching the opportunity of the emperor's going out slightly guarded, fell upon him and killed him. Mucapor, a man of consequence, as we may judge from a letter of Aurelian's writing to him, which Vopiscus has

Aurelian is assassinated by his own troops in Thrace. Vop. 36. Aurel. Vict. Eutrop. Zoz. Zonar.

* I do not pretend to fix the time more precisely, because the dates of Aurelian's accession to the throne, of the duration of his reign, and consequently of his death, are attended with many doubts and difficulties. The curious reader may consult M. de Tillemont's third and twelfth notes upon Aurelian.

† A name composed of two Greek words which signify what we should call *New-Castle*.

Pop. 26. has preserved, headed the conspirators, and gave his master the fatal blow with his own hand.

His great severity occasioned his untimely death, and has hurt his reputation. Thus fell, by the treachery of his own people, a prince who may be looked upon as a hero; who, in a few years, completed the great work of re-uniting every part of the empire under one head; who restored military discipline among his troops; whose views were great and noble with regard to government; and to whose charge no blame can be laid, except his inexorable severity. But that only fault brought him to a tragical and untimely end, and has hurt his reputation with

Pop. 37. 44. posterity. Aurelian was, in Dioclesian's opinion, a prince rather necessary to the empire, than good and praise-worthy; rather a general than an emperor: and no encomium is given him without adding, that he was a stranger to clemency, that first of virtues in a sovereign; nor without taxing him with cruelty and love of blood. I have already observed that this part of his character has, perhaps, been exaggerated; and that there is room to think that those whom he put to death were guilty of seditious practices or designs. But the shedding of illustrious blood always leaves a stain upon him that sheds it, unless the guilt of the criminal be proved beyond all doubt by a due and regular trial.

He is avenged, and ranked among the gods. Pop. 37, & 41. The senate did not much regret Aurelian: the people who had received great largesses from him, were concerned for his death: the army, in the midst of which he was killed, avenged him. Mnestheus, the principal author of the murder, was exposed to wild beasts. Among the other conspirators, the soldiers made a distinction, not thinking it just to confound those who had been blinded by false fears, with the wretches whose deliberate wickedness admitted of no excuse. Several of these last were put to death immediately. The army spared those whom their high rank, or the consideration

deration of their having been deceived by false reports, seemed to render in some degree objects of mercy. The troops, however, could not resolve upon chusing a new emperor from among themselves, but referred that important deliberation to the senate, as we shall soon relate more fully. In the mean time they raised a monument to Aurelian upon the spot where he was killed, and desired the senate to rank him among the gods; which was readily agreed to.

Aurelian reigned near five years, and left at his death an only daughter, whose son, of the same name as his grandfather, had been proconsul of Cilicia, and lived retired in Sicily at the time when Vopiseus wrote, that is to say, under Dioclesian.

The Christians did not at first feel Aurelian's rigour. On the contrary, we are told of a fact which proves that he heard them, and did them the same justice as to his other subjects. Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, having been deposed for his errors by a council which was held in that very city, obstinately refused to quit the episcopal mansion, and maintained himself in it by force against Domnus, whom the council had appointed for his successor. The bishops had recourse to Aurelian, that their sentence might be put in execution: and that prince, to whom Zenobia's having protected Paul of Samosata could be no great recommendation, examined the affair, and determined it very equitably; ordering, that the house which belonged to the bishopric should be inhabited by the person whom the bishops of Italy and the bishop of Rome acknowledged.

Aurelian afterwards altered his way of thinking with respect to the Christians, and was just ready to issue a bloody edict against them, when death cut him off. We do not find that this edict was published. But nevertheless, the prince's well known design brought on a persecution, which is reckoned

Zor. § Vop.

His posterity.
Vop. 42.Variation in his conduct with regard to the Christians.
Paul of Samosata.
The ninth persecution.
Euseb. Hist. Eccl. VII. 30.

Tullius.

reckoned the ninth, and which crowned several martyrs, whose history may be seen in M. de Tillemont.

Writers
under this
reign.

The most celebrated writer under Aurelian was Longinus, of whom I have spoken sufficiently. Amelius, a Platonic philosopher, disciple of Plotinus, and intimately connected with Porphyry, who had studied under the same master, likewise acquired some reputation in these times. I have quoted Dexippus more than once, both as a warrior and an historian. Vopiscus mentions his having seen a journal of the life and actions of Aurelian, of which he made use in composing the history of that prince. But he does not say by whom it was written.

Pop. Aur. 1.

INTERREGNUM.

SECT. III.

After the death of Aurelian, the army and the senate refer mutually to each other the choice of an emperor. Interregnum of six months without any disturbance. At length Tacitus is elected by the senate.

A. R. 1025.
A. C. 275.

AURELIANUS AUGUSTUS IV.
..... MARCELLINUS.

After the death of Aurelian, the army and the senate refer mutually to each other the choice of an emperor.

THE death of Aurelian produced an event which stands quite unmatched in history. I mean a strife of mutual deference between the armies and the senate, who reciprocally complimented each other with the electing of a new emperor: and whilst messages passed between them to that end, an interregnum took place for upwards

wards of six months, which was not disturbed by the least shadow of dissention.

Nothing was less clearly settled among the Romans, than what related to the choice of an emperor. The senate and the soldiery claimed respectively contrary rights and privileges; and no law, nor even well established custom, had fixed the limits of the power of either. It was necessary that the authority of the senate should intervene. Sometimes, as in the election of Maximus and Balbinus, that assembly nominated and appointed first, as head, and the soldiers afterwards confirmed the choice. But in general, the senate enjoyed only the right of confirming the nomination of the soldiery. The emperor elected by these last took actual possession of the sovereignty; and then, to acquire a title not founded upon force alone, applied to the senate, who granted a confirmation which they neither could nor dared refuse. Such was the situation of things when Aurelian was killed.

It was quite natural that the troops should be jealous of preserving so fine a prerogative: but yet, the difficulty of the choice, the cabals which the murderers of the late emperor probably set on foot in order to substitute one of their own accomplices in his stead, and the firm resolution of the soldiers not to suffer that, were motives which determined them to recede from their pretensions, and to refer the matter to the decision of the senate. By a letter written in their name to that first body of the republic, they desired the conscript fathers to chuse from among their members, him who should seem to them most worthy of the supreme rank.

So great a degree of moderation in the army is very surprising. The senate, on its side, imitated the example. After reading the letter I have just mentioned, Claudius Tacitus, who was to vote first, and who, as appeared by the event, had the greatest right of any one to expect to be elected,

if

if the affair was determined by the suffrages of the senators, began his speech with a magnificent encomium upon Aurelian, to whom he voted divine honours; and as to the choice of a successor to that prince, he proposed referring it back again to the army, to avoid, said he, exposing the electors to envy, and the person elected to very great dangers. This counsel was approved of, and the senate, without being tempted by this fair opportunity to revive its abolished rights, and resume its ancient splendour; by a formal deliberation left the army masters of the choice of an emperor.

Interregnum of 6 months without any disturbance.

This extraordinary compliment was repeated on each side three times: and whilst the senate and army thus disputed which should shew the greatest moderation, sending messengers to each other, deliberating, and waiting for answers, six months passed during which the empire was without a head: and what adds to the wonder, is that every thing remained perfectly quiet all that time. Those that were in office, continued so, exercising the functions of their respective posts: only the senate appointed Falconius proconsul of Africa, in the room of Aurelius Fuscus, whose time was either expired, or he had desired leave to resign. No tyrant, no usurper started up during this suspension of the imperial power; though we have seen, and shall again see, several arise even under the greatest and best princes. The authority of the senate, the people, and the army, kept every one within the bounds of his duty. The members and subjects of the republic did not fear the emperor, since there was none; but, which was much better, they feared and respected one another.

At length Tacitus is elected by the senate.

At length, on the twenty-fifth of September, the senate being assembled in consequence of a final answer from the army, which persisted in referring the election to the conscript fathers, the consul Velius, Cornificius Gordianus represented, that the circumstances

stances of affairs would not admit of any longer delays. That the barbarians had entered Gaul in an hostile manner, ravaged the country, and plundered towns. That it was uncertain whether the troops dispersed in the several provinces of the empire would not grow weary of waiting, and take steps which might be prejudicial to the public tranquillity. "Therefore, concluded he, come to a resolution, and chuse an emperor. Either the army will acknowledge the person whom you shall elect; or, if they do not like him, they will name another." These last words of the consul seem to me very remarkable, in that they shew how much the senate was dependant on the army, even in the exercise of a right which they were desired to use.

Claudius Tacitus, whom I have already mentioned, was present. Ever since the affair of the election had been in agitation, and was become the subject not only of public deliberations, but of almost every private conversation, many had cast their eyes upon him: whilst he, wisely foreseeing the danger of a situation which would have filled others with the most pleasing hopes, retired to his villa in the country, where he had spent two months, when he was prevailed upon to return to Rome, to assist at the meeting I now speak of. He was a venerable old man: though I cannot easily believe upon the testimony of Zonaras, that he had seen his seventy-fifth year; an age certainly too great for any one to begin to learn the arduous task of governing a people. But his rank of ancient consul, and that of voting first in the senate, prove that he was a man in years. His mind was adorned and cultivated by learning, to which he had thought it incumbent on him to apply himself, both on account of the name he bore, and because he had the honour of reckoning among his ancestors the historian Tacitus. For he claimed that glory, of which, however, the
Vop. Tac.
10.
 similitude

similitude of names is not an altogether sufficient proof for us. Gentle, grave, and moderate, he shunned all pomp and ambition, and delighted in a noble simplicity. He was a real sage; but fitter perhaps to give good counsels to an emperor, than to be emperor himself.

When the consul had done speaking, Tacitus was going to give his opinion and vote. But before he could do it, the whole assembly, raising their voices, echoed his praises, and saluted him Augustus. These acclamations lasted a long while: and Tacitus, after waiting until they were over, spoke; not to accept with joy so great an offer, but to set forth his reasons for declining it. He observed, that it was wrong to think of replacing a warlike prince like Aurelian, by an old man unfit for any military exercise. That the soldiers might not approve of such a choice: "Take care, said he, that this step of yours be not contrary to your own good intentions for the welfare of the republic; and that you do not bring upon me, for the only salary of your suffrages, tragical disgraces from which my good fortune has hitherto preserved me." It is added, that Tacitus himself proposed Probus: than which he could not give a stronger proof of the sincerity of his refusal. For Probus was, compared to him, a formidable competitor, who could easily have turned the scale; since he possessed, besides an equal degree of virtue, a perhaps greater elevation of genius, certainly more youth and vigour, and a strength of body more capable of bearing all the fatigues of the sovereign command.

But the senators did not consider all this. Charmed with Tacitus's modesty, and animated by his resistance, they thought only of answering his objections, and to that end represented to him with redoubled cries, that they were not chusing a soldier, but an emperor; and reminded him of the saying of Severus. That it is the head which governs,

governs, and not the feet. "It is your under-
standing, said they to him, that we stand in
need of, and not your body: and who can go-
vern better, than him in whom knowledge ac-
quired by study is directed by the prudence of
an advanced age?"

After these acclamations, the senate proceeded to a regular deliberation, and the opinion of each member, taken in due order, confirmed what they had all expressed before in a somewhat tumultuous manner. One of the oldest consulars, Metius Falconius Nicomachus, ended the debate with a speech of some length, in which he shewed the wisdom of the senate's choice. "We have named, said he, an emperor advanced in years, who will look upon himself as the father of all those who shall be submissive to his authority. We have no reason to fear from him any step that will not be sufficiently weighed, nor any violent or inconsiderate measures. Every thing in him will be serious, accompanied with gravity; such, in a word, as the republic herself would direct, if she could be contained in any single person. For he knows what behaviour he wished from the princes under whom he has lived; and he cannot himself be otherwise than the very pattern of what he would have had his predecessors be." To confirm this, Falconius drew the contrary picture of the evils which the empire had suffered through the youth of its sovereigns, such as Nero, Commodus, Heliogabalus: and as Tacitus was old, and had only young children* or grand-children; continuing in the same strain as he had begun, he represented to him, with all becoming liberty, the views which ought to guide him in the choice of a successor. "I pray and conjure you, Tacitus Augustus, said he, and I dare even to charge you not to make the young children who are of right heirs to your estate,

* The Latin expression is somewhat vague: *parvulos tuos*.

“ estate, heirs to the Roman empire, in case the
 “ destinies should take you too soon from us ;
 “ nor to treat the republic, the senate, and the
 “ Roman people, upon the same footing as your
 “ farms and slaves. Make a choice. Imitate Ner-
 “ va, Trajan, Adrian. It is a noble thing for a dy-
 “ ing prince to have the interest of the republic
 “ more at heart, than that of his family.” Falco-
 nius’s speech was applauded. The senators cried
 out that they all thought as he did : and Tacitus
 yielded at last, and accepted of the empire ; but
 without taking any engagement in regard to a
 successor.

From the senate-house, the new emperor went
 to the Campus Martius, where the people and all
 the troops then in the city assembled. There, Ta-
 citus being steaed upon an high tribunal, the pre-
 fect of Rome, *Ælius Cesæstianus*, notified his
 election in these terms : “ Soldiers *, and you
 “ citizens : you have an emperor, chosen by the
 “ senate with the approbation of all the armies.
 “ That emperor is the illustrious Tacitus, who,
 “ having hitherto served the republic by his coun-
 “ sels, is now going to govern it by his laws and
 “ ordinances.” All that were present answered
 with shouts of joy, and vows for the emperor’s
 prosperity : after which they separated. The de-
 cree of the senate was drawn up, and written in
 a book of ivory, which was particularly used as a
 register for those deliberations of the senate which
 related immediately to the sovereign.

The city prefect’s mentioning so expressly in his
 speech, that Tacitus was chosen with the consent of
 the

* I have omitted here the epithets of *sanctissimi*, most holy,
 and *sacratissimi*, most sacred, which, in the original, are applied
 to the soldiers and the citizens ; both because they would seem
 very strange to us, whose customs and ways of thinking are
 widely different ; and because they are in themselves, extreme-
 ly misplaced. They may help, indeed, to shew us to how
 great a degree the times in which they were used were infect-
 ed with fulsome adulation.

the armies, gives room to think that his election was concerted before hand between them and the senate. On the other hand, Tacitus himself seems not to have known that circumstance, if it was so, since he doubted whether his person would be agreeable to the troops. The authors who are my only guides here, have written without much reflection, and leave us greatly in the dark with respect to many facts.

PRINCIPAL EVENTS

OF THE REIGN

OF

TACITUS.

AURELIANUS AUGUSTUS IV.

..... MARCELLINUS.

A. R. 1026.

A. C. 275.

M. CLAUDIUS TACITUS, elected emperor by the senate on the twenty-fifth of September, shews a great regard and deference for that assembly, which, in consequence thereof, recovers part of its former splendour.

He makes several wise regulations, behaves with moderation, love, simplicity and esteems and cultivates learning. He expresses a great zeal to preserve the works of the historian Tacitus, from whom he pretended to be descended.

He puts himself at the head of the armies in Thrace.

He punishes the principal authors of the murder of Aurelian.

M. CLAUDIUS TACITUS AUGUSTUS II.

..... ÆMILIANUS.

A. R. 1027.

A. C. 276.

He goes into Asia, and drives from thence the Scythians or Goths, who had spread themselves in that country.

Maximin, his relation, whom he had made governor of Syria, having exasperated the troops by his harshness and violence, is killed: and the authors of his death, joining those that remained of the conspiracy against Aurelian, kill Tacitus himself.

He was murdered in the beginning of April, at Tyana in Cappadocia, or at Tarsus in Cilicia.

TACITUS.

SECT. IV.

THE senate, under Tacitus, resumes its ancient splendour. Joy of the senators on that account. They had then an opportunity, which they neglected, of obtaining a revocation of Gallienus's edict against their serving in the army. Wise regulations made by Tacitus. Who orders a temple to be built to the deified emperors. He asks the consulship for his brother, but does not obtain it. Laudable things in his government. His love of simplicity in what concerned himself: joined to liberality and magnificence in things relating to the public. He loved and cultivated learning. His zeal for the historian Tacitus. He puts himself at the head of the troops in Thrace. He punishes some of the murderers of Aurelian. He goes into Asia, and drives the Goths out of that country. A conspiracy takes away his life.

The senate, under Tacitus, resumes its ancient splendour.

Sup. Tac. 9.

TACITUS, having been elected in the manner beforementioned, resolved, both out of gratitude, and for the sake of the public, to restore the

the authority of that illustrious assembly to which he owed the empire. These were the sentiments which he expressed in his very first speech to the senate. "May I, said he, so surely govern the state in a manner answerable to the honour conferred upon me by your election, as it is true that I am determined to follow your counsels, and be guided by your authority. Be it your care to order: mine shall be to execute."

In effect, this emperor really desired that the senate should look upon itself as the dispenser of the supreme power, the arbiter of peace and war, and the judge of nations. In this view he restored to that first order of the republic the right of appointing the proconsuls of all the provinces of the people: a right which belonged to the senate by Augustus's institution, but which other emperors had often invaded: and a law was made, ordering that all appeals from the decisions of the proconsuls should be laid before the tribunal of the city prefect, whose power was subordinate to that of the senate. In short, this noble assembly recovered all the splendour and authority it ever had enjoyed even under the princes who esteemed and revered it most.

The senators were transported with joy. Thanks giving to the gods were ordered; hecatombs were vowed; and every one made sacrifices, and gave sumptuous feasts. The senate in a body, notified the happy change by letters addressed to all the great cities of the empire, to the senate of Carthage, to those of Treves, Antioch, Aquileia, Milan, Alexandria, Thessalonica, Corinth, and Athens; whilst several of its members wrote upon the same subject to their friends and relations, in expressions of the utmost gladness. Vopiscus has preserved four of these letters, in which the following seem to me the most remarkable passages. That from the senate of Rome to the senate of Carthage ends with this observation:

“ The change we now acquaint you with in our
 “ favour, promises a similar one in yours. For
 “ the first assembly of the state recovers its rights,
 “ only to preserve those of others.” Claudius
 Capellianus, a senator, writing to his uncle, be-
 gins with describing his own joy and that of the
 public, which he invites him to come and partake
 of: after which he adds ; “ Since we have begun
 “ to appoint our emperors, we may hope to be
 “ able to exclude such as may be set up by others.
 “ A wise man, like you, will easily understand
 “ me.” Capellianus here speaks like a man,
 who, elated by a glimmering of present prosperi-
 ty, formed vast projects of mighty things to come :
 without considering that the senate owed the
 exercise of the rights it then enjoyed solely to
 the moderation of the army ; and that modera-
 tion is not a permanent quality in men, especial-
 ly when they are masters.

They had then an opportunity, which they neglected, of obtaining a revocation of Gallienus's edict against their serving in the army.

Aurel. Vict.

If the senators had thought seriously of taking proper measures solidly to secure and render lasting the splendour to which they were restored, they should have seized this opportunity to obtain a revocation of Gallienus's edict by which they were forbid to serve in the army ; for it is highly probable, that if the commanders and all the principal officers of the armies had been taken now, as they formerly were, from among the body of the senate, it would not have been extremely difficult for them to revive in the troops the respect they once had for the august order which held the first rank in the state. The opportunity was fine : but they missed it, and it never more returned. The armies resumed the right of nominating the emperors : whilst the senate, confined to the narrow office of regulating the civil police, had very little influence in the general affairs of the republic, and, far from preserving its just ascendant over the soldiery, received, on the contrary, laws from them. This is not to be won-

dered

dered at, if it be true, as we have already observed after Aurelius Victor, that the senators were grown fond of indolence, and loved to enjoy their riches, their pleasures, and their country-houses, without trouble or interruption. Men of this turn cannot but lose their influence over others, and sink in their esteem.

The emperor Tacitus, in his very first harangue to the senate, shewed his zeal for the good order and proper administration of the public affairs. After paying the tribute of honours due to the memory of his predecessor, by decreeing him a statue of gold in the capitol, and statues of silver in the senate-house, the temple of the sun, and Trajan's square; he proposed a law, which was passed, forbidding all adulteration of metals by mixing them with base alloy, under pain of death, and forfeiture of the estate and effects of the offender. The frauds of the coiners in Aurelian's time rendered this rigour necessary.

He likewise made, or rather revived another regulation of great consequence to the tranquillity of the subject, by declaring that it should never more be lawful to examine slaves in criminal prosecutions against their masters, even though they should be accused of high-treason. This was an old law, which both Augustus and Tiberius had endeavoured to infringe, and which Severus actually set aside by an express constitution in the case of high-treason, and in some others. Tacitus, by reviving and restoring it in its full extent, gained the affection of the public; all masters being rejoiced to find that their fortunes, and sometimes even their lives, would no longer depend upon the testimony of their slaves.

In the same speech Tacitus, whilst he honoured the memory of the good princes, expressed his resolution of taking them for his models. He ordered that a temple should be built in Rome, and conse-

Wise regulations
made by
Tacitus.
Pop. Tac.

*Caesars, ad
Pop.*

Who orders a temple to be built to the deified emperors
Pop.

crated

erated to the deified emperors; that the statues of the good princes should be placed in it, and that libations should be offered to them on the anniversary of their birth, and on some other days of the year. Tacitus most certainly did not equal the number of good princes to that of the deified emperors, many of whom scarcely deserved the name of men. By restricting the title of good princes to those who were really worthy of it, the number did not prove great: so that a joker of those times was right enough in saying that they might all be engraved upon the stone of a ring.

Vop. Aur.
10.

He asks
the consul-
ship for his
brother,
but does
not obtain
it.

Vop. Tac. 9.

All these first steps of Tacitus pleased the senate. But he added to them one which shewed that he did not sufficiently remember Falconius's advice to him, to detach himself from his family. He asked the consulship for his brother Florianus, who seems to have been a man of little merit, whose ambition surpassed his talents. The senate flatly refused to appoint him consul, alledging, that there was no vacancy. The emperor, whose distinguishing characteristic was moderation, seemed to be satisfied. "They know, said he, what sort of prince they have chosen."

To strengthen himself in the possession of the throne, it was necessary that Tacitus should go speedily to the armies of Illyricum and Thrace, to let them see the emperor who had been elected in consequence of their moderation: besides which, the provinces of Asia Minor, infested a-new by incursions of the barbarians, implored his presence and assistance. He therefore could not stay long at Rome after his election: and yet we find the time of his abode there marked with several ordinances, which give an advantageous idea of his principles of government.

He prohibited all places of debauchery in the city. But the general corruption of manners, stronger than all laws, did not suffer this reformation

Laudable
things in
his govern-
ment.

Vop. Tac.
10, & 11.

mation to last long. He ordered the public baths to be shut up at sun-set, to prevent seditious meetings and cabals in the night. He forbade men to wear cloaths made entirely of silk, or to lace their garments with slips of gold tissue: and he would have been glad to proscribe absolutely all sorts of gilding, of which indeed he first gave the hint to Aurelian. Probably the difficulty of succeeding, hindered both these princes from making a law which would not have been observed.

Tacitus loved simplicity, as he proved by his own example. He did not suffer his wife to wear jewels; and he himself wore when emperor, the same dress as he had done when only a private man. Nothing could be more frugal than his table. Cleanliness and decency were all he desired. He was however curious in and a judge of buildings and marble, and had a taste for the ornaments of glass with which the ancients used to decorate their houses. He likewise loved hunting. But it is not said that he ever bestowed any unreasonable expence upon either of these objects.

With this simplicity in what concerned himself, he shewed a becoming liberality and magnificence in things relating to the public; preferring, however, benefits of a more lasting nature, to the slight advantages of temporary gifts. To this it is owing that we find scarce one of those distributions of wine and meat so frequent among the Romans, in the six months that he reigned. But on the other hand, he ordered his own house to be pulled down, and baths to be built in the place where it stood, at his expence, for the use of the citizens. He presented the city of Ostia with an hundred pillars of Numidian marble, twenty-three feet high. He gave an estate which he had in Mauritania to the temple of the capitol, as a fund for repairing and keeping up the buildings on that spot. He consecrated to the uses of religion, particularly to the

His love of
simplicity
in what
concerned
himself

the

the feasts which were celebrated in the temples, all the plate that he was possessed of when a private man; and he devoted to the payment of arrears due to the soldiers, all the money that was in his coffers at the time of his being elected emperor. But I can scarcely believe that he made the republic a present of his paternal estate, which was immense: no less, if we believe Vopiscus, than a million and an half a year. For if the empire was not perpetuated in his family, as he might easily fear it would not, what was to become of his heirs?

Tacitus's generosity extended also to his slaves. Of those only who attended him in the city, he affranchised an hundred: and if he did not exceed that number, it was because an ancient law * forbad going beyond it.

He loved
and cultivated
learning.

I have already said that he esteemed learned men, and that he himself was a proficient in learning. As his days were wholly taken up with the necessary business of the state, he always devoted some part of the night to study; never passing one without either reading or writing, if we except the second day of every month, on which, that being marked as unfortunate in the Roman kalendar, he superstitiously refrained from all application.

His zeal
for the historian
Tacitus.

We ought to think ourselves obliged to him for his zeal to preserve the writings of the historian Tacitus, though he did not succeed therein so well as we could wish. He ordered that every library should have that author's works, and that ten copies of them should be transcribed yearly in the place where the archives of the empire were kept, to be distributed to the libraries. But even *his extraordinary care has not prevented the loss of the greatest parts of the works of that incomparable historian.

This

* The Law *Furio Caninia*.

This is the substance of what we find most interesting in the monuments of the ancients concerning the emperor Tacitus, to the time of his leaving Rome in order to put himself at the head of the troops in Thrace. Upon his arrival at the camp, he had a sort of new possession to take. The army assembled, and Mæcius Gallicanus, the prætorian præfect, opened the ceremony with a short speech, in which he told the soldiers, that the senate, in consequence of their request, had given them an emperor, whom he desired them to hear. Tacitus then spoke, and, like the prætorian præfect, ascribed the first and greatest part of his election to the troops. "I think myself highly honoured, said he, in having been thus chosen, first by you, just estimators of princes, and afterwards by the unanimous suffrages of the senate. If it be not given to me to animate you by personal examples of vigorous actions, I shall endeavour, and I hope not without success, at least to guide you by counsels worthy of you and worthy of a Roman emperor." After this speech, he promised them the largesses usually given by persons in his situation.

Justice to the memory of Aurelian, and his own security, required his punishing the murder of that prince. The principal criminals, and particularly Mucapor, who was the person that stabbed him, were racked to death. Those whom he spared, either for want of knowing them, or out of an ill-judged tenderness, soon gave him cause to repent of his mercy.

Tacitus, now unanimously acknowledged by the whole empire, prepared to punish the barbarians for their insolence. It was high time that the Romans should quit the state of inaction, in which the death of Aurelian, and the long vacancy of the throne, had obliged them to remain. Gaul on one side, and Asia Minor on the other, were attacked by enemies whose reiterated de-

He puts himself at the head of the troops in Thrace. *Vop. Tac.* 13. § 18.

He punishes some of the murderers of Aurelian. *Vop. Tac.* 13. § Aurel. 1761.

He goes into Asia, and drives the Goths out of that country. *Vop. Tac.* 13. Zor. § Zam.

feats could neither tame their audaciousness, nor exhaust their numbers. Tacitus marched towards Asia, where the evil probably required the most speedy remedy.

A cloud of Scythians or Goths from the countries round about the Palus Maëotis had overspread Pontus, Cappadocia, Galatia, and Cilicia. Some of them pretended to have been called by Aurelian, to assist him in his intended war against the Persians. Tacitus, joining prudence to force, sent all these barbarians back to their own dismal abodes. He divided his troops into two armies, of the greatest of which he himself took the command, whilst the other was under his brother Florianus, whom he had made prætorian præfect. Both of them gained signal advantages over their enemies, many of whom they killed: and by driving the rest back to their own countries, peace and safety were restored in the provinces of Asia. This fortunate event, which cost neither much trouble, nor much time, must have happened in the beginning of the year of Christ 276, in which Tacitus took a second consulship.

A. R. 1027.

A conspiracy takes away his life.

The victorious prince thought of returning into Europe, when a conspiracy deprived him of the empire and of life. He himself seems to have occasioned it by giving way to an inconsiderate regard for his own family, in an affair which concerned the public good. He had made a relation of his, by name Maximin, governor of Syria; but, so far as we can judge, in subordination to Probus, who, as we shall soon observe, was commander-general of all the east. Maximin, passionate and head-strong, used the officers and soldiers under him so ill, that, to be delivered from his tyranny, they killed him. The perpetrators of this murder, to avoid punishment, joined the surviving conspirators against Aurelian, and with them, watching their opportunity, attacked the emperor himself, and assassinated him. Thus perished,

Aurel. P.

perished, after a reign of two hundred days, a prince whose wisdom seemed to secure him from a tragical end. History lays no other blame to his charge, than a great desire to promote his family: a weakness common to old men, over whom their kindred easily gain the ascendant. He was killed in the beginning of April, some say at Tyana in Cappadocia, others at Tarsus in Cilicia. His posterity, of which we shall take farther notice under the following reign when we shall speak of the death of his brother Florianus, subsisted after him, but in a private station.

*Aurel. Vict.
& Vict.
Epit. Pop.
Flor. 2, § 3.*

PRINCIPAL EVENTS

OF THE REIGN

OF

PROBUS.

M. CLAUDIUS TACITUS AUGUSTUS II.
..... ÆMILIANUS.

A. R. 1027.
A. C. 276.

AFTER the death of Tacitus, his brother Florianus, who commanded a body of troops in Asia, lays claim to the empire, as by right of inheritance. Probus, general of the army of the east, is proclaimed emperor by his soldiers.

Florianus advances against Probus, is abandoned, and even killed by his own people at Tarsus in Cilicia, after a reign of two, or at most three months.

Probus is acknowledged by the senate and all the empire. He maintains, and even extends the rights of the senate.

He avenges the death of Aurelian, and that of Tacitus.

M. AURE-

A. R. 1028.
A. C. 277.

M. AURELIUS PROBUS AUGUSTUS,
M. AURELIUS PAULINUS.

Probus goes into Gaul, where he defeats and drives from thence sundry German nations, who were endeavouring to settle themselves there. He grants them peace; but on very hard conditions.

A. R. 1029.
A. C. 278.

M. AURELIUS PROBUS AUGUSTUS II.
. LUPUS.

He pacifies Rhætia, Illyricum, and Thrace.

A. R. 1030.
A. C. 279.

PROBUS AUGUSTUS III.
. PATERNUS.

He crosses over into Asia Minor, and chastises the Isaurian banditti, of whom he takes measures to clear the country.

War against the Blemmyes, who are repulsed and subdued.

Probus enters Armenia, and makes the Persians tremble. Embassy from their king Vararanes II.

Plainness and haughtiness of Probus's behaviour in the audience which he gives the ambassadors of the king of Persia. Peace between the two empires.

A. R. 1031.
A. C. 280.

. MESSALA.
. GRATUS.

M. de Tillemont places under this year the revolts of Saturninus in the east, and of Proculus and Bonosus in Gaul. This date is not very certain. It is possible that Probus's wars against the rebels may have happened at the same time as those which he carried on against his foreign enemies. It is also possible, and even probable, that his exploits against his foreign enemies may have taken up some part of this year.

Whilst

Whilst he was busied in subduing the rebels, an handful of Franks transplanted by him into Pontus, sailed through the Mediterranean, passed the Streights, and landing at the mouth of the Rhine, returned to their own country.

PROBUS AUGUSTUS IV.

A. R. 1032.

..... TIBERIANUS.

A. C. 281.

Probus triumphs over the Germans and the Blemmyes.

He permits the Gauls, Pannonians, and Spaniards, to plant vines in their countries.

PROBUS AUGUSTUS V.

A. R. 1035.

..... VICTORINUS.

A. C. 282.

Probus prepares to make war upon the Persians.

During a stay which he makes near Sirmium, the place of his nativity, he employs the soldiers in draining the marshes near that city. The soldiers mutiny, and kill him, towards the beginning of August.

He was avenged, and ranked among the gods, by his successor Carus.

His family retires to the neighbourhood of Verona.

USURPERS under PROBUS.

SEX. JULIUS SATURNINUS in the East.

T. ÆLIUS PROCULUS in Gaul.

Q. BONOSUS, likewise in Gaul.

A fourth, who is not named, in Britain.

PROBUS.

SECT. IV.

Tacitus's brother, Florianus, claims the empire by right of inheritance, and Probus is elected by the army which he commanded. Florianus is killed at Tarsus, after a reign of two months. The posterity of Tacitus and of Florianus. Probus writes to the senate, who acknowledge him with joy. His declaration, confirming and amplifying the rights of the senate. Eminent merit of this emperor. Mediocrity of his birth. His employments before he was raised to the empire. His excellent conduct towards the soldiery. Glorious testimonies given of him by the princes under whom he served. When emperor, he punishes the murderers of Aurelianus and Tacitus, and pardons the partizans of Florianus. He goes into Gaul, and drives the Germans from thence. Modest and religious stile of his letter to the senate. He pacifies Rhetia, Illyricum, and Thrace. He crosses over into Asia Minor, and marches against the Isaurians. Siege of Cremna. Measures taken by Probus to clear Isauria of the banditti which infested it. He repulses the Blemmyes, and subdues them. He marches against the Persians. Plainness and haughtiness of his behaviour in the audience which he gave their ambassadors. His spirited letter to their king. Peace concluded. Returning to Europe, he transports a great number of barbarians into the territories of the empire. Incredible boldness of a handful of Franks. Usurpers who rose up against Probus. Saturninus in the east. Proculus in Gaul. Bonosus likewise in Gaul. An usurper in Britain.

Commotions

Commotion of a troop of gladiators. Probus's triumph. Feasts and games on that occasion. He permits the planting of vines in Gaul, Spain, and Pannonia. He is killed near Sirmium, by his soldiers. His eulogy. Honours paid to his memory. His posterity.

IF the emperor Tacitus had had time to take measures relative to the choice of his successor, we may believe that, wise and just as he was, he would have thought it incumbent on him to consult the interest of the senate, to which he owed his own nomination, and to preserve to that first body of the state the valuable right of electing its sovereign. But his violent and sudden death again opened a door to the licentiousness of the soldiery, and the troops, seizing the opportunity, resumed their possession of a prerogative which only a transient whim of moderation had induced them to relinquish.

Two armies vied with each other which should raise its leader to the imperial throne. One of them, then employed in besetting a band of barbarians pent up in the neighbourhood of the Bosporus, had for its general the prætorian præfect Florianus, half-brother to the late emperor. The legions of the east obeyed the orders of Probus, to whom Tacitus had given that command. Florianus pretended that the empire belonged to him by right of inheritance, and his soldiers were ready to back him. The army of the east, part of which at least had occasioned the ruin and death of Tacitus, was far from being disposed to acknowledge his brother; and having a commander of its own eminently possessed of all the qualities requisite to form a great emperor, these troops proclaimed Probus, Augustus.

Tacitus's
brother,
Florianus,
claims the
empire by
right of in-
heritance,
and Probus
is elected
by the
army
which he
command-
ed.

Pop. Flor.
Zon. Zon.
Pop. Flor.
4.
Pop. Prob.
7.

This was not done either regularly, or in consequence of a previous deliberation; but with the tumultuous hurry of a multitude which resolves suddenly upon a thing, and executes it instantly. Some few having mentioned it to their comrades, the proposal went immediately round, was approved of, and all unanimously cried out, "Probus Augustus! may the gods be propitious to you." A tribunal of turf was raised directly, and Probus was placed upon it, and clothed with a purple robe taken from a neighbouring temple: after which he was conducted, in the midst of repeated acclamations, to the palace of the city nearest the place where this event happened; which, perhaps might be Antioch.

Probus yielded with reluctance to this ardour of the troops. Whether he feared a place surrounded with dangers, and stained with the blood of all those who had held it for near a century past, or whether it was out of modesty, or dissimulation, he repeated several times to the soldiers: "You have not sufficiently considered of this affair: you will not like me: I cannot flatter you." But they persisted in their zeal, and the situation of things was such that Probus could not go back: for whoever was called to the throne in those unsettled times, had no alternative, but either to defend himself on it, or to perish. He therefore acquiesced, and consented to be emperor: but not without dreading the consequences. "I never desired the empire," said he in a letter to his prætorian præfect Capito, "nor have I now received it willingly. I am not at liberty to resign a rank which exposes me to the greatest envy: but I must act the part which the troops have forced upon me."

Florianus
is killed at
Tarsus,
after

The election of these two princes produced a schism in the empire. Rome and the west
acknow-

* Imperium nunquam optavi, & invitus accepi. Depouere mihi rem invidiosissimam non licet. Agenda est persona quam mihi miles imposuit.

acknowledged Florianus; whilst Syria, Egypt, and the neighbouring provinces declared for Probus. Thence arose a civil war; but of short duration. Florianus, sacrificing the public cause to his own interests, marched against Probus, and thereby left the Goths at liberty to retire unmolested. Full of confidence, because a greater extent of country obeyed his laws, he advanced as far as Tarsus in Cilicia. There Probus met him; but in no hurry to give battle; knowing that most of his adversary's troops, being Europeans, would not be able to bear the heat of the climate they were then in. What he foresaw, happened. Sickness broke out among them; and being worsted in a slight engagement which they attempted in their weak condition, they began to disregard an emperor whose fortune they thought forsook him. They then compared the merits of the two competitors; and easily finding their great inequality, they ended the dispute by killing Florianus and submitting to Probus. According to Zosimus, Probus had some share in the death of his rival; which is not at all improbable.

Florianus did not enjoy his phantom of grandeur above two, or at most three months. History observes that he was far from resembling his brother, who blamed him for his prodigality and love of expence. He ought likewise to have blamed his inconsiderate ambition, instead of encouraging it, as he did, by trying to raise him to the consulship, and by making him prætorian præfect. This last post, which set him so near the throne, swelled the heart of Florianus, and emboldened him to seize upon the first place the moment it became vacant. We have seen what was his reward.

The posterity both of Tacitus and of Florianus subsisted under Dioclesian; but in a private station, and without any pretence to the empire: unless, giving credit to a prediction of soothsayers, they flattered themselves with hopes of its return-

in reign of
two
months.
Zos. Zon.

Pop. Flor. 1.
Eutrop.

The posterity of Tacitus and of Florianus.
Pop. Flor.
2. § 36.

ing to their family after a revolution of several ages. The story of this prophecy is as follows. The thunder having fallen upon and broken the statues of Tacitus and Florianus, thirty feet high, which their children had erected to them over monuments consecrated to their memories in a part of the territory of Interamna, which had belonged to them; the *Auruspices* were consulted about this pretended prodigy, and answered, that in a thousand years (they were willing to take time) there would issue from the family of those princes an emperor, who would give kings to the Persians; who would subject the Franks and Germans to the laws of Rome; who would not leave a single barbarian in all Africa; who would establish a governor in the island of Taprobane; who would send a proconsul into the great island (a very obscure expression and susceptible of many meanings); who would be the judge and arbiter of the Sarmatians; who would reign over the whole extent of land that is surrounded by the ocean; who, master of the universe, would restore the empire of the world to the senate; and who, after living like a private citizen to the age of an hundred and twenty years, would die without an heir. This absurd prediction, which Vopiscus himself laughs at, is a remarkable instance of the quackery of the interpreters of prodigies among the Pagans.

Probus writes to the senate, who acknowledge him with joy.
Uop. Prob.
11—13.

Probus, being acknowledged by Florianus's army as well as by his own, and having no longer any competitor, now wanted only the confirmation of the senate, which he applied for in terms equally modest and submissive, without availing himself of his strength, but on the contrary respecting the authority of that august assembly even when he could have done without it. I shall give his letter as I find it in Vopiscus. "Conscript fathers, " said he, nothing is more agreeable to order, than " what was done last year, when your clemency

" gave

“ gave the universe a head, chosen from among
“ yourselves, who are the heads of the whole
“ world; who were so in your predecessors, and
“ who will be so in your posterity. Would to the
“ gods that Florianus had waited for your deci-
“ sion, and had not arrogated to himself the em-
“ pire as by right of inheritance! whether your
“ majesty had named him, or named another, your
“ will would have been a law to us. But under
“ the necessity of resisting an usurper, my army
“ has conferred on me the title of Augustus; and
“ the wisest among the soldiers have punished his
“ usurpation with death. To you it belongs to
“ judge whether I am worthy of the empire; and
“ I beg of you to order in that respect whatever
“ your clemency may judge most proper.” The
style of this letter, which I have taken care not to
alter, is plainly that of a dependant, and shews
how much it was a thing acknowledged, that the
sovereignty resided essentially in the senate.

That assembly being met, Probus's letter was
read, and the consul proposed deliberating upon
it, calling Probus only by his name, without the
addition of any title. We may easily imagine how
the senators were inclined. A thousand accla-
mations, full of encomiums and ardent wishes, ra-
tified the choice of the army: after which Manli-
us Statianus, whose right it was to give his opi-
nion first, made a long speech in praise of the
prince elect, which he concluded with beseech-
ing the gods, that * Probus might govern the re-
public as well as he had fought for it, and with
voting him the dignities of Cæsar and Augustus,
the proconsular command, the respectable title of
father of his country, the high-priesthood, the
right of proposing three things to be considered
of by the senate, and the tribunitian power. I
enter into this detail purposely to shew how much

* Imperet quemadmodum militavit.

the original principles of government, and the very forms established by Augustus the founder of the monarchy of the Cæsars, were still observed, notwithstanding all the confusion that must have been occasioned by such numbers of usurpations, and so many tumultuous elections made by the armies.

His declaration, confirming and amplifying the rights of the senate.

Probus restricted himself solely to the military command, and left the full and absolute administration of all civil affairs to the senate, whose rights and privileges he not only confirmed, but enlarged. By a declaration addressed to that assembly, he ordered that all appeals from the superior courts of justice throughout the whole empire should be to the senate. He likewise restored to the conscript fathers the prerogative of appointing the proconsuls of the provinces in the department of the people, and insisted that the civil magistrates even of those which were under the immediate direction of the emperor, should receive their powers and commissions from the senate. If, as M. de Tillemont observes, he therein exceeded the strict letter of Augustus's institutions, he however kept to their true sense and meaning, which was, that the civil government of the state should belong to the senate, and the direction of the armies to the prince. For instead of there being, as in the time of that first emperor of the Romans, only one chief in each province, to whom all power, civil, and military, belonged, and who was at the same time both magistrate and general; we find from history that the troops now had every where their particular commander, stiled *Dux*, who was not dependant on the governor of the province. Therefore Probus did not lessen his own rights as generalissimo; though he extended those of the senate, by granting to that illustrious body an inspection which it never had before over the provinces dependant on the emperor.

Tillemont.
Prob. art. 2.

This

This definition of the two kinds of power thus divided between the emperor and the senate, must not, however, be taken too literally. The emperor was head of the senate, and consequently influenced its deliberations. But Probus, satisfied with being that head, was so far from wanting to be its master, that reviving a custom which had been abolished, probably of late, he declared his intention, that all his laws should be consecrated, for that is the historian's expression, by the decrees of the senate.

The whole tenor of Probus's conduct was of a piece with this happy beginning of his government, in which he only continued to tread the path he had first set out in: and accordingly we find that all those who have spoken of him, either during his life or after his death, have taken care to observe that the purity of his morals, and his strict probity rendered him completely worthy of the name he bore. To those high qualities he joined an elevated mind and great courage. In short, he was one of those very extraordinary men whose transcendant merit shines forth even in the dawn of life, and accompanies them to the grave.

He was born at Sirmium in Pannonia, about the year of Christ 232, towards the end of the reign of Alexander Severus. His mother is said to have been of better family than his father, whom some distinguish no otherwise than by calling him a lover of gardens. Others say that he served in the army, was made centurion, and afterwards, for his good behaviour, tribune. The name of Probus's father was Maximus: he was a native of Dalmatia, and died in Egypt.

Probus likewise embraced the military profession, and having distinguished himself therein by his virtue and integrity, as much as by his bravery, which was very great, he was soon taken notice of by the emperor Valerian, who loved and esteemed

Eminent merit of this emperor.
Vop. Flor.
3, & *Prob.*
4.

Mediocrity of his birth.
Tillem.
Vop. Prob.
3-6.
Vict. Ept.

His employments before he was raised to the empire.

esteemed good men. That prince was so struck with his merit, that he overlooked the laws in his favour, and made him tribune, contrary to Adrian's regulation, when he was scarcely twenty-two years old. In that station, Probus increased his former glory, and merited several times the military rewards of crowns, gorgets, and bracelets. He obtained in particular the signal honour of a civic crown, by rescuing Valerius Flaccus, a relation of the emperor, out of the hands of the Quadi. His merit intitling him to still higher promotion, Valerian gave him the command of the third legion, at the head of which he himself had been placed, though not until his hairs were grown grey with age: a circumstance which he intimated to Probus in the letter by which he acquainted him with his preferment, beginning in the following gracious expressions, so pleasing for a subject to receive from his sovereign: "My dear * Probus; quick as my promotion of you may be, it "still is slow in comparison of your services."

Rep. Prob.
3.

We are not told the particulars of all the personal acts of valour by which Probus gained the reputation of being the bravest officer in the Roman army, scaling the first of any of the walls of besieged places, forcing the lines of the enemy's camps, and killed with his own hand all that dared to cope with him in battle. He acquired honour even in single combats; and history mentions one Aradion in Africa, a man of great resolution and steady courage, whom Probus fought, and killed, and to whom he afterwards erected a fine monument, to honour the valour of the enemy he had conquered.

Having risen by degrees to the rank of commander in chief, Probus shewed himself as great a general as he had before been a brave officer.

He

* Res tuæ gestæ, Probe carissime, faciunt ut & serius tibi tradere majores exercitus * videar, & cito tamen tradam.

* The word *exercitus* must mean here only a *body of troops*, and not an *army*.

He was sent by Aurelian into Egypt, as I said before, to conquer that country back from Zenobia's lieutenants, whilst the emperor himself carried on the war in the East against that queen: and he acquitted himself of his commission to the satisfaction of the prince who employed him. His valour, however, carried him too far at first, and he narrowly escaped being taken prisoner, by exposing himself rashly. But he remembered his fault, avoiding doing the same again, and, after beating the Palmyrenes on more than one occasion, made Egypt submit to Aurelian.

It was probably a little before this exploit that he subdued the Marmaridæ * in Africa, and that being called to Carthage by a rebellion which had broke out there, he restored peace and tranquillity to that city.

His merit in action was not greater than in his behaviour towards the soldiers. He made them love him by his justice, without infringing upon or relaxing the rigour of discipline. But he was their avowed protector against the vexations to which their officers often subjected them; and he several times appeased Aurelian, when they were in danger of feeling the effects of his tremendous wrath. He visited every company, and examined particularly whether the cloathing of the men was good. If any booty was to be divided, Probus, not only just, but generous, always looked upon himself as one who had no concern in it; and, slighting such things as were only rich and costly, he contented himself with a few arms. Such was his disinterestedness, that his troops were forced one day to use a sort of violence to make him accept of a horse, which had been taken from the Alans, much like the horses of the present Tartars, small and ill made, but swift, and so indefatigable

His excellent conduct towards the soldiery.

* The Marmaridæ occupied the country between Egypt on the east, and Cyrenaica on the west.

fatigable, that it would go ninety miles a day for eight days running. Probus, to excuse himself from receiving it, said at first that such a horse was fitter for one who intended to run away, than for a brave man: but he was at last forced to yield to the joint entreaties of his whole army.

Such noble sentiments, and so proper an use of the military authority, were, one would think, the best of means to secure the affection of the troops in favour of Probus. But on the other hand, he never flattered them. Indefatigably laborious himself, he kept them also constantly employed, saying, that they ought not to eat the bread of the public for nothing. When they were not actually engaged in war, he set them about public works, such as draining marshes, making roads, rendering rivers navigable, and building of bridges, temples, and porticos. Such was his behaviour towards them both when a private man and when emperor: and it succeeded for a long time. But at length the soldiers grew displeas'd at it: their love for him turned to hatred: and his endeavours to surmount their invincible obstinacy cost him his life.

Glorious testimonies given of him by the princes under whom he served.
Pop. 5, 7.

This sketch of Probus's character shews that nothing was wanting in him to form an accomplished general: and accordingly he received from all the princes under whom he served, the most glorious testimonies of his merit and great abilities. I have already said what was the opinion of Valerian, under whom he first appeared. Gallienus, though himself destitute of all virtue, did nevertheless justice to that of Probus, and declares in a letter of his which we have, that he looked upon that excellent officer as a second father, who replaced Valerian, taken from him by the misfortunes of war. We know in general that Claudius the Gothic esteemed and employed Probus. Some have said that they were related. But independent of that consideration, his merit could not fail to recommend him

Pop. 5.

him strongly to so excellent a prince. Aurelian gave him the command of the bravest legions in his armies, and nothing can be more honourable or more obliging than the following letter which he wrote to him on that occasion, "Aurelian Augustus, to Probus. That you may know how much I esteem you, receive the command of the tenth legion, which Claudius heretofore committed to my care. This corps is fortunate, and seems to have the singular prerogative of being commanded by such only as are to be emperors." These last words shew plainly that Aurelian thought Probus worthy of the empire; and as he had no male children of his own, he perhaps intended this as a previous step towards the farther design of making him his successor, if a violent and sudden death had not set aside his measures. It therefore is not at all improbable that Tacitus might propose him to the senate, when that assembly met in order to chuse an emperor: and having been chosen himself, he looked upon him as his chief support. This he tells him in very strong terms in a letter by which he acquaints him with his being appointed commander of all the troops in the East. "I have been created emperor, says he to him, by the senate, with the consent of the army. But * you must know, that the republic rests much more upon your shoulders." In the same letter, Tacitus promises him the consulship. So that when Probus was raised to the supreme rank, he in a manner only took possession of what had been intended for him by two preceding emperors: and nothing was either fitter or more just than the eagerness of the army to elect him, and the readiness of the senate to confirm that election.

The first use he made of his authority, was fully to avenge the death of Aurelian and that of Tacitus.

When emperor, he punishes the murderers of

* *Sciendum tibi est, tuis humeris magis incubuisse Rempublicam.*

Aurelian
and of Ta-
citus, and
pardon the
partizans
of Floria-
nus.
Pag. 13.

tus. There still remained some of the murderers of Aurelian, who had also been concerned in the conspiracy against his successor. Probus ordered them all to be put to death, but without inflicting on them unnecessary torments. I cannot believe what Zosimus says of all these criminals being collected together under pretence of an entertainment which the emperor was to give them. So timid an artifice seems to me unworthy of the character of so magnanimous a prince as Probus, or of one who could so easily make his orders to be obeyed. He pardoned those who had sided with Florianus, thinking their attachment to the brother of their emperor very excusable.

He goes
into Gaul,
and drives
the Ger-
mans from
thence.
Pag. 14, 15.

The welfare of the state called Probus into Gaul, which, ever since the death of Aurelian, had been infested by incursions of the barbarians, Franks, Burgundians, Vandals, and other German nations, who, so far as we can find, met with no opposition. The consequence of this was, that not satisfied with plundering the country, they seized upon towns and cities, and seemed to intend to fix their abode there, as they at last did in the fifth century. Probus marched against them, and overthrew their hopes.

Zos.

It is not possible for us to give a particular account of all the exploits of this prince against the several German nations which he opposed. We shall only observe that Zosimus mentions three battles gained either by Probus himself or by his lieutenants: one over the Lyges or Lygions; the second over the Franks; and the third over the united forces of the Burgundians and Vandals, near the Rhine. But we shall not believe upon the credit of that writer, that when the Romans were distressed for want of provisions, a shower of corn as well as water fell upon them, sufficient to make bread for all their army.

The general result of this war is not badly summed up by Vopiscus, when he says, that Probus, gaining a great number of battles, killed near four hundred thousand of the barbarians, re-conquered sixty or seventy cities of which they had possessed themselves; took back great part of their booty, and after driving them entirely out of Gaul, passed the Rhine, and obliged the shattered remains of their armies to retire beyond the Necker and the Elbe; that over-running all the country between the Rhine and those two rivers, he retaliated their ravages upon them, and took as great a booty as they had done in Gaul; that this last part of his expedition was likewise attended with prodigious slaughter of the barbarians, for each of whose heads, that was brought to him, he paid a piece of gold; that these haughty enemies, desolated by a war which ruined their country, resolved to submit; and that nine of their kings went to the emperor and threw themselves at his feet, beseeching him to grant them peace.

Probus would have been glad to disarm them: which in fact was the only way to keep those warlike and restless nations quiet. But he was sensible at the same time that he never should obtain their voluntary acceptance of so humiliating a condition; that nothing but force could bring them to it, and that the war must consequently be continued until all Germany should be reduced to a Roman province, in which it would still be necessary to leave a very great number of troops to secure the obedience of so vast a country. This project being therefore impracticable, Probus contented himself with what was possible.

He required of the barbarians that they should restore whatever they had remaining of the plunder of Gaul; and made them deliver up to him immediately, doubtless by way of indemnification for the expences of the war, their corn and cattle, in which all their riches consisted, and of which he imposed
upon

upon them an annual tribute. He took hostages for the performance of these conditions ; and some of them having failed to fulfil their engagements in respect of the plunder, by keeping back part of it, he punished them severely for so doing, with the consent even of their kings. Lastly, he ordered the Germans to furnish him with sixteen thousand men, chosen from among their bravest and most robust youths, to serve in the Roman armies. These he took care afterwards to part, by distributing them in different provinces, and inrolling them in different corps, so that there were seldom above fifty or sixty of them together. “ It is right, said he, to draw assistance from the “ barbarians, provided that assistance be felt, but “ not perceived.” A wise maxim, which, had it been well attended to, would have saved the empire many misfortunes.

By this peace, the conditions of which were so hard, Probus weakened and impoverished the German nations to a great degree : and accordingly, in his letter to the senate, he said : “ We have left “ the vanquished barbarians only the bare soil of “ their lands. All that they possess now is ours. “ The fields of Gaul are plowed by German oxen : “ their flocks feed us : their studs furnish us with “ horses for mounting our cavalry : our granaries “ are full of their corn.” And as a final precaution to keep things in the situation he had put them, he formed camps and built castles in the very country of the barbarians all along the Roman frontier, and left there some of his brave troops, to whom he assigned lands, houses, granaries, and provisions of all kinds, that they might not want for any thing, but be always ready instantly to quash any rising commotion.

Our authors do not say what number of prisoners Probus took in this war : but it must have been very great. Zosimus informs us that they were all sent into Britain, and settled there. Some of them

were

were Vandals, from whom Wandlesbury, near Gogmagog-hills, in Cambridgeshire, is supposed to have received its name. But the greatest part were probably Saxons, if, as one of the learned of this age conjectures, it was from them that part of the coast of this island was called the *Saxon coast*, by which name it was distinguished in the fourth century.

This great and rapid success (for Probus cannot well have been employed above a year in this glorious expedition) did not in the least swell the conqueror with pride. His language, in his letter to the senate of which I have just quoted a part, is modest, and even religious. "Conscript fathers *," says he, I thank the immortal gods, for that they have confirmed your opinion of me by the event. Gaul is delivered, and Germany subdued. Nine kings have thrown themselves at my feet, or rather at yours. Order, therefore, solemn thanksgivings to the gods." He then mentions the crowns of gold which the cities of Gaul had presented to him in acknowledgment of their delivery, and desires the senate to consecrate them to Jupiter and the other gods and goddesses.

Probus was consul the year that he pacified Gaul, by the expulsion of the Germans. He had taken the consulship on the first of January next ensuing, after his accession to the throne, according to the usual custom of the emperors. The *Fasti* informs us that this was his first consulship: and consequently, that which Tacitus had promised him at the time of his appointing him commander in the East, did not take place; though we know not for what reason.

The next year Probus, being consul for the second time, bent his march towards Illyricum, which was harrassed by the Sarmatians and other people

Modest and religious stile of his letter to the senate.

A. R. 1028.
Talem not.
3. cur Prob.

He pacifies Rhætia, Illyricum, and Thrace.
A. R. 1029.
Vep. 16.

* Ago Diis immortalibus gratias, P. C. quia vestra in me iudicia comprobavit.

people bordering upon the Danube. He passed through Rhatia, and restored the peace of that country, which had probably been disturbed by the same enemies who had molested Gaul. In Illyricum, he took back, without scarcely drawing a sword, all the plunder which the barbarians had possessed themselves of; and drove them from that country. Victory followed him every where. The various people of the Gothic nation, awed by the terror of his name, submitted immediately upon his arrival in Thrace. But in Asia Minor the Isaurians were more obstinate.

He crosses over into Asia Minor, and marches against the Isaurians.

I have spoken elsewhere of these banditti, whom the nature of their country rendered robbers by profession; and whose chief was bold enough to set up for emperor under Gallienus. That tyrant, whom we have already taken notice of, and whose name was Trebellianus, perished in his rash undertaking. But the nation was not subdued: and the Roman arms having, from that time, been constantly * employed against more dangerous and more pressing enemies, the Isaurians continued their plunders and piracies with impunity, and over-ran all Pamphylia and Lycia. Probus, having pacified the West, and being ready to march into the East to make his name and arms be respected there, resolved to take in his way this nation of robbers, which bid defiance to the power of the empire in the middle of which it was situated, and either to subdue or destroy it.

Vopiscus mentions a Palfurius as chief of the Isaurians, and Zosimus speaks of a Lydius, who held that rank. Are they two different men, or two

* Trebellius, in the short history he has left us of the tyrant or usurper Trebellianus, says that Claudius II. made war upon the Isaurians. But that prince had enough to do against the Goths, during his very short reign; for which reason I am quite of Casaubon's opinion, when he thinks that Trebellius has mistakingly applied to Claudius what belongs to Probus.

two names of the same man? The question is difficult, but of very little importance. I shall follow Zosimus, who gives us the best and fullest account of this affair.

Lydius, upon the approach of the Roman troops that were advancing against him, being sensible that he could not pretend to keep the field, shut himself up in the city of Cremna, whose name denotes its situation *. The siege of Cremna, Zos. It was built upon a high rock, the ascent of which, naturally steep, had rendered still more difficult by art. Probus having ordered one of his lieutenants to besiege the place, and not to leave it until he had taken it, Lydius defended himself like a brave and intelligent man. It is pity that those valuable qualities were dishonoured in him by deeds of shocking cruelty.

He had men enough under him, but he feared his provisions might fall short. To prevent this, he ordered a great number of houses to be pulled down, and the ground on which they stood to be plowed, and sowed with corn. He then turned out the useless inhabitants; and upon the besiegers refusing to receive them, he caused them all, men, women, and children, to be thrown down headlong into the bogs that surrounded the city. He likewise dug a mine, which, after passing under the outmost lines of the Romans, opened in the country beyond them; and through that he sent out parties who seized and brought in all the corn and cattle they could find, and thereby facilitated the subsistence of the garrison. But this resource being at last cut off by the Romans, who discovered the artifice, he resolved upon a still farther diminution of those he had to feed, by keeping with him none but men determined never to surrender, and putting all the rest to the sword; to which he added the farther precaution of reducing his surviving companions to

stated

* *Kρημνος* in Greek, signifies a precipice.

stated allowances of bread and wine. With these, his resolution was fixed to bury himself under the ruins of the place. But death, which an action equally imprudent and inhuman drew upon him, put an end to the resistance of the besieged, and rendered the Romans conquerors.

One of his archers, famous for always hitting his mark, being ordered by him to shoot at a particular person whom he pointed out among the besiegers, missed his aim, either accidental, or on purpose. Lydius, flying into a violent passion, ordered him to be whipped cruelly, and even threatened him with death. The archer, highly provoked and terrified, found means to escape to the Romans; and being carried to their general, he shewed him a small opening in the walls of the city, through which Lepidus used to observe what was doing in the camp; and promised to kill him the first time he should perceive him there. His offer was accepted, and he soon kept his word. Lydius, looking out at the hole which the archer knew, received his death's wound from a well aimed arrow: but before he expired, he sent as his fore-runners to the infernal regions, those whose courage he mistrusted, and with his dying words exhorted the rest never to surrender. Their resolution, however, or rather their obstinacy, ceased with him, and they opened their gates to the Romans.

Probus took all possible means to clear Isauria from this race of banditti who had domineered in it for several ages. He visited all their fortresses, strong holds, and lurking places, and was convinced that it was much easier to prevent their returning to them, than to drive them out. He therefore settled there a proper number of old soldiers who had served their limited time, and appointed them proprietaries of the castles and lands, on condition that their male children should be obliged to enlist

Measures
taken by
Probus to
clear Isauria
of robbers.
Vop.

inlist in the armies before the age of eighteen; lest, tempted by the situation of the place, they should imitate the lawless example of its former inhabitants. But notwithstanding these precautions, the country was again peopled with robbers, who, as I observed before, gave no small trouble to some of the succeeding emperors.

Probus marched afterwards towards the east, to secure the frontiers in those parts against the Persians, who had probably made some incursions into the Roman territories: and at the same time, being informed that the Blemmyes struck a terror upon all the south of Egypt, and had possessed themselves of the cities of Coptos* and Ptolemais, he directed one of his lieutenants to pacify that country. The two cities were re-conquered, and the Blemmyes themselves repulsed and subdued. Great numbers of them were taken prisoners and sent to Rome, where, says the historian, they occasioned wonder and astonishment by their extraordinary figure: and well indeed they might, if what has been said of them were true; that they had no head, but had their mouth and eyes in their breast. But this absurd fable wants no refutation. † Perhaps they had very short necks and high shoulders. However, the Blemmyes could not well be quite unknown at Rome in the time of Probus, some of them having appeared there before in Aurelian's triumph.

This victory over the Blemmyes was looked upon as a great thing, and added to the terror which the approach of Probus at the head of an army had before occasioned among the Persians. Their king Vararanes II †, to divert the impending storm, sent an ambassa-

* These cities were situated in Thebais or upper Egypt, upon the Nile. From the name of *Coptos* is supposed to come that of *Coptes*, by which the Christians of Egypt, who follow the opinions of Eutyches, are distinguished.

† Vopiscus calls this king Narses. But M. de Tillemont, in his

ambassadors, who found the Roman emperor already encamped on some of the mountains of Armenia, from whence he could descry their country. The audience * which he gave them is extremely singular, and revives the examples of the simplicity, strict frugality, and high courage of the Curii and Fabricii.

Plainness and haughtiness of his behaviour in the audience which he gave their ambassadors.

Having reached the summit of the hills, he ordered his army to halt and refresh themselves, without sparing their provisions, because the territories of the Persians, to which he pointed, would furnish them with plenty of all things: and he himself sat down upon the grass to eat his own dinner, which consisted of a mess of pease-soup with a few bits of pickled pork. At that very instant, word was brought him that the ambassadors of the king of Persia were arrived, and he immediately ordered them to be brought to him. This was a first subject of surprise to these foreigners, who, accustomed to the pompous ceremonials of their own prince's court, had imagined that they must wait a great while for an audience of the Roman emperor, and that they could not be admitted to it until after they had appeared before his ministers, to whom also they supposed that they should want introducers. Their wonder increased still more when they saw Probus in the situation I have just described, with a plain purple cloak over his shoulders, and a cap upon his head. But with this plain outside, he spoke to them in a stile which made them tremble. He told them, that he was the emperor, and that he charged them to tell their master, that if he did not, before

his fifth note upon Probus, proves that to be a mistake, and shews that it was Vararanes II. who then reigned in Persia.

* Synesius, from whom we have the account of this audience, ascribes it to Carinus. But that is plainly an error, and M. de Tillemont, agreeing therein with F. Petavius, very justly thinks an action of this kind much more suitable to the character of Probus.

before the end of that day, set about repairing the wrongs he had done the Romans; he should see, before the end of the month, all the land in his kingdom laid as bare as Probus's head: which, pulling off his cap, he thereupon shewed them, completely bald. He added, that if they wanted to eat, they might sit down with him: if not, that he desired them to leave the camp directly, their commission being executed.

I know not whether it be to this embassy, or to another from the same king of Persia, that we ought to ascribe what I am now going to mention upon the authority of Vopiscus. Vararanes had sent presents to Probus. Probus rejected them, and answered him by a letter couched in the following terms: "I wonder at your sending me so small a part of what will all soon be ours. Keep what you have. We know how to get it whenever we please."

The haughtiness of this letter is of a piece with all the rest of Probus's conduct. Vararanes was frightened at it: and, if we believe Synesius, he went himself to the Roman emperor to negotiate a treaty with him. What is certain, is that no hostilities took place, and that a peace was agreed on. We know not what were the conditions of it, any farther than they were such as Probus thought fit to dictate. At the same time he did not give up his design of making war upon the Persians, but only deferred it; other affairs then requiring his immediate presence elsewhere.

These were occasioned by two sorts of enemies, the barbarians of the North, and several rebellious subjects. The barbarians, Germans, Sarmatians, Scythians, Goths, were conquered. But Probus was too well acquainted with their temper, to think they would ever remain quiet, until they should be disabled from stirring: and therefore he resolved to transplant great numbers of them into the territories

His haughty letter to their king. Vop.

Peace concluded. Synes. & Vop.

Returning to Europe, he transplants great numbers of barbarians into the territories of the empire. Vop. 14.

territories of the empire. Upon his arrival in Thrace, he settled there an hundred thousand Bastarni, a Scythian people, mentioned in the Roman history so early as in the time of Philip and Perseus kings of Macedon. This colony succeeded: the Bastarni being probably somewhat more civilized than the other nations of the same origin. They complied with the Roman customs and laws, grew used to them, and became faithful subjects. But the Gepidi, the Vandals, and the Franks, did not prove so tractable. All the colonies of these last people, which he transplanted into different parts, revolted, committed great disorders by sea and land, and exercised both his vigilance and activity. Some of them were conquered by him and cut to pieces in different skirmishes and battles; and the rest returned to their own countries.

Incredible boldness of an handful of Franks. *Ulp. & Zon. & Paneg. Maxim. Aug.*

We may judge of the prodigious attachment of these barbarians to their liberty, and of their incredible boldness, by the example of an handful of Franks who had been transported into Pontus. Seizing a few ships, they set sail with them, traversed the Bosphorus of Thrace, the Propontis, the Hellespont, and entering into the Egean sea, ravaged the coasts of Asia and Greece on their right hand and their left; then landed in Sicily, and plundered the famous city of Syracuse; and from thence proceeded towards Africa, where they met with a check near Carthage, from whence a squadron was sent out against them. But still, without being discouraged, they continued their voyage towards the Streights, making frequent descents in order to get provisions. In this manner they reached the ocean, doubled Spain, and kept along the coast of Gaul, until they came to the mouth of the Rhine, where they landed and got safe back to their own country.

However, if Probus's wisdom could not soften the savage disposition and roughness of the barbarians

rians, so far as to make them live quietly under the immediate jurisdiction of the Romans; at least the terror of his name kept them in such awe, that the frontiers of the empire were not molested.

Within it, as I observed before, he was exposed to several rebellions. History names three rebels, the exact dates of whose enterprises are not fixed. I shall therefore speak of them one after the other.

Saturninus, by birth a Gaul, or, according to Zosimus, a moor, rebelled against Probus in the east. He was a man of merit, and joined the study of eloquence to the profession of arms, in which last he distinguished himself greatly in several commands in Gaul, Africa, and Spain. Aurelian, who held him in high esteem, trusted him with the important care of guarding the frontier of the east: but knowing at the same time his levity and ambition, he expressly forbid him ever to enter Egypt, lest the restless and flighty temper of the Egyptians, meeting with too similar a disposition in this general, should produce some fatal effect, and make him depart from his duty. The event proved the justness of Aurelian's precaution. For, under the reign of Probus, who probably had taken off his predecessor's prohibition, Saturninus going to Alexandria, the people of that city, who had not been used to see any thing higher than a præfect, were so struck with the pomp and splendour of a general, decorated with the most eminent titles, that they immediately proclaimed him Augustus.

Saturninus behaved very prudently at first. Without accepting of the honour thus tumultuously decreed him, he hastened out of Alexandria, and retired into Palestine. But there, reflecting on what had happened, and imagining that it would be no longer safe for him to continue in a private station, he assumed the purple, and was acknowledged, or to use the original term, worshipped by the soldiers under his command. This

worship

Rebels
who rose
up against
Probus.

Saturninus
in the east.
Vop. Prob.
18. & Sa-
turnin.
Zos. Zon.

worship consisted in kissing the hem of the purple robe which the prince had on; and this is the first time I find that expression in the history of the Roman emperors.

We are told that Saturninus shed tears during the ceremony of his inauguration, and that foreseeing the catastrophe it would end in, he said, "The republic loses this day a necessary subject, if I may be allowed to say so. I have done my country great services. But what have I reaped by them? The step which I now take, ruins all my past actions." Those about him, exhorted him to take courage, and hope for better things: but he would not hear them. "I know, said he to them, what are the general dangers attendant on the first rank. But here the case is infinitely more terrifying. By declaring myself the rival of Probus, whose lieutenant I am, and ought to think myself honoured in so being, and who is deservedly beloved by all, I rush upon inevitable death. If any thing comforts me, it is that I shall not perish alone." This is quite the language of a man unsettled, wavering in his own mind, fluctuating between contrary sentiments, who yields to the strongest impression without stifling the other, and who knows not how to be either quite virtuous, or quite wicked.

He judged wrong of Probus, when he thought that he would be inexorable towards him. Probus loved him, and was so far from being inclined to harbour the least unfavourable opinion of him, that, if we believe Zonaras, he ordered the messenger who first brought him the news of Saturninus's revolt to be put to death, as a calumniator: and even when he could no longer possibly doubt of the fact, he wrote several letters to the rebel, promising him his pardon. But the soldiers, who were accomplices in the crime, would not suffer their chief to rely on the emperor's word. Arms were of course resorted to. Those of the eastern troops which remained

mained faithful to Probus fought the rebels several times, and at last reduced Saturninus to the necessity of shutting himself up in the castle of Apamæa, where he was taken, and killed by the conquerors, without Probus's order, and, some say, contrary to his intentions.

Eusebius, in his chronicle, says that Saturninus began to build a new Antioch, some time before his rebellion. But he tells us nothing farther concerning it.

Two other usurpers, more strictly such, and at the same time more determined, rose up in Gaul one after the other. These were Proculus and Bonosus.

Proculus was a native of Albenga in Liguria; born of parents who held a considerable rank in that country, and from whom he had inherited an inclination to the trade of a free-booter, by which he amassed great riches. He served in the Roman armies, and distinguished himself by his courage: though we do not find that he ever rose to a higher command than that of tribune. He was a man of no morals; but on the contrary, prided himself upon his feats of debauchery.

He seems to have apprehended Probus's displeasure on account of his dissolute courses, so repugnant to the strict discipline which that prince required: and at the same time the people of Lyon, who had been severely treated by Aurelian, fearing, history says not for what reason, the same rigour from the present emperor, exhorted Proculus to revolt, and put himself at the head of Gaul. To these motives were added the counsels of his wife, a woman of daring spirit and vast ambition. His resolution and measures being taken, the plot broke out at Cologne at an entertainment, where Proculus, having won ten times running at play, was proclaimed Augustus by a buffoon, who threw a purple robe over his shoulders,
and

*Proculus in
Gaul.
Vop. Prob.
1b. & Proc.*

and worshipped him. The guests, who had undoubtedly been warned of what was to happen, took this pretended jest seriously. The troops in and about the city followed their example, and the rebellion spread all over Gaul, and reached even Spain and Britain, which were then considered as dependant on it. Proculus wanted also to engage the barbarians bordering upon the Rhine. But they remained faithful to Probus, and even assisted him in the war he was obliged to make against this rebel.

We know very little of the particulars of this war. Vopiscus only tells us, that Proculus beat the Alamanni, whose alliance he had not been able to obtain: but that he could not resist Probus, who put him to flight, and forced him to seek for shelter among the Franks, from whom he pretended to derive his origin: that the Franks, whom Vopiscus reproaches, I think improperly on this occasion, with making light of their word and oaths, delivered up to Probus, whose allies they were, a rebellious subject; and that Proculus, thus fallen into the hands of his justly incensed prince, suffered the punishment due to his crime, and was put to death.

He had a son called Herennianus, then an infant, whom he intended to declare emperor as soon as he should be five years old. It was probably his posterity by his son which subsisted at Albenga, in an honourable but private station; equally averse to all rash projects of grandeur, and to all thoughts of becoming banditti.

The fate of Proculus was not a warning to Bonosus, who, treading in his steps, met with a similar end. He had acquired a considerable fortune: greater than his birth entitled him to. His ancestors were Britons: but he himself was born in Spain, of a Gaulish mother. His father's profession, according to his own account, was that of a rhetorician;

Bonosus
likewise in
Gaul.
Vop. Bon.

rhetorician; but according to others he kept a little grammar-school. He lost that father when he was but an infant, and was brought up by his mother, who wanted him to apply to study. But his taste being for war, he entered into the army, and after obtaining first what we should call a * brevet of captain, he rose afterwards to the rank of tribune, and at last to that of commander in chief of the troops that guarded the frontier of Rhætia.

He had the singular talent of being able to drink as much as he pleased, without ever being in the least affected by the liquor; which made Aurelian say of him, playing upon the words *vivere* and *bibere*, that he was not born to *live*, but to *drink*. That emperor made excellent use of the strength of Bonosus's head, by setting him to drink with the ambassadors of the barbarians until he made them drunk and got all their secrets out of them: and with the same view he made him marry a prisoner of the royal blood of the Goths, whose virtue and merit were equal to her birth, and who, being on these accounts highly respected in her own country, procured her husband correspondences and connections there, by means of which he learned many things of consequence for the emperor to know.

Under Probus, Bonosus commanded the little fleet which the Romans kept upon the Rhine, and which, probably through his negligence, the Germans set fire to, and burnt. The fear of being punished made him have recourse to the then common resource of the great officers of the armies; that of declaring himself emperor. His forces must have been considerable, since it was not without difficulty that Probus conquered him.

But

* The original expression is *inter foridarios*. Those who were then called *ordinarii* were, according to Salmasius, officers who had the rank of captains, without having the actual command of a company.

But he at last defeated him so completely, that Bonosus, in despair, fled to Cologne, where he hanged himself: upon which occasion another, but more ill-natured joke was passed upon him, by saying, there hangs a pitcher, and not a man; alluding to the great quantity of wine he used to drink. The conqueror, moderate and clement, did not extend his vengeance to the rebel's family, but let his two sons live, treated his widow with great distinction, and continued her pension from the imperial treasury.

An usurper in Britain.

Zos. Zon.

Zosimus and Zonaras mentions a fourth rebellion, in Britain, but without naming the person who was at the head of it. They only say that it was the commander of the island, and that he had obtained his employment through the interest of Victorinus, a Moor; who, upon Probus's complaining to him of this revolt, thinking that treachery might lawfully be employed against a traitor, left the court under pretence of some disgust, and went over into Britain, as if to seek an asylum with his friend. He was received with open arms, and taking advantage of the usurper's security, found means to assassinate him in the night, and then returned to Probus. We are not told what the emperor thought of this action, useful to his interest, but very contrary to all his principles.

Sedition of a troop of gladiators.

Zos.

Even the very gladiators cut out work for Probus. Eighty of those miscreants, having killed their keepers, and made their escape from the school, as it was called, in which they were kept and trained up, infested the whole neighbourhood of Rome, plundering and ravaging every thing that fell in their way. Their success brought others of their companions to them, and their numbers increased to such a degree, that the emperor was obliged to send troops to disperse and destroy them.

Probus's triumph.

Page 19.

It is after Probus's wars against the enemies abroad, and the rebels who started up at home, that Vopiscus places his triumph; a ceremony which

in effect required, and supposes an interval of tranquillity. This prince triumphed over the Germans and the Blemmyes, nations whose distance from north to south is immense, and gives a vast idea of the Roman grandeur. Though this triumph is distinguished by the names of those two people only, Probus had conquered several others, of which great numbers divided into companies of fifty men, were led prisoners before his chariot.

On this occasion he distributed, according to custom, largesses to the soldiers and people, and gave games and shews, fights of wild beasts and combats of three hundred couple of gladiators, chosen from among the prisoners he had led in triumph, Blemmyes, Germans, Sarmatians, and Isaurians. He likewise treated the people with hunting in the circus, the preparations for which are described by Vopiscus.

Great trees, taken up with their roots, were conveyed unto the circus by soldiers, and fixed upright, as if they grew there, in such numbers as to form a fine forest. Into this were turned loose all sorts of animals that delight in woods, without being either mischievous or carnivorous, such as, a thousand ostriches, a thousand stags, a thousand boars, fawns, roe-bucks, mountain-goats, and in short every kind of large game that could be found. The people were then allowed to hunt them, and every man had leave to carry away what he caught. Frivolous as these things may seem, and exorbitant as their expence must have been, the emperors were under an indispensable necessity of complying with them, if they desired to satisfy the people of Rome, who had no longer any of their ancient rights left, but that of being amused by their masters.

Probus conferred a more solid and more lasting benefit upon the provinces of the empire, by repealing Domitian's prohibition against the planting of vines. He permitted them to be planted by

Feasts and shews on that occasion.

He permits vines to be planted in Gaul, Spain, and Pannonia.

the Page 18.

*Entrop.
Vet. uter-
qua.*

the Gauls, the Spaniards, and the Pannonians: so that the wines of Burgundy and Champagne in France, and those of Tokay in Hungary, owe their existence to him: and I should wonder at this prince's not having been celebrated by toppers as a second Bacchus, if the votaries of the bottle were men of learning. He himself took care to make his soldiers plant vines upon mount Alma, near his native city Sirmium, and also upon the golden mount in upper Mœsia; both of which he gave to the inhabitants of the country, on condition that they should be at the expence of cultivating those vineyards. It was a maxim with him, as I observed before, always to keep the troops employed; and he required of them another work which brought him to an untimely end.

*He is killed
by his own
troops,
near Sir-
mium.
Vop. 20.
*Entrop.
Vet. uter-
qua.*

Having restored tranquillity throughout the whole extent of the empire, he prepared to take vengeance upon the Persians for their ignominious treatment of Valerian, and directed his march through Illyricum, where he staid some time, whilst his forces assembled and he himself prepared all things necessary for his expedition. Being unwilling to let the troops that were with him remain idle during that stay, he set them about draining the marshes near Sirmium, by digging ditches which should carry their waters into the Save; in hopes of recovering thereby a considerable extent of land, which, when tilled, would increase the riches of his native country. The soldiers, disliking their work, mutinied: and an expression then imputed to Probus, but which I do not think it at all likely that he should have made use of, rendered them quite furious. He was made to say, that the empire would soon have no need of soldiers. Is it credible that Probus should talk at that rate at the very instant of his undertaking a most important war? These reports were undoubtedly spread by some designing ambitious person, and our suspicions may naturally fall upon Carus, who

Vop. Cœ. 6.

Zonar.

who

who succeeded him, and who, at that very time, was accused of having obtained the throne by wicked practices. This is farther confirmed by the testimony of Zonaras, from whose account, though otherwise ill-shaped and loaded with improbable circumstances, it appears pretty plainly, that Carus's nomination to the empire by the troops which he commanded, preceded the death of Probus. However that may have been, this great and excellent emperor, being attacked by his enraged troops, endeavoured to fly to a tower plated with iron, which he had built in order to observe from thence all that passed in the neighbouring country: but before he could reach it, he was overtaken by the assassins, and killed upon the spot.

Julian the apostate at the same time that he condemns the wickedness of the soldiers in murdering Probus, pretends on the other hand that this prince was himself the cause of his misfortune by his excessive severity, which seldom kept within the bounds of prudence. I know not whether we ought to have so good an opinion of Julian's judgment as to adopt his censure against this emperor, who was in all respects much better than him.

Among all the princes that ever sat upon the throne of the Cæsars, it would be difficult to name one superior to Probus. Always victorious from his youth to his death, he joined to his military talents the estimable qualities of the good and worthy man. He was as great a warrior as Aurelian, but milder and more gentle; as moderate perhaps as Marcus Aurelius, but fitter for war; having recourse to arms out of necessity only, and respecting the laws; great as a commander, and, as a prince, attentive to the happiness of his subjects; always busied with useful undertakings, and making the labour of his soldiers conduce towards the advantages of peace. In a very short reign, he rebuilt or repaired seventy cities. He formed a great number

*Jul. Cæs.**Eulogy of
Probus.
Fop. 22.**Entrop.**Jul. Cæs.
Fop. 22.*

ber

ber of excellent generals, some of whom became great princes, such as Carus, Dioclesian, Maximian Hercules, and Constantius Chlorus. The empire, lifted up from its fall by Claudius II. and restored to its splendour by Aurelian, attained under Probus the greatest happiness it ever enjoyed: and if the wickedness of the soldiers had not shortened his days, he would have revived the age of Augustus.

Honours
paid to his
memory.
Vop. 21.

He was exceedingly regretted by the senate and the Roman people. Even the troops which killed him reproached themselves with his death, and raised a monument to him with this epitaph: *Here lies the emperor Probus, whose probity rendered him truly worthy of the name he bore. He was the conqueror of all the barbarous nations: the con-*

Vop. Car. 6. *queror of usurpers.* His successor Carus, either out of real zeal, or out of policy, avenged his death, and made his assassins expire upon the rack. He likewise paid the greatest honours to his memory, and ranked him among the gods.

Tillem.
A. R. 1033.
Tillem.
His posterity.
Vop. Prob.
24.

Probus was killed towards the beginning of the month of August in the year of Christ 282, after having reigned six years and some months, and lived fifty years. His posterity retired into the territory of Verona, and there voluntarily buried themselves in obscurity, to avoid the jealousy of the succeeding princes.

PRINCIPAL EVENTS
 OF THE REIGNS
 OF
C A R U S,
 AND OF HIS SONS,
 CARINUS AND NUMERIAN.

PROBUS AUGUSTUS V.
 VICTORINUS.

A. R. 1033.
 A. C. 282.

THE prætorian præfect, Carus, being proclaimed emperor, perhaps whilst Probus was yet alive, is acknowledged by the whole empire. He was a native of Narbonne, and had passed through all the civil and military employments, not excepting even the consulship.

He notifies his election to the senate.

He names his two sons, Carinus and Numerian, Cæsars.

He defeats the Sarmatians, and secures the tranquillity of Illyricum.

M. AURELIUS CARUS AUGUSTUS II.]
 M. AURELIUS CARINUS CÆSAR.

A. R. 1034.
 A. C. 283.

Carus, being ready to march against the Persians, sends his eldest son Carinus into the West, to awe the barbarians of the North.

It is probable that he then named him Augustus, together with his second son, Numerian, whom he took with him.

Games

Games given at Rome by Carus : Carinus presides at them.

Carinus gains some advantages over the barbarians ; but proves a downright tyrant, cruel, and debauched.

Carus makes himself master of Mesopotamia, and takes the cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon.

He perishes beyond the Tigris ; being killed, as was said, by a stroke of thunder. But it is more probable, that he lost his life by the wicked intrigues of the prætorian præfect, Arrius Aper.

His death happened towards the end of this year, or in the beginning of the next.

He was ranked among the gods.

A. R. 1035.
A. C. 284.

M. AURELIUS CARINUS II. } AUGG.
M. AURELIUS NUMERIANUS. }

CARINUS AND NUMERIAN

EMPERORS.

NUMERIAN brings his army back from Persia, and marches through Asia.

He is killed near Perinthus in Thrace, by the same Aper who was the cause of Carus's death.

Dioclesian is elected emperor by the army at Chalcedon, on the seventeenth of September. He kills Aper with his own hand.

Numerian is ranked among the gods.

CARINUS

CARINUS AND DIOCLESIAN,

EMPERORS.

Carinus and Dioclesian prepare for war against each other.

C. VALERIUS DIOCLETIANUS AUGUSTUS II.
 ARISTOBULUS.

A. R. 1096.
 A. C. 285.

Dioclesian had held a first consulship, before he was made emperor.

Carinus took the consulship this year for the third time. But Dioclesian, remaining sole emperor, ordered his name to be struck out of the *Fasti*.

Dioclesian advances into Illyricum.

Carinus, going to meet him, defeats Sabinus Julianus, who had assumed the imperial purple, near Verona. Julianus was killed in the engagement, or soon after.

The armies of Carinus and Dioclesian meet in Upper Mœsia. The battle of Margum, in which Carinus is conqueror, but is killed by his own people, whose hatred he had incurred by his horrid debaucheries.

The poets Numerian and Calpurnius wrote under the reigns of Carus and his children.

USURPERS under CARINUS.

SABINUS JULIANUS in Italy.

C A R U S

AND HIS SONS,

CARINUS AND NUMERIAN.

SECT. VI.

Carinus elected emperor by the soldiers. His birth and employments. He notifies his election to the senate. He makes his two sons Cæsars, and afterwards Augusti. Numerian, the youngest of them, was amiable and estimable. Carinus, the eldest, hateful and vicious. Carus gains a great victory over the Sarmatians. He marches against the Persians, and sends his son Carinus into the West. His success against the Persians. He perishes, probably by the treachery of Arrius Aper, whilst encamped beyond the Tigris. He suffered himself to be called Lord and God. Games given by Carus to the people of Rome. Observation concerning the names Marcus Aurelius, which several emperors bore.

Carinus
elected em-
peror by
the sol-
diers.
Vop. Car.
5.

HISTORY does not take notice of any interval during which the empire was vacant * after the death of Probus: a circumstance which agrees with what Zonaras says, when he tells us that Carus was named emperor before Probus was killed. He therefore had nothing more left to do

* Vopiscus, who believed Carus innocent of the murder of Probus, says he was not elected until after his predecessor was killed. But he does not speak of any interval that can be called a vacancy.

do, but to get himself acknowledged: and that we may believe he had prepared the way for, if it be true that he had a principal share in the death of his predecessor. Certain it is, that he was proclaimed Augustus, without either difficulty or delay, by the army which Probus had commanded in person. The esteem he was held in for his military abilities, and his possessing the important office of prætorian præfect, greatly facilitated his success. The whole empire submitted peaceably to his laws: and it is doubtless a proof of the acknowledged merit of this prince, that, as a poet of those times observes * in a high compliment to him, the state of the universe was changed, and the weight of the Roman government fixed upon him, without exposing the people to any of the horrors of discord, or the misfortunes of a civil war.

Carus was a native of Narbonne: and as that city was ranked among the most ancient of the Roman colonies, it was doubtless on that account that he gloried in calling himself a Roman, and in his differing therein from several of his predecessors, such as Claudius II. Aurelian, and Probus, who were born in Illyricum. He went through all the gradations civil and military, and rose, as I have just said, to the rank of prætorian præfect under Probus. He seems to have been consul once before he was made emperor, since the consulship which he took in the month of January next ensuing after his election to the empire is reckoned his second, in several ancient monuments. He was likewise proconsul of Cilicia: and we have a letter of his, written whilst he held that magistracy, which gives an advantageous idea of his principles of action. He had chosen for his lieutenant-

2

general

His birth
and employments.
Vop. Car.
—6.
Entrop.
Vict. Epict.

Tillem.

* Scilicet ipse Deus (*meaning Carus*) Romanæ pondera molis
Fortibus excipiet sic inconcussa lacertis,
Ut non tralari sonitu fragor intonet Orbis.

Calpurn. Ecl. I. v. 84.

general one Junius, whom he exhorts to believe in such manner as to do honour to his superior. "Our ancestors", says he to him, when they were in place, looked upon their choice of the persons to whom they intrusted part of the public authority, as a pledge and specimen of their own morals and conduct." Probus had a very high opinion of Carus's virtue: and was so satisfied that his integrity deserved to be rewarded, that he wrote to the senate to order an equestrian statue to be erected to him, and a house to be built for him at the expence of the state.

Vop. Car.
4. § *Probus*
21.

Yet, if we believe Vopiscus, Carus's reputation was not well established with the public. The senate judged that all was lost by falling into his hands from those of Probus: and his historian himself thinks his character so dubious, as not to intitle him to be ranked among either the good or the bad princes. He observes, indeed, that what reflected the greatest discredit on him was his having an extremely profligate son. But the father himself was reputed harsh and intractable.

He notifies
his election
to the se-
nate.
Vop. Car. 5.

Carus being elected by the soldiers, wrote to the senate; but not in that respectful and submissive stile which Probus had made use of on the like occasion. We have not the whole of his letter: but the expressions in the fragment of it which Vopiscus has preserved seem less to imply a request to the senators to confirm his election by their authority, than just a bare notification to them of what had passed. "You ought to be glad, says he to them, that a member of your body, a citizen of your city, has been made emperor. We shall endeavour to manage so, that strangers may not seem to deserve your esteem better than those of your own blood." It is uncertain

* *Majores nostri Romani ille principes in legatis creandis hac usi sunt consuetudine, ut morum suorum specimen per eos ostenderent, quibus Republicanam delegarent.* *Vop. 4.*

uncertain whether Carus would have verified this promise. He did not reign long enough to be put to the trial.

Two objects engrossed his attention; war, and the establishment of his family. To begin with this last article, which was his first care, as soon as he was made emperor, he decorated with the title of Cæsar, and soon after raised to the rank of Augustus, his two sons, Carinus and Numerian, princes very unlike each other, and of whom one was as amiable and estimable, as the other was hateful and despicable.

Numerian, the youngest of the two, shewed an happy turn of mind from his infancy. He loved study, and succeeded therein. He made verses so well as to dispute the palm with Nemesian, the best poet of those days: and with regard to eloquence, even when he was upon his mother's arms *, according to the expression of another contemporary poet, pleading and haranguing were his pastime and amusement. Several of his performances were preserved, which shewed both facility of elocution, and genius; though the style, consistent with the taste of the times, savoured rather of declamation, than of the true Ciceronian eloquence. After he was made Cæsar, he sent a speech to the senate, which was thought so fine, that a statue was erected to him with this inscription, TO NUMERIAN CÆSAR, THE GREATEST ORATOR OF HIS AGE. We may easily suppose that flattery had a share in this high compliment: though, according to what Vopiscus says, there was some real foundation for it. The excellencies of his heart were still superior to those of his mind. His conduct was wise and modest, his sentiments were such as became his rank, and he had the greatest respect and affection for his father, who, in return, loved him only.

* Maternis causam qui lusit in ulnis. *Capurn. Eccl. l. c. 45.*

Carinus,
the eldest,
hateful
and vicious.
Vop. Car.
7. & Carin.
16. & 17.
Suidas in
Karinos.

His elder brother, Carinus, was of a quite contrary character, such as history never speaks of without horror and abomination. The same care had been taken of his education, and at least equal pains to form him, as was then done with all the young Roman nobility, to eloquence, and a just sense of the moral duties of man. But a soil radically bad, never will admit of culture. Carinus, in his early years, gave himself up to the greatest excesses of debauchery and corruption: and when his high station afterwards enabled him to give a greater loose to his inclinations, he became a monster of tyranny. His father, who knew him well, was sorely grieved that, when he set out for the war against the Persians, of which I shall speak immediately, he was obliged to leave him in the west to govern Italy, Gaul, and the adjacent provinces; Numerian being then too young for that important trust. He did what he could to prevent the evil, by appointing Carinus an excellent council. But the rage of vice soon broke through that feeble barrier. Carinus was guilty of such horrid enormities, that his father, when informed of them, cried out, "No! he is not my son:" and actually deliberated whether he should not take away the life of so unworthy an heir. But his own death prevented him.

Carus
gains a
great vic-
tory over
the Sarmatians.
Aurel. Vict.
Zonar.
Vop. Car.
2. § 9.

Carus had both the Sarmatians and the Persians to war against. The death of Probus had revived the courage of all the barbarians: and the Sarmatians in particular flattered themselves with thoughts of invading and taking Thrace, Illyricum, and even Italy. But Carus soon chastised their arrogance. He marched against them, gave them battle, killed sixteen thousand of their men, took twenty thousand prisoners, and thereby restored peace and security to all those parts of the empire.

He march-
ed against
the Per-
sians, and

By thus speedily and happily ending this expedition, he was enabled to turn his arms against the Persians,

Persians, and at length * to avenge Valerian. Two emperors, Aurelian and Probus, had already been murdered, whilst they were preparing to prosecute this revenge. Carus seized the first moment he could, to execute it. It was in order to bestow his whole attention upon this great enterprize, and not be disturbed by any other care, that he charged his eldest son Carinus, then his colleague in the consulship, with the care of defending Italy and Gaul against the Germans, perpetual and indefatigable enemies, who had began to stir again since the time of Probus. Carus marched against the Persians in the beginning of the year of Christ 283, taking with him his son Numerian.

The conjecture favoured him. The Persians, whom he was going to attack, were at that very time destroying one another by intestine divisions, the causes of which are not explained to us, but which necessarily weakened them. He vanquished, without much difficulty, enemies whose forces were divided and dispersed. He reconquered Mesopotamia, and even took Seleucia and Ctesiphon. It was probably near one of these two cities, both of which were situated upon the Tigris, that, as Zonaras relates, whilst the Romans were encamped in a hollow, the Persians cut a channel through which they let out the waters of that river upon them, and put them in danger of being drowned: but their courage, adds that writer, gathering strength from the greatness of their danger, saved them, and rendered them victorious over those who had hoped to destroy them.

These successes were the fruit of one campaign, and Carinus deservedly received from them the surname of *Persicus* or *Parthicus*: for both these titles were given him in ancient monuments; the Romans, as I observed before, not yet distinguishing rightly

* *Ultus Romulei violata cacumina regni. Nemes. Cyneg. v. 73.*

rightly in their language between the Persians and the Parthians.

He perishes probably by the treachery of Arius Aper, whilst encamped beyond the Tigris. *Aurel. Vict.*

Carus intended to carry his victories still farther. He was encamped beyond the Tigris and Ctesiphon, and purposed proceeding forward, without troubling himself about the superstitious opinion according to which the city of Ctesiphon was looked upon a boundary fixed by fate, beyond which the Romans were not to go. His death happening whilst he was thus situated, confirmed the vulgar prejudice.

Top. 8.

It was given out that he was killed by thunder: but a letter written by Calpurnius, one of his secretaries, to the præfect of Rome, must make us think otherwise. I will give it here. "Our emperor Carus being ill, a dreadful storm fell upon us, attended with such violent thunder and prodigious lightning, that the whole army was struck with terror, and we were not able to discern rightly what passed. After a clap of thunder, louder than any that had been heard before, somebody, on a sudden, cried out that the emperor was dead, and his servants, in the excess of their grief, for the loss of their master, burnt his tent. From thence has arisen the report of his being killed by the thunder; but the truth is, that he died of his illness." This officer probably knew more than he says: and the following is what the circumstances of this affair give us room to conjecture.

Carus had for his prætorian præfect Arius Aper, a man immoderately desirous of reigning, and who, to obtain the throne, murdered, as we shall soon relate, his emperor and son-in-law Numerian. Vopiscus attests that this Aper had plotted the death of Carus. That being supposed, it is easy to guess how this prince lost his life. He was sick: a violent storm of thunder happened: the ambitious Aper took that opportunity to assassinate the emperor,

ror, and gave out that the thunder had killed him: that done, the prince's servants, bribed by him, set fire to the tent, that the dead body, being burnt to ashes might not betray any marks of violence. This is undoubtedly the truth of the fact.

Carus perished either towards the end of the year of Christ 283, or in the beginning of the next, after a reign of only sixteen or seventeen months. In that short time he gave ample proof of his courage and abilities in war. What his character really was, we know not with any certainty. *Tillem.*

We may judge from the little we know of him that he was very haughty; and we may believe he carried that vice very far, since not only the poets, men always given to flattery, but some of his medals ascribe to him the titles of Lord and God. He suffered himself to be called Lord and God. Such impious pride ill became the successor of Probus. After his death, he was ranked among the gods, according to the established custom.

An expression of the poet Nemesian gives room to suspect that there were some commotions of war in Egypt, towards the upper Nile, under the reign of this prince. *Nemes. Cyprig. v. 66.*

Though Carus probably did not go to Rome during the whole time of his being emperor, he nevertheless treated that city with magnificent games, at which his son Carinus presided: Vopiscus has described, and the poet Calpurnius has sung them. Those who delight in such superb trifles, may consult the authors I have named. For my part, I agree with Dioclesian, who, hearing those games highly extolled in his presence, said, with great indifference, "Carus * has then had the satisfaction of making the Roman people laugh heartily." The enormous expences of the emperors in these kind of entertainments excited a mad emulation among their subjects.

Vopiscus

* Ergo bene rixus in imperio suo Carus. *Top. Carin.* 29.

Vopiscus mentions a Junius Messala his cotemporary, who had ruined himself by them, and whom he justly reproaches * with having deprived his heirs of a noble estate, by throwing it away upon players and buffoons. To this may be added, from the same author, the similar instance of the consul Furius Placidus, which we took notice of under the reign of Aurelian.

Observations concerning the names Marcus Aurelius, which several emperors bore. Vop. Aur. 41.

Carus and his two sons bore the names of *Marcus Aurelius*. The monuments of history give the same names to Probus and Claudius II. Tacitus is likewise called *Aurelius* by Vopiscus in the life of Aurelian; and we know that his pre-name was *Marcus*. Was it not out of veneration for the memory of Marcus Aurelius, that his names were adopted by so many of the succeeding emperors?

CARINUS and NUMERIAN.

Carinus and Numerian succeed their father by right. Numerian having left the territories of the Persians, and being on his way back towards Rome, perishes by the wicked contrivances of Aper. Aper is arrested; Dioclesian is elected emperor, and kills him with his own hand. Dioclesian had been foretold, by a Druidess, that he would be emperor. The era of Dioclesian. Numerian ranked among the gods.

Carinus and Numerian succeed their father by right.

NO mention is made in history either of election or installation with regard to Carinus and Numerian. They succeeded of right to their father, having been created *Augusti* whilst he was alive. Their reign was not long. Numerian perished

* Ille patrimonium suum scenicis dedit, heredibus abnegavit.

ished first, by the wickedness of the man who had taken away the life of Carus.

This young prince was not in a situation which permitted him to continue the war happily begun against the Persians. He was overwhelmed with grief for the loss he had just sustained; and is said to have wept so long and so bitterly for his father, that he weakened his eyes to such a degree as not to be able to bear the light. The Romans quitted the enemy's country, without being in the least molested, that we know of, in their retreat. They entered the territories of the empire, and advanced through Syria and Asia Minor towards the West and towards Rome. Numerian was carried in the middle of the army, in a litter very closely shut, that the light might not hurt him: and the whole care of the command seems to have been committed to his father-in-law and prætorian præfect, Arrius Aper.

Numerian, having left the territories of the Persians, and being on his way back towards Rome, perishes by the wicked contrivances of Aper. Vop. Num. 12. Eutrop. Viet. uterque.

That ambitious wretch had by this means in his own power an easy opportunity to satisfy his furious passion to reign: and after the first crime committed against Carus, a second cost him little. Bribing some of those that were about the prince's person, he procured the clandestine murder of his emperor and son-in-law.

Aper probably wanted some time to perfect his plan, to which end it was proper that Numerian's death should be kept secret. In this too he succeeded. For several days, the litter was carried as usual in the midst of the imperial guards, without giving any suspicion: and we are told that the prince's death was not discovered at last, but by the putrefaction and offensive smell of his carcase.

An ancient chronicle says that Numerian was killed at Perinthus or Heraclea in Thrace: though we shall find by the sequel of this history, that the main body of the army was still at Chalcedon in Asia.

Chron. Aler.

Asia.

Asia. We may therefore suppose that Aper sent a detachment forward to conduct and escort the emperor: an expedient which rendered the perpetrating of the crime by so much the more easy, as the number of observers was thereby diminished.

Tillem.

Numerian had reigned about eight months, from the death of his father. He was in full possession of the empire before the twelfth of January, and he was killed before the seventeenth of September of the same year of Christ 284.

Aper is arrested: Dioclesian is elected emperor, and kills him with his own hand.

Fop. Num.

12. 13.

Entrap.

Aurel. Vict.

Numerian's death having been discovered to the army in the manner I have related, the author of it was easily guessed at. Aper was arrested, and kept prisoner near the standards, until full evidence of his crime could be procured. In the mean time the troops assembled to elect an emperor in the room of their late prince.

It is singular that the empire should have been looked upon as vacant by the death of Numerian, who left a brother then in actual possession of the title and rights of Augustus. Our meagre historians do not throw any light upon this difficulty. Carinus's vices seem to solve it. Hated and despised for the worst and most detestable government that ever was, the troops thought, not of acknowledging, but of making war upon him; and therefore judged it necessary to have a new emperor, as well to punish him, as to avenge Numerian.

Their suffrages were unanimous in favour of Dioclesian, a soldier of fortune, who, without any recommendation from his birth, he raised himself by his merit only to one of the highest ranks in the army, and who then commanded the noblest part of the imperial guard. I shall soon speak more fully of his first rise.

As soon as Dioclesian was elected, he ascended a tribunal of turf erected for that purpose, and drawing his sword, called to witness the sun which lighted him, and swore that he had not had the

least

least concern in the death of Numerian. Then turning towards Aper, who was kept at the head of the standards, "There, said he, is the author of the crime:" and immediately descending from his seat, he went up to him, and applying to the present occasion a line of Virgil, "Glory * in thy fate, Aper; thou fallest by the hand of great Æneas;" he ran him through, and felled him at his feet.

It was not zeal to avenge Numerian that fired Dioclesian at this instant, and made him take upon himself a bloody execution which he could have committed to any of his soldiers. No man ever was more master of himself, or less subject to those gusts of passion which anticipate reflection, and make people act before they think. Ambition, mixed with superstition, was his motive. He was desirous to fulfil a prediction made to him formerly in Gaul by a Druidess.

He had not been long in the army, when, being quartered at Tongres, the woman I am speaking of observed that he was extremely sparing in his expences, and reproached him with it. "You mind money too much, said she to him: your economy degenerates into avarice." I will be generous, answered Dioclesian, when I am emperor. "You need not joke, replied she very earnestly: You will be emperor after you have killed a boar." The word *Aper*, which she made use of, and which in Latin signifies a boar, made a deep impression on Dioclesian: and the empire had been so frequently given to men of mean extraction, that he might, without being ridiculous, flatter himself with hopes of obtaining it. He kept the prediction very secret, but put himself in the way of having it fulfilled, by hunting often and killing as many boars as he could. For a long time,

the

* *Gloriare, Aper. Æneæ; magni dextra cadis.*

the event did not answer his hopes : and when he saw Tacitus, Probus, Carus, raised successively to the empire, he said, "I kill the game, but others eat it." His election, after Aper's crime, was a key to the ambiguous oracle ; to verify which, and at the same time secure his fortune, he killed Aper with his own hand, crying out immediately after ; " Now I have killed the boar on which my fate depended." Had it not been for this motive, as he himself said afterwards, he would not have marked the instant of his accession to the throne with an action which might have made people think him fond of blood.

It seems difficult to doubt the truth of this fact, which the grandfather of Vopiscus had from Dioclesian's own mouth : and it is neither impossible nor even very surprising, that accident should seem to verify a prediction hazarded at random. The defenders of the follies of divination keep an account of favourable events, and prudently suppress the very great number of those which make against them.

Dioclesian was elected, according to the Alexandrian chronicle, on the seventeenth of September, at Chalcedon, where we must consequently suppose the army to have been at that time : and on the twenty-seventh of the same month he made his entry into Nicomedia, which became in a manner his imperial city, where he chose chiefly to reside during his whole reign. At this time he was under a kind of necessity of so doing, Carinus being master of Rome.

The æra of
Dioclesian.
Tillem.

The beginning of Dioclesian's reign is a celebrated epoch among the ecclesiastical writers. It is called the æra of Dioclesian and of the martyrs, and begins in the year of Christ 284.

Numerian
ranked a-
mong the
gods.

Numerian was ranked among the gods : and it is natural to ascribe to Dioclesian's orders this honour

honour paid to the memory of a prince whom he had avenged.

CARINUS AND DIOCLESIAN.

War between Carinus and Dioclesian. Carinus's abominable conduct. He seems to have been intelligent in war. An usurper conquered by him. Carinus, after defeating Dioclesian, is abandoned and killed by his own soldiers. Two poets worthy to be noticed under Carus and his sons. Nemesian Calpurnius.

BY the election of an emperor in the room of Numerian the empire was divided between two rival enemies, Carinus and Dioclesian, one of whom possessed the West, and the other the East; but whose reciprocal pretensions extended to all that obeyed the laws of Rome. As nothing but arms could decide this quarrel, both sides prepared for war.

Carinus, son and brother of the two last emperors, had by those titles a great advantage over his competitor; besides which he did not want for valour. But his abominably vicious conduct ruined all his resources, and plunged him into the greatest of misfortunes. One cannot read without horror the description which Vopiscus has left us of the enormous actions of this prince, whose wickedness knew no bounds after the death of his father.

Carus, as I said before, appointed him a council composed of chosen persons. Carinus banished them, and substituted in their stead the most abandoned and most profligate wretches he could possibly find out. Trampling upon all decency, he raised a common porter to the rank of prefect,

or governor of Rome. He killed his prætorian præfect ; and appointed in his place one Matronianus, the trusty minister of his infamous pleasures. The chief magistrates received no mark of regard from him. He declared himself an enemy to the senate, to whom he wrote letters full of haughtiness and arrogance, and he promised to give the populace the estates of the senators. It was a pastime to him, to kill them. He invented false accusations, then tried the accused himself, and was sure to pronounce bloody sentences upon them. The most distinguished men were put to death for his pleasure, with the same ease, says my author, that chickens were killed for his table. His school-fellows were persecuted criminally and condemned to die, for quarrels they had with him in his infancy, for not having praised his air and person, or for not having admired his performances at school so much as he wished.

His morals were as corrupt, as his cruelty was great. There was no one excess of debauchery into which he did not plunge. He filled the palace with comedians, courtesans, pantomimes, and those wretches who make a trade of prostituting youth. In a very short space, he married nine wives, taking them and turning them away without any rule but his caprice. Aurelian had set a great value upon two elephant's teeth, ten feet long, found among the treasure of Firmus the usurper of the East ; and he intended to have a throne made of them for Jupiter in the temple of the sun. Death having prevented the execution of his design, Carinus made one of his concubines a present of this offering destined for Jupiter ; so that what should have been the throne of the greatest of the gods, served to adorn the bed of a lewd woman.

Luxury of table and of dress accompanies and encourages debauchery of morals. Carinus's meals were infinitely sumptuous, in wine, meat, game,
and

and fish of all kinds; and he invited to them guests worthy to be his company. Leaves of roses formed their couches, and he himself was covered with jewels. Every button was a precious stone. His belt, and even his shoes, dazzled the eye, by the lustre of their diamonds.

This so corrupt prince shewed however vigour in war. He had gained victories over the barbarians of the north, in his father's time, if we may believe the testimony of a poet: and it is certain from history, that, at the time I now speak of, he defended his rights bravely when attacked. One Sabinus Julianus, governor of Venetia, had revolted and assumed the purple. Carinus conquered and killed him in the plains of Verona.

A more formidable enemy remained. Dioclesian was advancing through Illyricum with great forces. Carus marched against him, and the two armies met in upper Mœsia. Their success was probably equal in several skirmishes; until at length a decisive battle was fought near Margum, between Viminacium and the Golden Hill. It was obstinately disputed: and the advantage was on the side of Carinus, who would have been completely victorious, if he had been as much beloved by his troops, as he was valiant against the enemy. But they detested him; particularly on account of his brutal incontinence, which had induced him to debauch the wives of several of his officers. The offended husbands had long determined to be revenged of him, and took their opportunity at the time of this general action. Finding that he was on the point of being conqueror, and not doubting but that success would encourage him to commit new crimes, greater, if possible, than his former; they made the soldiers under their command abandon him: and a tribune, putting himself at the head of those who, like himself, had been injured by the prince, killed him with his own hand. Thus Carinus's immorality snatched

He seems to have been intelligent in war. An usurper conquered by him. *Nemes. Cyneg. v. 69. Fop. 18. Vict. uterque.*

Carinus, after defeating Dioclesian, is abandoned and killed by his own soldiers. *Fop. Histog. Vict. uterque.*

from him the victory and his life; and he stands a striking example of the uselessness of arms, when vice discredits and renders them odious. Dioclesian's victory, and the death of Carinus fell under the year of Christ 285, which gives us for the duration of Carinus's reign somewhat more than a year, reckoning from the time of his father's death.

A. D. 1036.

Two poets
worthy to
be noticed
under Ca-
rus and his
sons.
Tillem.

We have not been able to mention any Latin poet in this history, since Juvenal. The reign of Carus and of his sons furnishes us with two, by no means contemptible, Nemesian and Calpurnius. As they are not so well known now among us, as they were to our ancestors, who, according to Hinemar, made their children read them in the public schools; I may, perhaps, not be blamed, for giving here a short account of their works.

Nemesian.

Nemesian dedicated to the emperors Carinus and Numerian, a poem upon hunting, of which only three hundred and twenty-five lines now remain. The exordium contains an hundred, the turn and expression of which are poetic. He begins with two elegant and graceful verses: “* I sing the thousand various ways of hunting, its joyful toils, its swift courses, and its battles in the midst of peaceful countries.” The poet's reason for preferring this subject to any other, is new; but the subjects which he borrows from fable, and on which he dwells too long, pretty much in the taste of Ovid, have been treated over and over, and quite exhausted by the ancient poets. “† We, adds he, search the forests, we
“ beat

* Venandi cano mille vias, hilaresque labores,
Discursusque citos, securi prælia ruris.

† Nos saltus, viridesque plagas, camposque patentés
Scrutamur, totisque citi discurremus arvis,
Et varias cupimus faciliæ caute sumere prædas,
Nos timidos lepores, imbelles figere damas,
Audacesque lupos, vulpem captare dolosam
Gaudemus.

“ beat the woods, and scour the extensive plains :
 “ we run swiftly over the country ; and with the
 “ help of a faithful, well-trained dog, we take va-
 “ rious kinds of booty. We delight in out-run-
 “ ning the fearful hare, and the timid fawn ; in
 “ engaging the audacious wolf ; and in laying
 “ snares for the cunning fox.”

These are the essays of an infant muse : after which Nemesian promises to rise to nobler subjects ; to celebrate the victories of Carinus over the barbarians of the North, and those of Numerian over the Persians. Here we find the flattering language of poetry. Nemesian makes no mention of Carus, the real conqueror of the Persians : but gives to the living son the glory which belonged to the dead father.

After invoking Diana, the goddess of hunting and of woods, the poet invites to read his lines,
 “ * Those who, like him, struck with the pleasures
 “ of the chase, abhor law-suits, fly from the tu-
 “ mult of business, and the noise of the bar, de-
 “ test destructive war, and are not carried beyond
 “ seas by avidity of gain.”

Besides the poem upon hunting, we have four eulogues ascribed to Nemesian, in which the laws of modesty are not always sufficiently respected, but, on the contrary, are sometimes grossly broken through : which proves as much bad taste and barbarism, as offence against good manners. But the versification is not bad : and the third of these pieces presents us a picturesque description of the first vintage, enlivened with an imagery well suited to the subject.

2

Pan

* Huic igitur, necum quisquis percussus amore
 Venandi, dummas lites, avidosque tumultus,
 Civilesque fugis strepitus, bellique fragores,
 Nec prædas avidas sectatis gurgite ponti.

Pan is made to sing the praise of Bacchus. He relates his birth, and supposes that the vine began to bear fruit when he was very young. “* When
 “ the grapes were ripe, Bacchus said to the satyrs : Gather that precious fruit, my boys, and
 “ tread under your feet those bunches of which
 “ you know not the virtue. The god spoke, and
 “ the satyrs fall to work. They gather the bunches
 “ off the vine, they carry them in wicker baskets,
 “ and heaping them up in vats of stone, they crush
 “ them by the motion of their nimble feet. The
 “ grape bursts and yields its amiable juice : the
 “ vintage flows in bubbling rills, and dyes the na-
 “ ked bodies of the vintagers of purple hue.
 “ They, first of any, pay themselves for their la-
 “ bour. Their frolicsome troop seize every vessel
 “ either used for drinking, or capable of holding
 “ drink. One takes a two handled cup : another
 “ drinks out of a crooked horn : a third scoops
 “ up the liquor with his hollow hands, and sips it
 “ eagerly out of them : the most greedy leans over
 “ into the vat, and sucks the sweet wine with
 “ smacking lips. One, instead of playing upon
 “ his

* Tum Deus, ô Satyri, maturos carpite fructus,
 Dixit, & ignotis, pueri, calcare racemos.
 Vix hæc ediderat ; decerpunt vitibus uvas,
 Et portant calathis, celerique illidere plantâ
 Concava saxa super properant : vindemia fervet
 Collibus in summis, crebo pede rumpitur uva,
 Nudaque purpureo sparguntur pectora musto.
 Tum Satyri, lasciva cohors, sibi pocula quisque
 Obvia corripunt : quod sors dedit, occupat usus.
 Cantharon hic retinet, cornu bibit alter adanco,
 Concavat ille manus, palmasque in pocula vertit :
 Pronus at ille lacu bibit, & crepitantibus haurit
 Musta labris : alius vocalia cymbala mergit :
 Atque alius latices pressis resupinus ab uvis.
 Excipit ad potus ; saliens liquor ore resultat
 Spumens, inque humeros & pectora distillat humor.
 Omnia ludus habet.

Eclog. III. v. 39. & seq.

“ his cymbal *, laughs and dips it in. Another, laying upon his back, squeezes the grapes between his hands, and drops their juice into his mouth; the frothy liquor bubbles out, flows over his face, and trickles down his breast and shoulders. Each has his waggish trick.”

I have dwelt longer upon Nemesian than I shall upon Calpurnius, whose poetry savours of his bad fortune, both by his frequently complaining of his situations, and by a less polished, less delicate, and more rustic turn of thought and expression, than that of his cotemporary.

Calpurnius.

Calpurnius was a native of Sicily, and addresses the seven eclogues which we have of his writing to Nemesian of Carthage, who is doubtless the poet I have been speaking of. Nemesian is thought to be the person meant in them under the name of Melibœus, whom the author desires to intercede for him with the reigning princes, and to present them his verses.

Of the seven eclogues of Calpurnius, three, namely the first, the fourth, and the seventh, turn upon public events: the others are pastoral fictions. The first sings Carus's accession to the throne. The subject of the fourth, if I mistake not, is Carus's coming to take possession of the government of the West, during his father's expedition against the Persians. The seventh, as I observed before, contains a description of the games which Carus gave at Rome, and at which his eldest son presided in his stead. I shall only give just an idea of the plan of the first, the invention of which has been praised by one of the most ingenious and most illustrious writers of our age.

Two

* The cymbal that was used at the feast of Bacchus, as well as at those of Cybele, was composed of two hollow pieces of brass, which were struck one against the other in cadence.

Two shepherds, to avoid the sultry heat of noon, retire into a grotto consecrated to Faunus: and whilst they are preparing to amuse their leisure hours with singing some pastoral subject, one of them perceives and shews to the other, verses lately engraved upon the bark of a beech-tree. The description of this writing is elegant. “* Do you see, says one of the shepherds to his companion, how the cracks which form the letters still continue green, and are not yet withered by the shrinking of the severed fibres of the bark?” They draw near, and find it is the god Faunus himself who speaks in these lines, and prophecies to the empire, peace, tranquillity, and perfect happiness under the government of the new emperor. The versification is tolerably good. The things are vague, scarcely characterised, and that in a manner not suitable to the circumstances. I shall only observe, that the idea of their ancient government was still implanted so strongly in the hearts of the Romans, that one of the advantages emphatically foretold by the god, is the re-establishment of the consulship in all its splendour. “† The consul, said he, shall no longer purchase at a ruinous expence the empty shadow of a decayed and ruined dignity: the fasces shall not be carried in vain before him; nor shall he sit silent upon a forsaken tribunal. The laws shall resume their vigour: returning justice shall restore the forum to its pristine majesty, and

a

* Adspicis, ut virides etiam nunc littera rimas
Servet, & arenti nondum se laxet hiatu?

Eclog. I. v. 22, 23.

† Jam nec adumbrati faciem mercatus honoris,
Nec vacuos tacitus fasces, & inane tribunal,
Accipiet Consul: sed legibus omne reductis
Jus aderit moremque fori vultumque priorum
Feddet, & afflicturn melior Deus auferet avur.

“ a more auspicious god shall banish all remains
“ of past misfortunes.”

I am very far from comparing Numesian and Calpurnius to Virgil. But when I read these poets, or the Latin orators who lived under Dioclesian, Constantine, and his children, I lament the fate of history, delivered up to rude and uncouth hands at a time when poetry and eloquence were at least not totally extinguished.

 BOOK XXVIII.

PRINCIPAL EVENTS

OF THE REIGN

OF

*DIOCLESIAN.*A. R. 1035.
A. C. 284.

M. AURELIUS CARINUS II.	} AUGG.
M. AURELIUS NUMERIANUS.	

After the death of Numerian, Dioclesian is elected emperor on the seventeenth of September at Chalcedon.

A. R. 1036.
A. C. 285.

C. VALERIUS DIOCLETIANUS AUGUST. II.
..... AR. STOBULUS.

Carinus, killed after the battle of Margum, leaves Dioclesian peaceable possessor of the empire.

Dioclesian goes to Rome to be acknowledged, and spends the winter at Nicomedia.

A. R. 1037.
A. C. 286.

M. JUNIUS MAXIMUS II.
.... VETIUS AQUILINUS.

He takes for his associate and colleague Maximian, who assumed the name of *Herculius*, son of Hercules, at the same time that Dioclesian took that of *Jovius*, son of Jupiter.

Maximian

Maximian had for his special and particular department the West, that is to say, Italy, Gaul, Africa, &c.

He quells the Bagaudes, a faction of rebels in Gaul, who had made Ælianus and Amandus their chiefs, by proclaiming them both *Augusti*.

The martyrdom of St Maurice and his legion.

Dioclesian, by the terror of his name, obliges Vararanes II, king of the Persians to sue to him for peace, and to abandon Mesopotamia.

C. VALERIUS DIOCLETIANUS III.	} AUGG.	A. R. 1058.
M. AUR. VAL. MAXIMIANUS.		A. C. 297.

Maximian disperses and destroys the armies of the Germans who over-run and ravaged Gaul.

Piracies of the Franks and Saxons.

Carausius, being sent against those robbers, does not acquit himself faithfully of his commission; and being informed that Maximian had set a price upon his head, he revolts, goes over into Britain, makes himself master of that island, and takes the title of Augustus.

A triumph is decreed the two emperors.

MAXIMIANUS AUGUSTUS II.	A. R. 1038.
..... JANUARIUS.	A. C. 298.

Maximian, the same day that he took possession of his second consulship at Treves, sallies out upon a troop of barbarians who plundered the country, and puts them to flight.

He passes the Rhine, and lays waste the country beyond that river. Genobon and Atec, kings of the Franks, submit to him.

Dioclesian also wars with success against the Germans towards Rhætia.

..... BASSUS

A. R. 1013.
A. C. 289.

..... BASSUS II.
QUINTIANUS.

The fleet prepared by Maximian under Carausius does not succeed. Treaty of peace between Dioclesian and Maximian on one side, and Carausius on the other, who thereby remains peaceable possessor of Britain.

Dioclesian's victories over the Sarmatians, Juthongi, and other nations bordering upon the Danube.

A. R. 1041.
A. C. 290.

..... DIOCLETIANUS IV. }
..... MAXIMIANUS III. } AUGG.

Dioclesian goes into Syria, and gains some advantage over the Saracens.

Interview of the two emperors at Milan.

A. R. 1042.
A. C. 291.

..... TIBERIANUS,
..... D.O.

The consul Dion might be the son or grandson of the historian of that name.

Divisions and wars between the nations at enmity with the Romans.

Revolt of Ormies or Hormisdas against his brother Vararanes II.

Franks and Lætes transported by Maximian into the territories of the people of Treves and of the Nervians.

A. R. 1043.
A. R. 292.

..... ANNIBALIANUS.
..... ASCLEPIODOTUS.

Commotion of the Germans upon the Rhine, of the Persians towards the East, of the Quinquegentians in Africa. Julianus an usurper in Italy, Achilles in Africa.

Con-

Constantius Chlorus and Galerius adopted, one by Maximian, the other by Dioclesian, are created Cæsars, and receive each of them a department: Constantius has Gaul, Spain, and Britain; Galerius Illyricum and the neighbouring countries.

Constantius had married Helena, by whom he had Constantine, now eighteen years of age. He repudiates Helena, and marries Theodora daughter-in-law to Maximian. Galerius, having also divorced his wife, marries Valeria the daughter of Dioclesian.

The Quinquegentians are defeated and subdued by Maximian.

Constantius takes Boulogne back from Carausius, who had possessed himself of that place.

DIOCLETIANUS V. }
MAXIMIANUS IV. } AUGG.

A. R. 1044.
A. C. 293.

Constantius drives the Franks out of the country of the Batavians, of which they had possessed themselves with the help of Carausius. He transports a great number of their prisoners into the territories of the empire, and settles them there.

Forts built upon the frontiers.

Constantius takes great pains to restore the city of Autun, which had been taken and ravaged by the barbarians under Claudius II.

He makes learning flourish in it again, and prevails on the rhetorician Eumenius, who was then in possession of a high office in the imperial palace, to resume the public profession of eloquence.

Carausius is killed by his lieutenant Allectus, who takes the title of Augustus, and remains master of Britain.

A. R. 1045.
A. C. 294.

FLAVIUS VALERIUS CONSTANTIUS. } CÆSS.
G. L. VAL. MAXIMIANUS.

Vararanes III. succeeds his father Vararanes II. and after a very short reign is himself succeeded by Narses.

A. R. 1046.
A. C. 295.

..... TUSCUS.
..... ANULINUS.

The nation of the Carpians, several times conquered by Galerius, is transported entirely by Dioclesian into the territories of the empire, particularly into Pannonia.

A. R. 1047.
A. C. 296.

DIOCLETIANUS AUGUSTUS VI.
CONSTANTIUS CÆSAR II.

Narses having renewed the war against the Romans, Galerius marches against him, and is worsted through his imprudence. He is very badly received by Dioclesian. He prepares to take his revenge.

Constantius attacks Allectus, who is defeated and killed. Britain, after a separation of ten years, is re-united to the empire.

The Franks, allies of Carausius, and afterwards of Allectus, suffer great losses, and are beaten in several places by Constantius. He carries the war against them even into their original country, and transports from thence whole colonies of captives into the territories of Amiens, Beauvais, Troyes, and Langres.

Dioclesian marches in person against Achillæus the usurper of Egypt, who is conquered with ease, and killed.

He contracts the limits of the empire towards Ethiopia, and abandons to the Norbati a district of seven days journey above Elephantinum. He grants

grants them a pension, which was still paid in the time of Justinian.

MAXIMIANUS AUGUSTUS V.
GALERIUS CÆSAR II.

A. R. 1018.
A. C. 297.

Maximian makes war against the Moors with success.

Galerius gains a signal victory over Narses. The vanquished Persians sue for peace and obtain it by ceding to the Romans five provinces upon the right hand side of the Tigris. Galerius, swelled with pride, begins to be dissatisfied with the second rank.

ANICIUS FAUSTUS II.
SEVERUS GALLUS.

A. R. 1019.
A. C. 298.

Eumenius begs that the schools of Autun may be rebuilt, and offers to contribute towards it, by appropriating to that purpose his salary, which was six hundred thousand sesterces.

Castles and forts built by Dioclesian's order upon all the frontiers of the empire.

DIOCLETIANUS VII. }
MAXIMIANUS VI. } AUGG.

A. R. 1050.
A. C. 299.

CONSTANTIUS III. }
GALERIUS III. } CÆSS.

A. R. 1051.
A. C. 300.

We know but few events under these two years.

TITIANUS II.
NEPOTIANUS.

A. R. 1052.
A. C. 301.

Constantius, fighting against the Germans, is defeated and conquers in the space of six hours, near Langres.

He

He gains another victory over the German nations, near Vindonissa.

A. R. 1035.
A. C. 302.

CONSTANTIUS IV. }
GALERIUS IV. } CÆSS.

A. R. 1054.
A. C. 303.

DIOCLETIANUS VIII. }
MAXIMIANUS VII. } AUGG.

Galerius goes to Dioclesian at Nicomedia, and prevails on him to persecute the Christians.

The signal for the persecution given by the destruction of the church at Nicomedia on the twenty-third of February.

The edict for the persecution published the next day.

Rebellions in Melitene, in Armenia, and at Seleucia in Syria. Eugene, proclaimed Augustus by five hundred soldiers, who worked at the harbour of Seleucia, goes the same day to Antioch, and is killed there with all those that accompanied him. Dioclesian's cruelties on that account.

Dioclesian goes to Rome, to celebrate the triumph which had been decreed to him, and Maximian sixteen years before, and feasts for the twentieth year of his reign.

His economy in this double rejoicing displeases the Roman people, who lampoon him for it. Dioclesian is offended at their behaviour; and after triumphing on the seventeenth of November, he leaves the city abruptly on the thirteenth of the next December. His health, which was impaired before, suffered greatly by travelling at that time of the year, and he contracted a lingering disorder, of which he never recovered thoroughly.

A. R. 1055.
A. C. 304.

DIOCLETIANUS IX. }
MAXIMIANUS VIII. } AUGG.

Dioclesian,

Dioclesian, after taking possession of the consulship at Ravenna, continues his journey, and arrives at Nicomedia.

He was ill during all this year, and on the thirteenth of December it was thought that he was dying: but he grew better.

COSTANTIUS V. }
GALERIUS V. } CÆSS.

A. R. 1056
A. C. 305.

Dioclesian appeared in public on the first of March: but so altered, as hardly to be known again.

Galerius taking advantage of the weakness of Dioclesian's mind, forces him, as well as Maximian, to abdicate the empire.

The ceremony of the abdication was performed on the first of May, by Dioclesian at Nicomedia, and by Maximian at Milan. Severus, and Maximian Daia or Daza, one the creature of Galerius, the other his nephew, are created Cæsars.

USURPERS UNDER BIOCLESIAN.

ÆLIANUS and AMANDUS proclaimed *Augusti* by the Bagaudes in Gaul.

CARAUSIUS in Britain.

ALLECTUS, the murderer of Carausius, and his successor,

ACHILLEUS in Egypt.

JULIANUS in Italy.

EUGENE emperor for a day at Seleucia, and at Antioch in Syria.

DIOCLESIAN.

SECT. I.

General idea of Dioclesian's character. Want of materials for the history of his reign. His origin and rise. Some account of the office of Count of the Domestics, which he held. His election to the empire. The death of Carinus. Dioclesian behaves nobly after the victory. He goes to Rome. State of the empire, attacked on the East and on the West. Bagaudes. Dioclesian makes Maximian his colleague. They take the surnames of Jovius and Herculus. Maximian is charged with the war in the West. He subdues the Bagaudes. He drives back the German nations which had over-run Gaul. A shining instance of his valour. He passes the Rhine, and subdues some of the Franks. Piracies of the Franks and Saxons. Carausius revolts, and seizes upon Britain. He maintains himself there against Maximian, who is obliged to make peace with him. Franks and Latæ transported to the nether side of the Rhine. The wall of Grenobl rebuilt. Dioclesian, by the terror of his name, forces the king of Persia to sue to him for peace. Dioclesian's victories over divers barbarous nations. Interview of the two emperors at Milan. Their perfect union. The chief honour of it belongs to Dioclesian. He resolves to create two Cæsars, Constantius Chlorus, and Galerius. Adoption and new marriages of the two Cæsars. Ceremony of their installation. Constantius the first Cæsar. Departments assigned to Constantius and Galerius. Inconveniencies of increasing the number of the Augusti and Cæsars. Hardness of Dioclesian's

sian's government. His passion for building. Dioclesian's baths at Rome. Maximian subdues the Quinquegentians. He destroys the usurper Julian. Dioclesian, after having transported the Carpians into Pannonia, marches against Achillæus the usurper of Egypt, defeats him, and kills him. He abandons a great extent of territory above Elephantinum on the Nile. The beginning of Constantine. Constantius enters into war against Carausius, and takes Bologne from him. He recovers the country of the Batavians, which the Franks had invaded, forces these last to surrender, and removes them into different parts of Gaul. Re-establishment of the city and school of Autun. Many other cities restored in different parts of the empire. Carausius killed by Allectus, who remains peaceable possessor of Britain for three years. Constantius makes war against him. Allectus is conquered and killed. The island returns to the dominion of its lawful masters. Constantius makes a noble use of his victory. Other exploits of that prince against the German nations. Mildness of Constantius's government. Remarkable instance of it. Galerius makes war upon Narses king of Persia, and gains a great victory over him. Narses sues for peace. It is granted him. Conditions of the treaty. This peace lasted forty years. Galerius puffed up with pride. Transactions of less importance during a space of five years.

DIOCLESIAN is a name odious to Christians. General idea of Dioclesian's character He was the author of the bloodiest persecution that the church of Christ ever suffered from the Roman emperors: and though he did not order it of his own accord, but at the solicitation of another; though he had the least share in the execution of it, his abdication taking place soon after the publication of the edict against the profession of Christianity; yet all its horrors are just-

ly imputed to him, because he began it, and should, as he had the principal authority, have rejected the bad counsels of those who shared his power, and not have followed them.

On the other hand, Dioclesian was a great prince, and governed with uncommon wisdom. Sensible of his defects, he endeavoured to make amends for them by the choice of those he pitched upon for the partners of his labours, over whom, however, he always preserved, at least as long as his intellects remained unimpaired by sickness, a superiority founded wholly upon eminence of merit; their titles being equal to his.

This same prince, forced by an ambitious and ungrateful colleague to resign the empire, rendered voluntary, by a most extraordinary moderation, what was at first a matter of constraint: he knew how to live like a private man after having been emperor; and though an opportunity offered for him to recover the grandeur he had been stripped of, he shut his heart against the strong temptation, and preferred the pot-herbs of his garden to the throne of the Cæsars.

*Lactant. de
mort.
Pers. c. 7.
Aurel.
Vict.*

With these estimable qualities Dioclesian had great vices. He was luxurious, covetous, ostentatious, and arrogant. Even the Pagans have reproached him with imitating Domitian and Caligula, by causing himself to be worshipped as they had done, and by suffering the titles of Lord and God to be given him; * so that he has been ranked among the number of those whose example proves, that insolence is never carried farther than by those who come to a fortune for which they were not born.

*Want of
materials*

His reign was long, and rich in events; but the scarcity of materials renders it in a manner short and

* *Quis rebus compertum est . . . humillimos quosque, maxime ubi alta accesserunt, superbia atque ambitione immodicos esse. Aur. Vict.*

and barren to us. No part of history has been worse treated by the injuries of time, than that which concerns Dioclesian. It is not of great writers only that we are in want. The Byzantine history does not come so low down as his reign: what Zosimus wrote of him is lost: we are reduced to Zonaras, Eutropius, the two Victors, scanty abbreviators; and our most plentiful sources are a few panegyrics filled with exaggerated flatteries, and a work of Lactantius, in which the author's zeal may sometimes have carried him too far. All that we can do with these helps, is to endeavour to find out the truth, which we shall speak with strict impartiality, relating the good and the bad, as we shall collect it from our originals.

Dioclesian's first name was Diocles; taken from the city where he was born, Dioclea * in Dalmatia. His mother bore the same name as the city, being likewise called Dioclea. After his accession to the empire, to give his name a more Roman form, he called himself *Diocletianus* instead of *Diocles*. This was his proper name, and that by which he was distinguished. He also bore those of C. Valerius Aurelius, names purely Roman, which might be common to him, with many others, and which he probably took from the family he had served: for we are assured that he was originally the freedman of a senator, whose surname only, Aurelianus, is known by us. Others say he was the son of a scribe or register.

He embraced the profession of arms, in which he must have excelled, since he is reckoned among the good generals formed under the discipline of Probus. His services raised him to the consulship: and when Numerian perished, Dioclesian held a considerable office in the prince's palace, being

* This city, likewise called *Doclea*, is now ruined. It was not far from *Narona*, now *Narena*.

being what the Romans then called *Count of the Domestics*.

Some account of the office of *Count of the Domestics*, which he held.

The word *Count*, which in the Latin tongue signifies *Companion*, was become a title of honour in the times I am speaking of. The Roman emperors were always accompanied, as may have been often observed in this history, by a number of illustrious persons chosen from among the most distinguished either in the civil or the military professions; and these formed a constant standing council. They were called, as in effect they were, the *Companions of the prince*; and as this appellation, and the functions annexed to it, gave them influence and authority, it became a title of dignity and power. Several of the great officers of the state took it, with the addition of some term expressive of their particular department. Thus the *Count of the Domestics* was the commander of that part of the imperial guard, which properly constituted the prince's household: for the prætorian cohorts were then employed only in war, or at most to guard the out-parts of the palace. The emperors feared them, after the many revolutions they had occasioned, and thought it necessary to create new corps of troops for the immediate defence of their persons, and the guard of the inside of the palace. They gave them the name of *Domestici*, which signifies *people attached to the service of the house*.

His election to the empire.
The death of Carinus.
A. R. 1035.
Mich. Epit.

Dioclesian commanded that fine troop when he was elected emperor, on the seventeenth of September in the year of Christ 284. He was then about thirty-nine years old, since he was sixty-eight when he died in 313. I have said in what manner he was raised to the empire, and how he carried on a war against Carinus, which, happily for him, ended with the tragical death of that detested prince.

Dioclesian behaves

He behaved most nobly after his victory; not only pardoning all that had borne arms against him, whom

whom he justly thought not blameable for having served a prince whose title was so legitimate as that of Carinus; but also continuing in their posts and dignities those who had been promoted by his enemy. Aristobulus, prætorian præfect under Carinus, was the same under Dioclesian, who permitted him likewise to enjoy the honours of the consulate, of which he found him in possession. It is added, that the conqueror shewed the same indulgence to C. Ceionius Varus, governor of the city, and prætorian præfect at the same time. Aurelius Victor has reason to extol this conduct. It is a new and unheard of thing, says he, that no one lost either fortune, honour, or life, after a civil war; whilst we praise the mildness and generosity of those princes, who, in such cases, set at last some bounds to confiscations, banishments, and death.

It is highly probable that Dioclesian, become sole master of the empire by the death of Carinus, went to Rome to be acknowledged there. But he never liked to live in that city, nor can he then have stayed there long, since he spent the winter of this same year of Christ 285, at Nicomedia. It was there that he took for his colleague, on the first of April in the next year, Maximian Hercules, whose valour he thought the state stood in need.

In effect, both the eastern and the western extremities of the empire were attacked at the same time. In the east, the Persians, emboldened by Numerian's retreat, and by the troubles which ensued after his death, had reconquered Mesopotamia, and there was room to fear they would again over-run Syria and the neighbouring provinces. The west was not less agitated. We learn from two medals struck in the second year of Dioclesian, which gave this prince the titles of Germanic and Britannic, that there had been insurrections in Germany and Britain: and Gaul was endangered by an intestine rebellion.

These

nobly after
his victory.
Aurel. Vict.

Tillem.

He goes to
Rome.
Zonar.

Tillem.
A. R. 1037.

State of the
empire, at-
tacked on
the east
and on the
west.
Pausan.
Maxim.

Tillem.
Diocl. art.

Bagaudes.
Paneg.
Maxim.
& Const.

Paneg.
Maxim.

Aurel.
Fict. &
Eutrop.

Dioclesian
makes
Maximian
his col-
league.

These rebels were the Bagaudes, of whom we have already spoken under the reign of Claudius II. a rustic troop, whom the grievous weight of their taxes had induced to take up arms, to rid themselves of a tyranny which seemed to them worse than death. We cannot give the etymology of their name, of which, however, there still is a monument near Paris in the village of St Maur des Fossés, formerly called the castle of the Bagaudes. What we know *, is that these plowmen and shepherds, transformed into soldiers and troopers, imitated by their ravages the fury of the barbarians, and laid waste the countries they ought to have cultivated. Under Claudius II, their strength must have been considerable, since, as we have seen, they laid a seventh months siege to the city of Autun, and took it at last by force. Under Aurelian and Probus, no mention is made of them. The valour and activity of those warlike princes, kept them doubtless in awe. At the time I now speak of, again exasperated by the injustice, violence, and cruelty of Carinus, they renewed their revolt, which might seem to deserve by so much the more attention, as they were headed by two men of some consequence, if we may judge from the boldness with which each of them assumed the title of Augustus. Their names were Ælianus and Amandus.

If Dioclesian had been a great warrior, there was nothing in this that need have frightened him. Claudius II. and Aurelian were in infinitely more dangerous situations when they came to the throne. But though this prince understood the military art, it does not appear that he was brave. Prudence in politics was his talent, and this seems to have degenerated in him even into timidity. For this reason,

to

* Quum militares habitus ignari agricolæ appetiverunt . . . quum hostem barbarum suorum cultorum rusticus vastator imitatus est.

to enable him to face the different enemies he feared, he thought he stood in need of a colleague, who should share with him a burden too heavy for his weakness: and Maximian, his countryman and friend, was the person he pitched upon.

Maximian was born in Pannonia, near Sirmium, Paneg. Maxima. Vict. Epist. of parents of very mean condition, who earned their bread by the labour of their hands. His education was answerable to his birth: and his ignorance was so great and notorious, that a panegyrist, citing before him the exploits of Scipio Africanus, and extolling him for having imitated them, does not scruple to express his doubt whether Maximian had ever heard of them. At the time of his birth, his native country, Pannonia, had long been the perpetual seat of war. Born, therefore, in the midst of arms, and being trained up to them from his infancy, his body and his courage were accustomed early to fatigue and danger. Aurel. Vict. At first a soldier, and afterwards an officer, he rose even to still higher stations, which we cannot explain distinctly: but we know that he had the means of forming himself in the schools of Aurelian and Probus, which implies that he approached those princes, and consequently that he held a distinguished rank in the army. Vop. Prob. 22. Paneg. Maxim. He followed them in all their expeditions, upon the Danube, the Euphrates, the Rhine, and the borders of the ocean. He became a warrior, as much as courage alone and practice can make a man, without the help of that superior knowledge and those extensive views, of which his heavy mind was not capable. Vict. Epist. He was all his life a clownish soldier, rustic, violent, perfidious, cruel, brutally debauched. He had brought with him into the world a tendency to all these vices, and no culture having taught him to check or correct them, he abandoned himself wholly to their impulse. Eutrop. Even his outward form, hard and savage, spoke the fierceness of his soul. If he did not ruin the empire by
his

his enormous excesses, and if he even served it usefully, it was owing to Dioclesian's wisdom, which was a curb upon him, and for which he always preserved a very great respect.

Vop. Carin.
15.

They had long been friends, and Vopiscus declares that his grandfather and Maximian were the only persons to whom Dioclesian related in confidence the prediction of the Druidess concerning the boar. Dioclesian therefore knew him well, when he made him his associate in the empire. He wanted a man capable of making war; and that Maximian was: besides which he knew his ascendant over him. For these reasons he thought he might safely share with him a title, which according to the common rules does not admit of any partner: and he was not mistaken in his judgment. Maximian remained constantly faithful to him; and, when his equal in honour and rank, always deferred him the superiority in council. Dioclesian made even the vices of his colleague serve him. As he was very desirous to acquire the reputation of clemency, whenever he thought any violent and odious step necessary to be taken, he put it upon Maximian, who readily undertook any such affairs, suitable to his natural disposition. By this means the contrast of the harshness of the one, heightened the goodness and mildness which the other affected to shew.

Entrop.

They take
the sur-
names of
Jovius and
Herculius.

Such were the motives which determined Dioclesian in his choice. He first created Maximian Cæsar, and afterwards he declared him Augustus at Nicomedia, as I have already said. From that moment the two emperors treated each other as brothers: and some time after they took by mutual agreement, surnames ill suited to the meanness of their origin. The sons of herdsmen or slaves ordered themselves to be called the one *Jovius*, as if descended from Jupiter, the other *Herculius*, as if sprung from Hercules: wretched vanity,

nity, and proof of the blindness which fortune produces! It is proper to observe in the distribution of these surnames, Dioclesian's care to keep the pre-eminence. Jupiter was the greatest of the gods; Hercules only the most valiant.

It was in the same spirit that Dioclesian always reserved to himself the advantage of a consulship over Maximian. They were often colleagues in that office, but always with the difference I have said. In the year which preceded their abdication, Dioclesian was consul for the ninth time, and Maximian for the eighth. This observation is strengthened by the contrary example of the two Cæsars they afterwards created, Constantius Chlorus and Galerius, whose consulates always kept equal pæce.

Dioclesian, after having associated Maximian, prepared to march against the Persians, and charged his colleague with the war in the west. So we are to understand the partition they are said to have made of the empire. Each of them had a more particular inspection over a certain portion of it: but there was no formal division; and it seems to me clearly proved by the facts themselves, that they possessed the empire in common, and undivided. The state was still but one, though under two heads.

Maximian justified Dioclesian's choice of him, by the glorious success of his arms. He subdued the Bagaudes, and, if his panegyrist does not deceive us, he used more clemency to regain those rebels, than he did force to conquer them. Not that the war was ended without resistance or fighting. The orator's own words do not require our supposing that to have been the case: and in the seventh century, when the abbey of St Maur des Fosses was built, the tradition of the country was that the Bagaudes, masters of the castle which Cæsar had erected in the peninsula formed there by the Marne, stood a siege in it against Maximian;

Maximian
is charged
with the
war in the
west.

He sub-
dues the
Bagaudes.
Paneg.
Maxim.
Tillem.
Diocl. art. 4.

mian; that they were dislodged by force, and that the conqueror razed the castle, and left only the ditches, from which the abbey took the name it now bears. We are not told what became of Ælianus and Amandus, the two chiefs of the rebels. Both the name and the faction of the Bagaudes were revived in the fifth century. Salvianus mentions them.

He drives
back the
German
nations
which had
overrun
Gaul.
A. R. 1038.
*Paneg.
Maxim.*

After Maximian had quelled the rebellion of the Bagaudes, the barbarians exercised his valour. The German nations, Burgundians, Alamans, Chaibons, Herules, constantly bent upon settling themselves in Gaul, had over-spread that rich and fine country. Maximian, then consul for the first time, boldly opposed these numerous enemies, and conquered them by two different methods. He cut off their provisions from the Burgundians and Alamanni; and sickness, the infallible consequence of famine, breaking out among them, the army of those two nations was destroyed without the Roman emperor's being obliged to draw his sword. The Chaibons and Herules were conquered in battle: on which occasion Maximian performed prodigies of valour, being always foremost in the hottest part of the fight, and seeming to multiply himself by the rapidity with which he flew to every place where his presence might be necessary. The barbarians were cut to pieces: and if there be no exaggeration in the orator who is here my guide, it was not any one of them who escaped with life, but the fame of Maximian's glory that carried the news of their defeat to their native country.

A remark-
able in-
stance of
his valour.
A. R. 1039.

It cannot be doubted but that this prince was valiant. He gave a signal proof of it the very day that he took possession of his second consulship, by an action which I beg the reader's leave to relate in a translation of a piece of oratory, the only monument of the fact. It may, at the same time, serve as a specimen of the eloquence of the times

of which I am writing the history. “ * I pass
 “ over, says the orator, your innumerable battles
 “ and victories in Gaul. For what speech could
 “ suffice to recount so many and so great at-
 “ chievements? But I can by no means be silent
 “ in regard to that first auspicious day of your
 “ consulate; that day on which, though scarcely
 “ sufficient for others to prepare for action, you
 “ alone found time to act, so that the sun, in the
 “ space of one, and that its shortest course, saw
 “ you begin the functions of consul, and complete
 “ those of the victorious general. We have, seen
 “ you, Cæsar, in one and the same day, make
 “ vows for the republic, and owe the performance
 “ of them: for what you wished to do in a future
 “ time, that you did instantly: so that you seem
 “ to

* *Transeo innumerabiles tuas tota Gallia pugnas atque victorias. Quæ enim tot tantisque rebus sufficere oratio? Illum tamen primum Consulatus tui auspicalem diem tacitus præterire nullo modo possum, quo tu solus omnium consecutus es, ut quod tempus antea incipiendis tantummodo rebus aptum videbatur, tunc primum potuerit sufficere peragendis; unoque sol curriculo suo, eoque brevissimo, & officia te Consulibus inchoantem videret, & Imperatoris implentem. Vidimus te, Cæsar, eodem die pro republica, & vota suscipere, & convicta* debere. Quod enim optaveris in futurum, fecisti continuo transactum: ut mihi ipsa Deorum auxilia, quæ precatus eras, prevenisse videaris, & quidquid ille promiserant ante fecisse. Vidimus te, Cæsar, eodem die & in clarissimo pacis habitu, & in pulcherimo virtutis ornatu. Bona venia Deum dixerim: ne Jupiter quidem ipse tanta celeritate faciem cœli sui variat, quam facile tu † togam prætextam sumpto thorace mutasti, hastam posito scipione rapuisti, a tribunali temet in campum, a curuli in equum transtulisti, & rursus ex acie cum triumpho diisti, totamque hanc urbem repentina tua in hostes eruptione sollicitam, lætitia & exultatione, & aris flagrantibus, & sacrificiis, & odoribus accensis Numini tuo, implesti. Ita utroque illius diei supremo tempore bis divina res pari religione celebrata est: Jovi, dum pro futuris ovetur; tibi, dum pro victoria solvitur.*

* I have substituted this word instead of *convicta* which is a manifest error. *Convicta vota*, are vows which the event has laid the person who made them, under the obligation to perform.

† The word *Jupiter* is improperly repeated here in every edition. I have retrenched it.

“ to have implored the assistance of the gods for
 “ what you had already accomplished, and to have
 “ executed before-hand what they promised you.
 “ We have seen you, Cæsar, wear in the same day
 “ the majestic robe of peace, and the most shining
 “ ornaments of war. Permit me, ye gods, to say
 “ it: not Jupiter himself varies the face of his own
 “ heaven with such celerity, as you changed the
 “ prætexta for the cuirass, the ivory sceptre for the
 “ spear. You flew from the tribunal to the field
 “ of battle, from the curule chair to your horse,
 “ and in an instant returned triumphant to this
 “ city, to dispel its alarms occasioned by your
 “ sudden sally upon the enemy, to fill it with joy
 “ and gladness, to make its altars smoke with in-
 “ cense, sacrifices, and perfumes burnt in honour
 “ of your divinity. Thus both the beginning and
 “ the end of that day were consecrated by equal-
 “ ly religious ceremonies: the first addressed to
 “ Jupiter, to pray for victory; the second to you,
 “ to thank you for it.”

The antithesis are not well managed in this
 piece, and the adulation in it amounts to impiety.
 The greatest of the gods, according to the orator,
 is plainly not Jupiter. The turns, however, are
 ingenious; the expression is lively and brilliant;
 and if the historians of the same time were equal
 in their way to what this orator is in his, we should
 not have so much reason to complain.

The fact, in itself, is fine, and does honour to
 Maximian. The city in question is undoubtedly
 Treves, from whence the emperor, having there
 taken possession of the consulship on the first of
 January, sallied out immediately after upon some
 troops of Germans who annoyed the country, de-
 feated and dispersed them, and returned victo-
 rious.

He passes
 the Rhine,
 and sub.

Maximian, not satisfied with this temporary ad-
 vantage, resolved to secure the tranquillity of Gaul

in

in a lasting manner, by carrying his arms beyond the Rhine. He crossed that river, and ravaged the country beyond it with fire and sword. The affrighted barbarians implored his mercy: and the orator names two kings of the Franks, Genobon and Atech, who, by their submission, obtained peace of the Roman emperor, and esteemed themselves happy in being maintained by him in the possession of their states.

But the whole nation of the Franks was far from being conquered. Part of them, in concert with the Saxons, over-ran the seas, and rendered navigation impracticable by their piracies. To stop this evil, Maximian had recourse to a remedy, which he had cause to repent.

He had in his service an excellent sea-officer named Carausius, born a Menapian*, in the neighbourhood of the sea, and who, having practised from his infancy the management of ships, and even earned his subsistence by it, had raised himself by degrees; and as he advanced, opportunities offering for him to display his talents, he ingratiated himself more and more with Maximian, who at last judged him capable of conducting an important enterprize. This emperor therefore ordered him to assemble a squadron at Boulogne, and with it to give battle to the Frank and Saxon pirates, and clear the seas of them. Carausius had in fact all the courage and all the skill necessary for such an undertaking: but he had not probity, without which no duty is well fulfilled. He looked upon this commission as a means of making money; and was not unjustly suspected of letting the pirates pass, in order to attack them on their return when they should be richly laden. By this means he took several valuable prizes, of which he gave little or no account to the

* The Menapians then occupied the country bordering upon that of the Morins, who, as every one knows, inhabited the coast where Boulogne, Calais, &c. now stand.

the imperial treasury, or to the plundered provinces, but converted the greatest part of their produce to his own use. Maximian, who never consulted the rules of moderation or prudence, ordered this powerful officer to be killed without any form of process. Carausius was informed of it in time, and sailed over to Britain with his fleet. There, having bribed or intimidated the only Roman legion then in the island, and some bodies of foreign troops which accompanied that legion, he assumed the purple, and declared himself emperor. Well knowing that Maximian would not fail to attack him in his new usurpation, he took all proper measures to strengthen himself, increasing his fleet by the addition of a great number of new ships which he built, and inviting the barbarians, Franks and Saxons, to join him, and share with him the plunder of the maritime provinces of Gaul. As he was a great seaman, he soon instructed these adventures, picked up from all parts, and rendered his marine very powerful, both by the number of his ships, and the skill of their crews.

He maintains himself there against Maximian, who is obliged to make peace with him. *Mar. Paneg. Maximian.*
Eumen.

He had the necessary time to strengthen by these means his infant power: for when he revolted, Maximian was still engaged in the war against the Germans, and besides he had no fleet. A year, at least, was requisite to enable that prince, on one hand, to subdue and pacify the German nations, and on the other to build ships on the coast of Gaul opposite to Britain: so that when Maximian's naval armament was ready, Carausius was well prepared to receive him. He had even a great advantage over his enemy; in that the emperor's sailors and soldiers were quite novices to the sea, and unexperienced in working their ships, or fighting upon that element. The orator Eumenes adds, that the winds and waves were contrary to them. Certain it is that Maximian gave up his enterprize, and thought proper to make peace with

Entrop. & Aurel. Vict.

with Carausius, by letting him enjoy his usurpa-^{Tillem.} tion. The rebel remained in possession of Britain and of the title of Augustus; and we have a medal of his, struck upon this very occasion, in which he associates himself with Dioclesian and Maximian. The legend is: THE * PEACE OF THE * PAX THREE AUGUSTI. Carausius, thus established in AUGO. his island, bid defiance to the rest of the world for several years, until he at last fell by a domestic treachery. The English writers, quoted by M. de Tillemont, say that he rebuilt and fortified Severus's wall, and gained some advantages over the barbarians.

His civil government was tyrannical: suitable to ^{Eumen. Pa-} the means by which he had raised himself. He held ^{neg. Const.} the people in captivity, whilst he gave a loose to his ^{Caes.} own passions, and to those of his troops, who were the only support of his grandeur; and the Britons saw their wives and children torn from their arms, to be sacrificed to the brutal lust of their new masters.

Not to omit any thing that ancient monuments ^{Franks and} have transmitted to us concerning Maximian's ex- ^{Lætes} ploits in Gaul, I shall observe, that this prince ^{(transport-} having subdued the Germanic nations bordering ^{ed to the} upon the Rhine, transplanted some tribes of them ^{other side} into the territories of Treves, and of the Nevians, ^{of the} who inhabited the country to which the present ^{Rhine.} dioceses of Cambrai and Tournai answer pretty ^{Eumen. Pa-} nearly. This policy of peopling the frontiers of ^{neg. Const.} the empire with barbarians when war had drained ^{Caes.} them of their natural inhabitants, was subject to inconveniencies, though it was often practised by the emperors. We shall see frequent examples of it. The people, now transported by Maximian, are called Franks and Lætes. This last name has been differently interpreted by the learned, who have not yet determined how it should be understood. I shall content myself with observing that the epithet * which Eumenius joins to it, favours the

* Lætes postliminio restitutus.

the opinion of those who think that the *Lætes* were of Gallic origin, and that after having migrated into Germany in ancient times, they returned back to their old country when they were resettled in Gaul.

The walls of Grenoble rebuilt.

Two inscriptions which still subsist at Grenoble inform us, that Dioclesian and Maximian rebuilt the walls, and indeed several of the edifices of that city, which was then called *Cularo*.

Tillem.

What I have hitherto related of Maximian happened within a space of five years, that is to say, between the end of the year of Christ 286, and the year 291. During this time, Dioclesian also made several military expeditions, of which I am now to speak.

Dioclesian, by the terror of his name, forces the king of the Persians to sue to him for peace. *Mamert. Paneg. Maxim.*

I have already observed that Dioclesian was no great warrior. The most remarkable military exploit of his whole reign, was his forcing the king of the Persians, intimidated by the terror of his name, to make peace with him. Vararanes II, taking advantage of Carus's death, Numerian's retreat, and the civil war between Dioclesian and Carinus, entered Mesopotamia, as I said before, and threatened to invade Syria. Dioclesian had only to shew himself, and all was quiet. Upon his approach, the king of Persia forgot his pride, and sent ambassadors with presents to the Roman emperor, desiring peace; which he obtained, upon condition of his evacuating Mesopotamia and retiring beyond the Tigris. This is what we gather from the orators of those times, who extol Dioclesian * for that, like his tutelar god Jupiter, he pacified the universe by his bare nod. It is very true that, if the fact be not exaggerated, this expedition does the emperor more honour, than victories purchased at the expence of great bloodshed.

Eumen. Pa-
neg. Const.
Cora.

But

* Hoc, Jovis sui more, nutu illo patrio quo omnia contremiscunt, & majestate vestri nominis, consecutus est. *Mamert.*

But he also acquired glory by arms. Panegy-
 rists cite the Saracens as loaded by him with
 chains: they speak of victories which he gained
 over the Alamanni in Rætia, and over the Sar-
 matians, the Juthongi, the Quadi, the Carpians,
 the Goths, in Pannonia, and the neighbouring
 countries. It does not appear that these feats of
 arms were very considerable in themselves: but
 they shew Dioclesian's activity: and it is no small
 merit to have been able to make so many barbar-
 ous nations keep within due bounds.

A triumph was decreed to both the emperors
 for the exploits I have mentioned: but they de-
 ferred the celebration of it for several years; still
 going on fighting new enemies.

In the year of Christ 290, they had an interview
 at Milan. In order to repair thither, they crossed,
 in the midst of winter, one of them the Julian
 Alps in his way from Pannonia, and the other the
 Cottian Alps, which are those nearest Gaul. His-
 tory does not say what was the motive of this in-
 terview. But even if they had no other design
 in it than to let the world see their perfect har-
 mony, that alone was sufficient to create an ad-
 miration, the consequence of which could not but
 be advantageous, by contributing greatly to main-
 tain peace and tranquillity in the empire. This
 union of the two emperors is celebrated by Ma-
 mertinus: and it appears to me so rare a phæno-
 menon, so truly noble a subject, and so really use-
 ful an example, that I cannot help transcribing
 here some of the thoughts by which that orator
 sets forth its value.

“ • What ages, says Mamertinus, ever saw such
 “ concord in the possession and exercise of the so-
 “ vereign

“ Quæ ulla unquam videre secula talem in summa potestate
 concordiam? Qui germani geminique fratres indiviso patri-
 monio tam æqualiter utuntur, quam vos orbe Romano? Ob-
 trectant sibi invicem artifices operum sordidorum: est inter ali-
 quos

“vereyn power? What brothers, even twins, ever
 “enjoyed an undivided patrimony so equally as you
 “do the empire? The meanest artisans envy one
 “another: the musician is jealous of a rival voice:
 “in short, there is nothing, howsoever low or vul-
 “gar, but what becomes a subject of quarrels and
 “dissentions when shared with others. But your
 “immortal souls are exalted above all wealth,
 “above all fortune, and even above the empire
 “itself. The Rhine and the Danube, the Nile,
 “the Euphrates, and the Tigris, the two oceans,
 “the Eastern and the Western, and all the land,
 “rivers, and shores, contained within those dis-
 “tant boundaries, are enjoyed by you with the
 “same reciprocal equanimity, as the two eyes
 “enjoy in common the light of the day. Thus
 “your mutual friendship doubles to you the
 “ blessings

quos etiam canoræ vocis invidia: nihil denique tam vile, tam
 vulgare est, cujus participes malignis æmulationis stimulis
 yacent. Vester vero immortalis animus omnibus opibus
 omnique fortuna, atque etiam ipso est major Imperio. Vos
 his Rhenus, & Ister, & Nilus, & cum gemino Tigris Eu-
 phrate, & uterque Oceanus, & quidquid est inter
 ista terrarum, & fluminum, & littorum, tam facili sunt æquani-
 mitate communia, quantum sibi gaudent esse communem ocu-
 li diem. Ita duplices vobis divinæ potentie fructus pietas ves-
 tra largitur; & suo uterque fruitur & consortis imperio. Lau-
 rea illa devictis accolentibus Syriam nationibus, & illa Rhætica,
 & illa Sarmatica, te, Maximiane, secerunt pio gaudio trium-
 phantem. Itidem hic gens Cavionum Herulorumque deleta,
 Transhenana victoria, & domitis oppressa Francis bella pirati-
 ca, Diocletianum votorum compotem reddiderunt. Dividere
 inter vos Dii immortales sua beneficia non possunt: quicquid
 alterutri præstatur, amborum est.

Obstupescerent certe omnes homines admiratione vestri, eti-
 am si vos idem parens eademque mater ad istam concordiam
 nature legibus imbuissent. At enim quanto hoc est admirabi-
 lius vel pulchrius, quod vos castra, quod prælia, quod pares vic-
 torie feceris fratres? Dum virtutibus vestris favetis, dum pul-
 cherrima invicem facta laudatis, dum ad summum fortune fas-
 tigiū pari gradu tenditis, diversum sanguinem affectibus mis-
 cuistis. Non fortuita in vobis est germanitas, sed electa. No-
 tum sæpe eisdem parentibus natos esse dissimiles. Certissimè
 fraternitatis est usque ad imperium similitudo. *Mamert. Ge-
 neth. Maxim.*

“ blessings of the gods : each of you enjoys his
 “ own exploits, and those of his colleague. The
 “ laurels which Dioclesian gathered in the east,
 “ in Rhetia, in Pannonia, made you, Maximian
 “ Augustus, triumph with heart-felt joy : whilst
 “ on the other hand, the destruction of the Ger-
 “ manic nations in Gaul, the ravaging of Ger-
 “ many beyond the Rhine, and the ending of the
 “ wars of the pirates, by the submission of the
 “ Franks, completed Dioclesian’s wishes. The
 “ immortal gods cannot divide their gifts between
 “ you : whatever is granted to one, becomes com-
 “ mon to both.

“ All mankind would wonder and be astonish-
 “ ed, if even nature herself, by giving you both
 “ the same origin, had inspired you with this mu-
 “ tual concord. But how much more admirable,
 “ or rather how much more beautiful is it, that
 “ camps, battles, and equal victories have made
 “ you brothers? Whilst you mutually applaud each
 “ others virtues, whilst you praise each others
 “ glorious exploits, whilst you march with equal
 “ steps towards the highest pinnacle of fortune
 “ and fame, your different bloods are blended in-
 “ to one. Not chance, but choice has made you
 “ brothers. It is but too well known, that the
 “ children of the same parents are often very un-
 “ like each other. To be brothers upon the
 “ throne, is being brothers indeed.”

Thus it is that Mamertinus praises the harmony
 and good understanding between the two empe-
 rors : and, indeed, he could not, in his situation,
 make any difference between Dioclesian and
 Maximian. But though this union does them
 both great honour, it is easy to perceive that the
 principal glory belonged to him who was the au-
 thor and principle of it, by a superiority of wis-
 dom, always ruling without seeming so to do, and
 substituting the impression of respect in lieu of
 the right of compulsion of which he had divested
 himself.

himself. Dioclesian relied so much upon this authority inherent in his person, that he was not afraid to take, not strictly two more colleagues, but two new assistants under the name of Cæsars, to whom he delegated a very great power, with the assurance of their inheriting the empire.

He resolves to create two Cæsars.
A. R. 1042.

Dangers increasing, he resolved to increase his supports. In the year of Christ 291, Mamertinus extolled the happiness of the empire, which was no longer attacked by the barbarians busied with destroying each other. That orator even enters into a kind of detail upon this subject. He says that the Moors were distracted by civil wars: he makes the Goths fight with the Burgundians, and the Taifales with the Vandals and the Gepidi. He adds that Ormiès or Hormisdas, brother to the king of Persia, had revolted, and drawn some Scythian nations into his rebellion. But if the Roman empire, under favour of the troubles among its enemies, enjoyed tranquillity, it was only transitory, and of short duration. By the end of that same year 261, and in the beginning of the next, the scene changed, and fears of domestic as well as foreign wars alarmed Dioclesian's prudence. Besides, Carausius, who continued to keep possession of Britain, Achilleus assumed the purple in Egypt: Africa was ravaged by the Quinquegentians, a people or confederacy mentioned in history only at this time: one Julianus rebelled in Africa, or, according to others, in Italy: and lastly, the king of Persia, having probably conquered his brother, threatened to attack the Romans in the east. I do not speak of the German and Scythian nations bordering upon the Rhine and Danube, who, though weakened by their own divisions, gave, as we shall see, the Romans some employment.

Europ. & Vict. uterque.

All these dangers were to be guarded against at the same time, and consequently it was necessary to distribute the forces of the state under different

different leaders. It is highly probable that Dioclesian did not think he could safely trust the command of the armies to officers who were only generals. The accumulated examples of the many usurpers who had started up since Gallienus, terrified him without doubt. He saw that scarce any one private man had of late been at the head of a considerable body of troops, without forming extravagant hopes, and aspiring to the first rank. He therefore judged, that as he should be obliged to employ for these different expeditions several armies at the same time, it would be most prudent not to give the command of them to any but Cæsars of his own creating, in whom the assurance of succeeding to the throne by lawful means, would prevent, or at least check the impulse of an unjust ambition. His choice fell upon Chlorus and Galerius, with whom I must make the reader acquainted.

Constantius, in ancient monuments, is called Constantius Chlorus. FLAVIUS VALERIUS CONSTANTIUS. Aurelius Victor gives him the name of JULIUS. As to the surname of CHLORUS, we do not find it authorised in antiquity. This Greek word, which signifies *pale*, was probably not an epithet of his own choosing, but was given him by the public, and passed into use, for the convenience of distinguishing him from the other princes of the same name. His proper name was CONSTANTIUS: that of his family, FLAVIUS. The name of VALERIUS came to him from his adoption by Maximian, who himself had it of Dioclesian.

I have already said that he was, by his mother Claudia, grand-nephew to the emperor Claudius II. and that his father Eutropius held an illustrious rank among the nation of the Dardanians in Illyricum. He therefore has above his cotemporary emperors, most of whom were of mean extraction, the advantage of being nobly born.

He

*Lactant. de
mont.
Persic. 8.
& 18.
Eutrop.
Euseb. vit.
Const. 13,
14, 17.*

He was likewise superior to most of them by other still more estimable qualities. He was mild, moderate, humane, beloved by the soldiers, sought the happiness of his people, was regular in his manners, and respected virtue. He even knew the true God, if we believe Eusebius, and condemned the gross superstition of Polytheism. But, like many of the most enlightened philosophers, he probably judged it most prudent to keep his sentiments to himself, and to act with the vulgar.

*Aurel. Vict.
Eumen. pro
Schol. in-
staur.*

We have no reason to think him much instructed in letters; though, like a great prince, he favoured and protected learning, as we shall see.

*Tillem.
Aurel. Vict.*

His education was quite military. He began with serving in the guards, and raised himself by degrees. He learned the art of war under those great masters, Aurelian and Probus: and whilst the former of these two emperors was yet upon the throne, Constantius, already intrusted with a considerable command, proved how well he had profited by his lessons, since we find the honour of a victory ascribed to him towards the year of Christ 274, over a German nation near Vindonissa, now Windisch in Switzerland. Under Carus, he was governor of Dalmatia: and we have seen that he even then seemed worthy of the empire. Employed by Dioclesian to repel an irruption of the Sarmatians bordering upon the Cimmerian Bosphorus, he succeeded to the satisfaction of his prince: and soon after he was made Cæsar, to which promotion his merit recommended him as strongly as his birth.

*Eumen.
Paneg.
Const. Aug.*

*Vop. Carin.
17.
Tillem.*

*And Gales-
rius.
Eutrop.
Vict. iter-
que.
Lact. 9. §
33.
Eus. Hist.
Eccl. VIII.
16.*

Nothing in the whole world could be less like Constantius, than the colleague now given him. Galerius, born in Dacia, of the lowest parentage, and employed from his infancy in tending cattle, was brutal, savage, and blood-thirsty. Eutropius praises the regularity of his morals. But that encomium seems difficult to reconcile with his intemperance in eating and drinking; which was so great as to render

der him an enormous lump of flesh: and the equally violent and shameful distemper by which he at last perished miserably, gives room to suspect him of still worse debaucheries.

He must, however, have had some good qualities, to make Dioclesian esteem him. It is allowed that he understood war; having passed through all the gradations of the service, from the station of a common soldier to the most important employments, of which he acquitted himself with honour and success. Besides this, he is said to have had some love for justice: a disposition not incompatible with moroseness of temper. If the meanness of his origin was a motive which influenced Dioclesian in his choice; if he looked upon Galerius as his creature, who, owing all to him, could not fail to be grateful; he was much mistaken. He found in Constantius, whose birth intitled him to pretensions to the throne, far greater fidelity and moderation, than in Galerius, the son of a herdsman, and a herdsman himself.

Galerius, in his medals, takes the names of C. Tullius.
GALERIUS VALERIUS MAXIMIANUS. GALERIUS was his proper name. That of VALERIUS was borrowed from Dioclesian, who adopted him. This same emperor gave him the surname of MAXIMIANUS, as a warning to him to imitate the fidelity of Maximian Hercules towards his benefactor. Some of the writers of that time call him ARMENTARIUS, in allusion to his first station of herdsman: the Latin word *armentum*, signifying a drove of large cattle. He himself did not use that name, which would have reminded him of disagreeable ideas.

Dioclesian took every precaution in order to at- Adoption and new
 tach the two intended Cæsars as strongly as possi- marriages
 ble to himself and his colleague. I have already of the two
 spoken incidentally of their adoption. Galerius Cæsars.
 was adopted by Dioclesian, and received from him Etamen. pro
 the surname of Jovius; Constantius by Maxi- Schol. in
 mian, Butrop.
Viet. uter-
que.

mian, who likewise communicated to him the surname of **HERCULIUS**. New marriages cemented the alliance. Constantius and Galerius were both married; the former to Helena, mother of the great Constantine: the name of the wife of the latter is not known. The emperors insisted on their repudiating these wives. Dioclesian gave his daughter Valeria in marriage to Galerius. Constantius espoused Theodora, daughter-in-law to Maximian, by a former marriage of the empress Eutropia,

Ceremony of their installation. Eumen. Pa. neg. Const. Cas. A. R. 1043. Lact. c. 19. Tillem.

All the preliminaries being settled, the ceremony of the installation of the Cæsars, was performed on the first of March, in the year of Christ 292. Dioclesian, having assembled the troops in a place about three thousand paces distant from Nicomedia, ascended an eminence, presented Galerius to the soldiery, and with their consent invested him with the purple. It is very probable that Constantius received the same honour from Maximian in some one of the cities of Gaul or Italy.

Bumen pro Schol. in-staur.

The two Cæsars were decorated with all the titles which characterised the supreme power among the Romans, excepting that of *Augustus*, which remained peculiar to Dioclesian and Maximian. They had the tribunitian power, the appellation of emperors, that of fathers of their country, and the high-priesthood. This was a novelty. The Cæsars before them had not enjoyed any such prerogatives, little compatible with the title of princes of the youth, which was affected to them.

Constantius, first Cæsar.

The rank between Constantius and Galerius was not settled according to that of their adoptive fathers. Galerius, though adopted by the first of the *Augusti*, was only the second Cæsar. The pre-eminence was due to Constantius, on account of his nobility; and perhaps too, he might be more advanced in the service. The fact is, that his name is always placed first in all public monuments.

Fla. vit. Const. c. 18. Tillem.

There

There had already been a petition, not of dominions, if I am right, but of inspection and administration between Dioclesian and Maximian. The two *Augusti* made a new one of the same nature with their *Cæsars*. Dioclesian assigned to Galerius for his department, Illyricum, Thrace, Macedonia, Greece; and Maximian to Constantius, Gaul, Spain, and Britain.

Departments assigned to Constantius and Galerius. *Liet. c. 7. Aurel. Vict. Julian. Or. 2.*

This plan was, on one hand, well calculated for the defence of all the different parts of the empire, each of which now had its prince in the middle of it, ready to prevent domestic broils and seditions, and to repel all foreign enemies. On the other, it became a source of civil wars; not immediately, whilst Dioclesian's wisdom and authority, kept all in respect; at least in the next generation. It is true, the sovereign power was not hereditary of full right among the Romans, as I have often observed. But could it be expected that the sons of emperors and *Cæsars* would tamely consent to take up with a private station? The event will justify this reflection.

Inconveniencies of the multiplication of *Augusti* and *Cæsars*.

Another inconvenience arose from this arrangement, which has been remarked by Lactantius, and even by Aurelius Victor. Each of these four princes had his court, his officers, and particularly his prætorian præfect, who had under him his vicars, according to Dioclesian's institution, distributed in the different provinces of the general department. Each of these princes would also have under his command as many troops as the whole empire maintained before, when governed only by one chief. Thence ensued oppression of the people, increase of taxes, violences, and exortions. The evil was still augmented by Dioclesian's subdividing the provinces into small districts. His intention probably was to lessen the authority of the subaltern governors, by diminishing their departments, and by that means to put it out of their power to rebel. But he increased

creased the expences of the state, in proportion to the additional number of officers; and the abuse was carried to such a height, that * the number of persons employed by the four princes both in their civil and their military administrations, began to exceed that of the rest of the subjects who were to pay for their maintenance.

Hardness
of Diocle-
sian's go-
vernment.

In general, Dioclesian's government is cried down by Lactantius as hard and tyrannical. That writer charges him with greediness to enrich the treasury at the expence of the people, and to accumulate immoderate hoards of money. He even pretends that his unjust avarice was enforced by cruelty, and that frequently the possessor was made away with, in order to come at his estate. I know not whether Lactantius's zeal for Christianity may not have carried him too far against an odious persecutor. But I find that Aurelius Victor, a Pagan author, complains of the taxes introduced into Italy, which, as generally is the case, though moderate at first, rose afterwards to a pernicious height.

His rage
to build.

Lactantius blames likewise in Dioclesian the rage of building, by which the city of Nicomedia, the usual place of residence of that prince, suffered most. † Here, says our author, he built a basilic, there a circus; in another place a mint, and elsewhere an arsenal. His wife must have a palace; his daughter another. To make room for these new edifices, a great part of the city was taken from its inhabitants, who were obliged to wander with their
wives

* Major esse cœperat numerus accipientium, quam dantium, *Lact.*

† Hic basilicæ, hic circus, hic moneta, hic armorum fabrica, hic uxori domus, hic filiæ. Repente magna pars civitatis exceditur. Migrabant omnes cum conjugibus ac liberis, quasi urbe ab hostibus capta. Et quum perfecta hæc fuerant cum interitu provinciarum, "Non recte facta sunt, aiebat: alio modo fieri." Rursus dirui ac mutari necesse erat, iterum fortasse casura. Ita semper dementabat, Nicomediam studens urbi Romæ cœquare, *Lact.*

wives and children, as if their country had been taken by enemies. When these buildings were finished, to the ruin of the provinces; they are not rightly done, said the emperor, they must be executed upon another plan. Then they were pulled down and altered, perhaps to fall again. Such was the effect of his madness in wanting to make Nicomedia equal to Rome.

To be convinced that Lactantius's account of Dioclesian's profusion in building is not exaggerated, we need only compare it with what we know and now see of his baths in the city of Rome: an immense building, the vast circumference of which, if it cannot without hyperbole* be compared to the extent of a province, is at least greater than that of many cities. Nardini, who was an eye-witness, says that these baths occupied the space on which now stand the church, the monastery, and the garden of the Bernardins; the church, the monastery, and the large garden of the Carthusians: two great courts and the granaries of the apostolic chamber; a fountain called the *Fountain of the Baths*, and several vineyards and private houses. The truth is, that we must not imagine these baths to have contained only buildings destined merely for bathing. There were in them walks, places for bodily exercise, and others for study; rows of trees, porticos, great halls, and libraries. The Ulpian library in particular, was removed from Trajan's square, where it was first kept, to these baths, by Dioclesian's order. A prince who built such edifices had somewhat more in view than the bare convenience of the public. Love of pomp and magnificence, had undoubtedly a great share in them.

I return to the order of facts. Five causes of uneasiness had determined Dioclesian to create Cæsars:

* *Lavaera in modum provinciarum extracta. Ann. l. XVI.*

sars: Carausius, the king of Persia, the Quinquegentians, Julian an usurper in Africa or Italy, Achilleus in Egypt. These different cares busied the four princes upwards of five years, and their success was favourable on all sides. Of this I am now to give the reader an account, so far as the scantiness of materials will permit.

Maximian subdues the Quinquegentians. *Entrop. Paneg. l. VIII. & IX.*

Maximian conquered and subdued the Quinquegentians, whoever those people may have been; for they are quite unknown to us. There is some room to think they might belong to Mauritania*: for the panegyrists boast greatly of Maximian's exploits against the Moors about this time, and do not say a single word of the Quinquegentians: a name which makes only a momentary appearance in history, and is no longer mentioned after this period.

He destroys the usurper Julian. *Vict. Epit.*

It was likewise Maximian who delivered the empire from the tyrant Julian. That usurper, being conquered, plunged his sword into his breast, and then threw himself alive into the flames of a funeral pile which he had ordered to be set on fire.

Dioclesian, after having transported the Carpians into Pannonia, marches against Achilleus the usurper of Egypt, whom he defeats and kills. *Tillen. Entrop. Aurel. Vict. Ann. lib. XXVIII.*

Dioclesian undertook the war against Achilleus, but did not carry it on very briskly, since that usurper reigned six years in Egypt. During that interval, I can cite no other exploit of the Roman emperor, but the transplanting of the Carpians into Pannonia. Aurelian had already transported part of that nation thither. Dioclesian finished the work: the Carpians, defeated by him and Galerius, submitted, and, when settled in the territories of the empire, instead of enemies, became subjects. We are also told of castles built by Dioclesian in the country

* Scaliger, in his notes upon Eusebius's chronicle, p. 226, inclines to think that the Quinquegentians were the inhabitants of Lybia Pentapolitana. The similitude of names may strengthen this conjecture; the words *Πενταπολις* in Greek, and *Quinquegentes* or *Quinquegentium* in Latin, signifying alike five cities or nations.

country of the Sarmatians, over against the cities of Acincum and Bononia in Pannonia.

In the year of Christ 296, this prince marched against the usurper of Egypt, conquered him in battle with much difficulty, and reduced him to the necessity of shutting himself up in Alexandria, where he besieged him. The siege lasted eight months: at the end of which Achillæus was taken and killed with the principal accomplices of his rebellion. This just punishment of the guilty was but the prelude of inexcusable cruelties. The conqueror revenged himself upon the people. He gave Alexandria up to be plundered, if we believe Orosius: and we may believe him, since it is certain from the testimony of Eutropius, a Pagan author, that Dioclesian desolated all Egypt by murders and proscriptions. However, he made some regulations for that country, of which experience and practice proved the utility.

I should scarcely notice here what an historian of the middle age tells us very gravely, if it were not for this reason: that it is right to preserve the remembrance of the vulgar errors that have reigned among men. That writer relates that Dioclesian ordered strict search to be made after the books of the ancient Egyptians concerning Alchymy, and that he burnt them, for fear the secret of making gold, and the facility of growing rich by that means, should induce Egypt to renew its rebellions. It is well known now what ought to be thought of that deceitful art, boasted of by quacks and sharpers, and adopted by dupes, who have too often thrown away real fortunes, in pursuit of empty smoke.

M. de Tillemont, with great probability, refers to this expedition of Dioclesian, the ruin of the cities Busiris and Coptos, which, according to Eusebius's chronicle, having revolted from the Romans about this time, were taken and levelled with the ground. These two cities, though tacked together

*Jorn. de reb.**Get. c. 16.**Tillemt.**A. R. 1047.**Aurel. Vict.**Entrop.**Euseb.**Chron.**Oros. VII.**25.**Jo. Antioch.**ap. Vales.*

together by the ancient author, were very far asunder, Busiris being in the Delta, and Coptos in Thebais.

He abandoned as much country as could be crossed in seven days above Elephantinum on the Nile.

Procop. de B. Pers. I. 19.

It is certain that Dioclesian visited the frontiers of Egypt towards the south, and that he took, in order to secure their tranquillity, measures suited to his genius, more inclined to consult prudence, than to covet glory. Considering that the extent of the country which the Romans possessed above Elephantinum on the Nile, as much as could be travelled over in seven days, was rather burdensome than useful to them, and that the revenue they received from it was not sufficient to defray the expence of their garrisons in those parts, he abandoned that district of seven days journey to the Nobates, a people who inhabited the desarts of Oasis; and at the same time that he made them a present of that country, much richer and more fruitful than their own, he charged them with the care of defending it against the Blemmyes, and of stopping their troublesome inroads. He also agreed to purchase peace of them both by a pension, which was still paid in Justinian's time: but without any great advantage; nothing but force of arms being able to curb the avidity of the barbarians.

Constantine's first rise. *Tillem. Const. art. 4.*

Constantine accompanied Dioclesian in the war in Egypt, and there signalized his infant valour by several fine actions. He must then have been in his twenty-third year: for there is reason to think that he was born in the year of Christ 274; and the year 296, as I observed before, was probably that in which Dioclesian conquered Achillaus. That emperor had taken him as an hostage, when he made his father Constantius Chlorus Cæsar; and we do not find that Constantine was ever much absent from Dioclesian after that time, unless it was to follow Galerius in his expedition, either upon the Danube, or against the Persians: so that this prince, destined by providence to become the protector of Christianity, spent his whole

whole youth under the immediate government of the greatest enemies to the Christian name.

He was born at Naïssus, a city of Mœsia, but anciently attributed to the nation of the Dardani-ans, from which his paternal ancestors derived their origin. His mother was Helena, whose marriage with Constantius Chlorus, some, even Christian authors have disputed, and consequently have rendered the legitimacy of Constantine's birth doubtful. But in reality, this opinion seems to have had no other foundation than Helena's being of greatly inferior rank to her husband*. That excepted, every thing conspires to make us look upon her as united to Constantius by a lawful alliance: the title of wife, which is given her by several writers; the distinction which Constantine always enjoyed at Dioclesian's court, where he held the first rank next to the emperor; the very circumstance of his being an hostage, which supposes him to have been dear to his father, as a son destined to succeed him; and the great encomiums given by panegyrist to the † chastity of Constantius, whom his son is praised for having imitated, in preventing by a lawful engagement the dangers to which his youth and exalted station might have exposed his virtue, and in constantly respecting the sacred laws of marriage: all these reasons determine us to follow the sentiment which is
most

*Tillem. not.
D. upur
Constabl.*

* St Ambrose says that Helena kept an inn, where Constantius first became acquainted with her. This is a respectable witness: but he is the only one. If this fact had been known to Zosimus, who is a declared enemy to Constantine, and who flatly calls him a bastard, and his mother a woman of little virtue, he would not have failed to make use of it.

† Quo enim magis continentiam patris aquare postuisti (*the orator addresses himself to Constantine*) quam quod te ab ipso sine pueritiæ illico matrimonii legibus tradidisti, ut primo ingressu adolescentiæ fornares animum maritalem, nihil de vagis cupiditatibus, nihil de concessis ætati voluptatibus in hoc æcrum pectus admitteres? *Paneg. Maxim. & Const.*

most honourable for Constantine, and to consider him as the legitimate son of Constantius Chlorus.

*Tillem.
Constant.
art. 4.*

This young prince shewed in his early years what he would one day be. Joining the advantages of the body to the exalted qualities of the mind, he was tall, well made, brave, even so as to add to the common hazards of war those of single combats with the boldest enemies, generous, magnanimous, wise in his private conduct, and a stranger to all passions but that of supporting the splendour of his name, and of rendering himself worthy of the grandeur to which his birth intitled him. His father was a great example to him; Constantius's exploits, which I shall relate, surpassing by far all that we know of those of Dioclesian and Maximian.

Constantius enters into war against Carausius, and takes from him the city of Boulogne.

This prince had Gaul for his department, and consequently two enemies to engage; Carausius on one hand, who had usurped Britain and the title of Augustus; and on the other the German nations or Franks, who, favoured and assisted by the same Carausius, had siezed upon the country of the Batavians.

*Eumen. Pa-
neg. Con-
stant. Aug.
& Constant.
Cæs.*

Carausius possessed the city of Boulogne upon the coast of Gaul, and constantius judged it most adviseable to begin with taking that place from him, in order to confine him entirely to his island. The better to secure the success of this enterprize, he used great dispatch, setting out the moment he was appointed Cæsar, and arriving before Boulogne when he was least expected. He besieged the place by land: and at the same time shut up the mouth of its harbour by driving piles a-cross it, so that no ship could pass with succours of any kind from Carausius. By this means the city was soon obliged to surrender: and by an event which savours of the marvellous, though our fathers saw the same thing happen at the taking of Rochelle; the stockade, which had resisted the waves as long as the city held out, was broken down by the sea as soon as Constantius

stantius became master of the place. Those who submitted to him had no cause to repent. He reduced them by force, and preserved them by his goodness.

In order to attack Carausius in his island, a fleet was necessary, and Constantius had none. Whilst ships were building for him, he did not remain idle, but turned his efforts towards his second object, the country of the Batavians. The orator, Eumenius, gives us here an elegant description of that singular land, which in those days seemed little likely ever to be filled with flourishing cities, or to become the mart of the universe. “* This country, says he, is not, if I may be allowed the expression, land. It is so penetrated and soaked with water, that not only its visibly boggy parts give way under the foot, which sinks in; but even those places which seem somewhat firmer, shake and tremble when trod on, and the wide extending agitation proves that only a thin light crust, covers vast bodies of water.”

He recovers the country of the Batavians, which the Franks had possessed themselves of, forces these last to surrender, and transplants them into different parts of Gaul.

War was difficult in such a country, and the more so as the barbarians had great forests near them, to retreat to in case of need. Constantius surmounted every obstacle, and not only delivered and re-conquered the country which the Franks had seized, but forced those haughty enemies to lay down their arms and submit to such terms as he thought proper to grant them. He transported their whole nation, men, women, and children, into the districts of Gaul which they had formerly laid waste, that what had been rendered desert and uncultivated through their ravages, might also, by their

* *Illa regio . . . pene, ut cum verbi periculo loquar, terra non est. Ita penitus aquis imbuta permaduit, ut non solum que manifeste palustris est cedat ad nixum, & hauriat pressa vestigium, sed etiam, ubi videtur paulo firmior, pedum pulsu tentata quatitur, & sentire se procul mota pondus testetur . . . Subjacentibus innatat, & suspensa late vacillat.*

their means, be re-peopled and restored to its former fertility.

The orator, Eumenius, exercises his eloquence upon this fine topic. “ * We may now, says he, “ lord it over those who formerly made us tremble, and assign triumphal honours even to our provinces. The Cauc and the Frison till the ground for me: the plunderer and the robber, now fixed in a settled abode, drives the plough and labours in the field: he supplies my markets with cattle of his own feeding, and the barbarian, turned husbandman, procures me plenty, and lowers the price of provisions. If the orders of our princes bid him resume for our defence those arms which he so often used against us, he thinks himself happy.”

The panegyrist does not say here in what parts of Gaul these colonies of captive Franks were settled. Only, at the end of the same discourse, he names the territories of Amiens, Beauvais, Troyes, and Langres, as re-peopled by swarms of transplanted barbarians. But as besides the transmigration now spoken of, another was executed some years after by Constantius, as we shall have occasion to observe, we cannot distinguish what belongs particularly to each of these two similar operations.

Julian. Or. I. We say the same of the castles which Constantius built, according to his grandson Julian the apostate, upon the frontiers, and even in the middle of the barbarous parts of Germany. It is a precaution which he may have taken in either of his two expeditions against the Franks.

The

* Insultare, Hercule, communi Galliarum nomine libet, & quod pace vestra loquar, ipsis triumphum assignare Provinciis. Arat ergo nunc mihi Caucis & Frisiis; & ille vagus, ille praedator, exercitio squalidus operatur, & frequentat nundinas meo pecore venali, & cultor Barbarus laxat annonam. Quin etiam si ad delectum vocetur, accurrit, & obsequiis teritur, & terrore coerectur, & servitute se militiae gratulatur.

The first of them must have taken him up at least three years, since it filled the whole interval between the taking of Boulogne in the year of Christ 292, and his carrying the war into Britain in 296. It is probably to this time that we ought to refer the exploits which Eumenius speaks of in the beginning of his panegyric of Constantius: a barbarian king taken in a snare of his own laying, and made prisoner; all Germany laid waste from the bridge over the Rhine at Cologne, to the Danube: and it is also in this same interval that we place, after M. de Tillemont, the care which this equally good and warlike prince bestowed upon the re-establishment of the city of Autun.

I have already said that this city suffered greatly from the first revolt of the Baugaudes: that, faithful to her lawful masters, she sustained a siege of seven months; and that after supplicating in vain the assistance of Claudius II. then busied with the war against the Goths, she was at last forced to open her gates to the rebels, who treated her like a city taken by storm. From that fatal time she had remained during twenty-five years in a state of desolation, her buildings, both public and private, either totally destroyed or greatly damaged, her fields neglected and in general uncultivated, and the whole country round about reduced to extreme poverty.

Constantius, without doubt, thought his family in some measure obliged, out of gratitude, to shew kindness to a city which had behaved with such extraordinary fidelity to his great uncle Claudius II. and to which that fidelity had cost so dear. He spared neither expence nor pains to repair its misfortunes, giving considerable sums to pay the debts of the city, and rebuild its temples, baths, and houses, and repeopling it by inviting thither all sorts of artists and workmen from the neighbouring provinces. He also made it the winter quarters of some of the legions, in order to

*Re-estab-
lishment
of the city
and school
of Autun.
Eumen.
ibid. & pro
schol. inct.*

bring money into the country, and at the same time labourers for the public works, particularly aqueducts, built there by his order: and lastly, he restored to it the study of letters, of which he knew the value, though his military life had not permitted him to make any great personal progress in learning.

See Vol. II.
p. 213.

Hist. Univ.
Paris. T. I.
p. 6. § 25.

Vol. I. p.
135.

The school of Autun was famous even in remote antiquity. Under Tiberius, the rebel Sarcovir found there, according to Tacitus, the whole flower of the young nobility of Gaul assembled to study the fine arts, and made them hostages for the fidelity of their parents. This indisputable fact may authorise, to a certain degree, the tradition of the country, which says, that before the Romans entered Gaul, the Druids educated the youth of that country at Autun, and had a house there upon an eminence to this day called *Mont-Dru*, which is as much as to say the *Mount of the Druids*. In this case Augustus was not, as I said in his reign, the institutor, but only the restorer and benefactor of the school of Autun.

It cannot be expected that we should give an historical account of the progress of this school, for which, even if this were a proper place for that detail, we have absolutely no materials. We meet with a great chasm from the time of Tiberius to the grandfather of the rhetorician Eumenius, a native of Athens, who after having taught with reputation at Rome, settled at Autun, and there publicly professed rhetoric until he was upwards of eighty years old. The same Eumenius cites the professor Glaucus, his cotemporary, but farther advanced in years, who, he says, though not born an * Athenian, might have passed for one by his elocution. Eumenius himself, born at Autun, taught eloquence for some time in his native country, and afterwards had an employment which obliged him to attend the palace and the prince.

Eumen.
pro schol.
instaur.

* Non civitate Atticum, sed eloquio.

prince. He was stiled *Memoriae magister*, or *chief Remembrancer*. Constantius, resolving to revive the splendour of literature in the city of Autun, thought no one fitter than Eumenius to second him in that design, and therefore desired him to resume the professorship at the same time that he held his office in the palace. His letter to him on this occasion deserves to be inserted here. It bears, in the beginning, the names of the two emperors and two Cæsars, like all other acts that were passed throughout the whole extent of the empire: but no doubt can be made of its being written by Constantius, in whose department Gaul was. It runs as follows:

“ Our faithful subjects the Gauls, deserve that
 “ we should interest ourselves in the education
 “ of their children, who are instructed at Autun
 “ in learning and morality. * How can we better
 “ reward their zeal, than by procuring them an
 “ advantage which fortune can neither give nor
 “ take away? To this end, as the school where
 “ they are brought up is now without a head, we
 “ have judged that the vacant place cannot be
 “ more worthily filled up than by you, Eumenius,
 “ who have given proofs of uncommon eloquence,
 “ and whose probity is well known to us by the
 “ manner in which you discharge the functions of
 “ your office about our person.

“ We † therefore, continuing to you the honours
 “ and prerogatives of the rank you now enjoy, ex-
 “ hort you to resume the oratorical profession.
 “ You

* Quod aliud præmium his quam illud conferre debemus, quod nec dare potest nec eripere fortuna?

† Salvo igitur privilegio dignitatis tue, hortamur ut professionem Oratoriam recipias, atque in supradicta civitate, quam non ignoras nos ad pristinam gloriam reformare, ad vite melioris studium adolescentium excolas mentes; nec putes hoc munere ante partis aliquid tuis honoribus derogari, quum honesta professio ornet potius omnem quam destruat dignitatem.

“ You are not ignorant of our intention to revive
 “ the ancient glory of the city of Autun. Assist
 “ us therein, by inspiring its youth with the love
 “ of virtue through the channel of science; and
 “ do not think you will any way degrade yourself
 “ by accepting the employment we offer you, since
 “ so honourable an occupation must rather add
 “ lustre to, than in the least take from, any dig-
 “ nity whatever. And that you may judge of our
 * f. 3300. “ singular esteem for your merit, we assign you
 “ a salary of six hundred * thousand sesterces.
 “ Farewell our dear Eumenius.”

I see nothing more worthy of notice in this letter, than the prince's particular attention to make virtue the end of all knowledge. This was also Eumenius's way of thinking, as appears from his declaring † that he looked upon learning as the foundation of temperance, modesty, vigilance, and patience. “ When these happy dispositions, says he, have become habitual in youth, they yield their fruit during all the rest of life; and every social office, nay even the profession of arms, seemingly so little suitable to the muses, are thereby much better performed.”

These were not fine speeches only in the mouth of this orator, and contradicted by his personal conduct. Eumenius devoted to the rebuilding of the schools of the Autun, ruined by the calamities of war, the six hundred thousand sesterces allowed him for his salary: and that was the object of the speech from which I have taken the greatest part of what I have said upon this subject.

Several
 other cities
 restored
 and

Autun was not the only city that experienced the liberalities and good government of the princes who were

† . . . Litteras omnium fundamenta esse virtutum, utpote continentiae, modestiae, vigilantiae, patientiae magistrus. Quae universa quum in consuetudinem tenera aetate venerunt, omnino deinceps officia vitae, & ipsa quae diversissima videntur militiae atque castrorum munia convalescunt.

were at the head of the empire. If Eumenius's expressions be not exaggerated, cities rose on all sides from their ruins, particularly in the frontier provinces, and after having been almost covered with briars, and converted into receptacles for wild beasts, recovered at once their splendour, rebuilt their walls, and were re-peopled by their former inhabitants.

Constantius, as I said before, had been obliged during three years to think of quite other things than attacking and re-conquering Britain. In the beginning of this interval a revolution happened in that island, which might have furnished him with a favourable opportunity, had he been at liberty to improve it. The usurper Carausius had a minister named Allectus, in whom he trusted, and who governed every thing in his name. But among the wicked there can be no faithful society. Allectus, having committed several crimes for which he feared being punished, conspired against Carausius, killed him, usurped the title and power of Augustus, and maintained himself in the possession of Britain for three years. Carausius had reigned there upwards of six.

It was a shame for the empire, that Britain should have remained thus dismembered from it during ten years, and that a new tyrant, succeeding the former, should enjoy his usurpation as peaceably as if it had been a lawful inheritance. At length Constantius, having his armament ready, prepared to avenge the glory of the Roman name. Maximian seconded him therein, by marching to the Rhine, though only with a small number of troops, the terror of his name being sufficient to keep the barbarians in awe, to prevent the Germans and Franks from breaking into Gaul, which could not but be left somewhat defenceless during the expedition against Allectus.

Constantius

rebuilt
through-
out the
whole ex-
tent of the
empire.

Carausius
killed by
Allectus,
who re-
mains
three years
master of
Britain.
*Eumen. Pe-
neg. Const.
Ces.
Butrop.
Aurcl. Vict.*

Constantius makes
war upon
him. Al-
lectus is
conquered
and killed.
The island
submits a-
gain to its
lawful
masters.

Constantius had built and equipped two fleets, one upon the coast of Boulogne, the other at the mouth of the Seine, thereby threatening the enemy with a double attack, which obliged him to divide his forces; as he could not tell exactly where a descent might be made. Constantius put himself at the head of the fleet at Boulogne, and gave the command of the other to his prætorian præfect, Asclepiodotus, an excellent warrior, bred under Probus and Aurelian. Allectus arranged his plan of defence in consequence of that of the attack, stationing a fleet at the isle of Wight to observe Asclepiodotus's motions and intercept his passage, whilst he himself kept upon the coast of Kent, ready to oppose Constantius.

It is very difficult to form an historical account from a merely oratorical narrative: and yet that is what I am now reduced to: for I have no other guide here than the panegyrist Eumenius. After carefully studying my original, this, I think, is what may be collected from it.

Constantius put to sea first, sending notice of his departure to Asclepiodotus, whose soldiers, the moment they heard it, grew so impatient to sail likewise, that, though the sea ran very high, and there were many signs of an impending storm, they forced their commanders immediately to weigh anchor. A thick fog prevented their being seen by Allectus's fleet off the isle of Wight, and they landed without any opposition on the British shore, where they burnt their ships, resolving to conquer or die.

Constantius, though his passage was much shorter, did not land so soon. Whether the fleet commanded by Allectus in person upon the coast of Kent hindered his arrival, or whether the weather kept him some time upon the coast of Gaul, or whether he missed his way, it is certain that he did not force his passage: but his enemy left it open to him: for as soon as Allectus was informed of Asclepiodotus's

clepiodotus's landing, he hastened to the place where the danger seemed greatest, and by that means Constantius disembarked his troops with ease, and was received as a deliverer by the natives of the country, who, treated by Allectus with as much cruelty and insolence as they had suffered from Carausius, longed to shake off the tyrannical yoke under which they had groaned ten years.

Allectus was in such a hurry to fight Asclepiodotus, that he did not take time to collect all his forces. He made no use of the Roman troops under his command: perhaps because he thought he could not safely trust them, and apprehended their going over to their lawful prince, whom they saw actually in a condition to make himself be respected in the island. Certain it is that Allectus led to the battle none but the Roman auxiliaries, who, having been the first authors of the rebellion, could expect no quarter, and some bodies of Germans and Franks that were in his pay. His army was easily broken and defeated. He himself fled, and, the better to secure his flight, quitted the imperial ornaments: but he was overtaken and killed, without being known, at least until after his death. What rendered the success of this event by so much the more fortunate, was, that as Allectus's troops consisted chiefly of barbarians, the victory cost very little Roman blood; and a civil war was ended without the state's losing hardly a citizen.

Allectus's army was, however, not entirely destroyed in the battle. A body of Franks escaped and reached London, which they were preparing to plunder, in hopes of embarking afterwards in the Thames, and returning to their own country with a rich booty, when an accident saved that city. Several of Constantius's ships, having missed their way, were driven by the winds and waves into the Thames, and arrived at London just as the Franks began to disperse, in order to plunder,

plunder. The Romans, falling upon these barbarians, made dreadful havock of them, and by that means not only saved the city from being ransacked, but afforded her the double satisfaction of seeing her old enemies punished.

Constantius's remaining thus conqueror and master of Britain, without fighting at all in person, has made Eutropius ascribe the honour of the reduction of the island to Asclepiodotus, who was no more than the prince's lieutenant, but who indeed gained the only battle which decided the war.

The submission of Britain after a rebellion of ten years, though in itself a very important object, was however not the principal fruit of this victory. The great advantage resulting from it, was the re-establishment of the naval glory of the empire, and the safety of navigation. For it was chiefly by their maritime power that Carasius and Allectus had rendered themselves formidable, and their allies or mercenaries were the Frank and Saxon pirates, who over-ran not only the Channel and the Gallic and French seas, but frequently penetrated, as we have seen, into the Mediterranean, and infested the coasts of Italy and Africa. By the defeat of Allectus, the seas were cleared of these robbers, who did not dare to shew themselves again for a long time.

Constantius makes a noble use of his victory.

Eumen. ib. & Paneg. Constant. Aug.

Constantius, mild and merciful, made a noble use of his victory. Far from confounding the oppressed people with their tyrannical oppressors, he studied how to comfort them after their long sufferings. Those who had been unjustly deprived of their estates, were restored to them, order and the laws were re-established, and Britain felt no other alteration by her present change of master, than the recovering of her happiness. Even the guilty, and those who had associated with the rebels, experienced the conqueror's generosity.

He

He granted them a general pardon, and only desired that they should repent.

It is observed that he sent a recruit of workmen from Britain to Autun, to help to rebuild that city, whose edifices he was then restoring.

According to M. de Tillemont, the reduction of Britain should be placed under the year of Christ 296. A. R. 1047

This was the greatest exploit by which Constantius distinguished himself, though he did not remain inactive during the following years. We find that he pursued quite into their own country, that is to say, probably beyond the Ems and even the Weser, the Franks whom he had conquered both in the country of the Batavians and in Britain. He took great numbers of them prisoners, and settled them, with others of their countrymen before spoken of, in those parts of Gaul which they had ruined by their ravages. Other exploits of this prince against the Germanic nations.

I shall mention here another, though by some years posterior, feat of arms atchieved by Constantius. The Alamanni had advanced into the very neighbourhood of the city of Langres. Constantius was surprised, and venturing a battle with only an handful of men, narrowly escaped a very great personal danger. Being obliged to retreat towards the city, he found its gates shut, and was obliged to be drawn up over the walls with ropes. But he soon altered the face of things. The troops he had sent for, doubtless upon the approach of the barbarians, arriving about five hours after the battle, Constantius sallied out with them upon the enemies who thought themselves completely conquerors, cut them to pieces, and killed, according to what seems most credible, six thousand of their men. Eutropius and Zonaras enlarge this number prodigiously, making the slain on the side of the Alamanni amount to sixty thousand. Thus Constantius was both conquered and conqueror in the space

space of six hours. Besides the danger he ran of being taken prisoner, he is said to have been wounded in one of the two engagements. This memorable action is placed by M. de Tillemont under the year of Christ 301.

Eumen. Paneg. Const. Aug. The panegyrist cites also a victory gained by this prince about the same time over the barbarians near Windisch, a place already rendered famous by an exploit of his of which we have spoken elsewhere.

As the scarcity of materials relative to these times gives a value to the few that we have, I cannot omit here one more fact, though less important, which is furnished us by the same orator Eumenius. He relates, that an immense multitude of Germans having passed the Rhine at a time when it was frozen over, stopped in an island in the middle of that river, where, a sudden thaw coming on before they could possibly retreat, they were forced to surrender at discretion.

Mildness of Constantius's government. Remarkable instances of it. Euseb. de Viet. Const. l. 14. This is all that the monuments of antiquity afford us with regard to Constantius's military glory. But he deserves still much higher esteem for his goodness, the mildness of his government, and his paternal care of the happiness of his people. Eusebius has preserved an instance of this, well worthy to be remembered.

Constantius, for fear of distressing his provinces, levied so few taxes upon them, that his treasury was empty. Dioclesian, whose passion always was to hoard up money, and who retained upon the throne the same narrowness of mind in that respect as when his situation was quite obscure and his circumstances very narrow, blamed Constantius's conduct, and sent some of his courtiers to represent to him, that a prince ought by no means to be poor, and that by neglecting his finances he neglected the public good. Constantius made no reply to this remonstrance: but desiring Dioclesian's deputies to stay some time with him,

he sent for the richest inhabitants of all the provinces in his department, and told them that he wanted money, and should be glad if they would shew their attachment to him by a voluntary gift. The prince's proposal was received with joy: his subjects eagerly embracing an opportunity they had long wished for of proving their affection. They vied with each other which should be foremost in bringing him gold, silver, and other valuable effects; and while they stripped themselves of all that is held dearest by the generality of men, serenity and satisfaction were painted in their looks. Constantius's treasury being by this means soon filled, he sent for Dioclesian's envoys, and shewed them the heap of riches, charging them to tell the emperor what they had seen, and at the same time adding, * that he had just collected together those things which had long been his. "I left them, said he, in the keeping of their possessors, who, as you see, have been faithful to their trust." The deputies returned full of admiration: and Constantius, sure of finding a resource always ready in the hearts of his subjects, made every one take back what he had brought.

Of the five objects which I mentioned as the motives of Dioclesian's resolution to create Caesars, I have expatiated upon four. The fifth, which I am now to speak of, was the war against the Persians, conducted and gloriously ended by Galerius.

Though no downright acts of hostility had passed between the Romans and the Persians since Carus's exploits in the East; yet the two empires were perpetually rivals. Besides ambition, of which both sides seem to have had an equal share, the desire of revenge incited the Romans. Valerian's captivity was still present to their memory, and

Galerius makes war upon Narses king of Persia, and gains great victory over him.

Narses,

* Καὶ οὐ μὲν ἀδραστεῖται παρ' ἐαυτοῦ ταῦτα πάλαι δ' αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῖς τῶν χρημάτων διοπάταις εἰς δὲ ὑμῶν πειρῆς παραδροσὸφύλαξ; φυλακτιῆς.

Narses, who reigned in Persia at the time I now speak of, was too enterprising a prince, too greedy of conquest, to suffer them to forget it.

Tillem.

Dioclet. art.

7.

In the year of Christ 294, Narses succeeded Vararanes III. the son and successor of Vararanes II. against whom Carus made war. We have already mentioned, incidentally, a rebellion of Ormies or Hormisdas against his brother Vararanes II. of which we know not the particulars: but it did not hinder Vararanes III. from ascending the throne after the death of his father. He enjoyed it but a very short time: only four months according to some; a year according to others. Narses succeeded him, either as his heir, or otherwise: for all that we can say of this prince's right to the throne, is that he was of the blood of Sapor, but perhaps by another branch than that of Vararanes. He was no sooner in possession of the empire, than, proposing to himself the example of his ancestor Sapor, he thought of extending it at the expence of the Romans, and accordingly made an irruption into Syria, and endeavoured to seize Armenia. Dioclesian could not dissemble such attempts: for which reason, whilst he himself went into Egypt to chastise Achillæus, he ordered Galerius to march against Narses.

Lactant. de mort. Per-

acc. c. 8.

Ann.

Marc. l.

XXIII.

Ancl. Vict.

Eutrop.

Scr. Rufus.

Oros. VII.

25.

Zonar.

The first campaign was not favourable to the Romans. Galerius, by presuming too much upon his own abilities, suffered some disgrace. Orosius says he was worsted three times by the Persians: but this at least is certain, that venturing with an handful of men to attack the enemy who were much stronger, between Carrhæ and Callinicum, he was defeated and forced to fly.

Dioclesian, whose distinguished character was prudence and circumspection, was very angry with Galerius for this defeat occasioned by his rashness, and made him sensible of it: for when this vanquished prince appeared next before him, the stern emperor let him walk a mile on foot by

the

the side of his chariot, decorated as he was with the imperial purple.

This was a severe lesson, and Galerius profited by it. Fired with ardour to repair his fault, and having with difficulty obtained leave to assemble new forces, he marched towards Armenia, where it was easiest to conquer, whilst Dioclesian kept a considerable army in Syria to back him, and go to his assistance in case of need.

Galerius again did a thing, which though commended by our authors, will, I believe, seem to all good judges, a proof that he had not yet corrected his rashness: for, attended by only two troopers, he went out to reconnoitre the enemy: an office which not only no prince, but even no general, ought ever to take upon himself, and which he should leave to subalterns, who may do it equally well, without risking the whole army in their person.

That excepted, he behaved like a wise commander: and having brought about an opportunity to attack the Persians with advantage, he defeated them entirely, though their numbers were greatly superior to his, and gained a decisive victory over Narses. The king of Persia, conquered and wounded, saved himself with difficulty by flight: his camp was taken and plundered: his wives, his children, his sisters, and in short his whole family remained prisoners in the hands of the conqueror, together with a great number of other illustrious Persians: all the baggage, and all the riches of the army became the prey of the Romans. The disaster was so complete, that Narses, retiring to the extremity of his dominions, had no resource but humbly to sue for peace.

The conqueror Galerius revived in favour of his prisoners, the example of moderation and chastity, so often and so justly praised in Alexander, with respect to the wife and daughter of Darius; and
forced

forced the * Persians to acknowledge that the Romans were as much superior to them in virtue, as they were in arms.

*Am. lib.
XXII.*

Amianus Marcellinus has recorded an action of one of the soldiers of the victorious army, which may be compared to what the history of France relates of the simplicity of the Swiss after the battle of Granson. This soldier having found a purse full of pearls, threw away the pearls as useless babbles, and kept the purse, which was of fine grained leather, neat, and glossy. Galerius had among his troops some new raised levies which came to him from Mœsia and Illyricum, and also some auxiliary Goths. It must have been one of these that was so silly. An old Roman would have known better.

Tillem.

Narses
sues for

peace. It
is granted
him. Con-
ditions of
the treaty.
*Petr. Pa-
tric. Legat.*

The ambassadors of Narses being arrived in the Roman camp, and admitted to an audience of Galerius, Apherban, their speaker, addressed the conqueror in a suppliant stile, beseeching him to spare the Persian empire, the destruction of which, said he, would deprive the universe of one of its two eyes, and the Roman empire itself of a subsidiary and almost fraternal splendour. He represented modestly to Galerius the vicissitude and instability of all human things; and concluded with declaring how much Narses thought himself obliged to him for the kind treatment his family had received, and with expressing his earnest desire to recover his wives and children.

Galerius answered, that it ill became the Persians to pretend to claim pity for their misfortunes, they who had so insolently abused their good fortune, by treating the captive Valerian with an ignominy shocking to humanity. That he would, however, lay aside his just indignation, not out of regard for the Persians, who deserved no favour, but to shew himself worthy of the ancient Romans, who
maxim

* Persæ non modo armis, sed etiam moribus superiores esse Romanos confessi sunt. *Ser. Rof.*

maxim always was to shew as much clemency after the victory, as they did boldness against the enemy that dared to resist them.

As Galerius could neither settle the peace nor conclude the treaty without consulting Dioclesian, he went to meet him at Nisibis, whither the emperor had repaired. An author has written, that the Romans might easily have made the Persian dominions a province of their empire, and that it is not known why Dioclesian missed so fine an opportunity. But that wise prince was not to be misled by a project more specious than solid. He would not take, as M. de Tillemont observes, what he did not find himself in a condition to keep: and Trajan's fruitless efforts to execute that very design, were a warning and example to Dioclesian. *Aurel. Vict.*

He therefore sent Sicorius Probus to Narses, with his proposals, or rather his orders. He insisted that the king of Persia should renounce all pretensions to Mesopotamia; that the Tigris should be the boundary of the two empires; and that in consequence thereof five provinces situated upon the right-hand side of that river towards its source, and which had until then belonged to the Persians, should be given up to the Romans. Authors differ about the names of these five provinces: but they agree that Cordyana, Artazana, and Zabdianna were of the number. Dioclesian demanded likewise that Armenia, as far as Media, should remain the property of the Romans. He also required that the king of Iberia should hold his crown of the Roman emperors, and be no longer dependant on the kings of Persia; and lastly, that Nisibis should be the place of deposit of the merchandize of the East, and the mart of commerce between the two empires. Narses was reduced so low, that he could not refuse any thing. Only he excepted against the last article relating to Nisibis, for no other reason, says the

historian, than to shew that he did not absolutely submit like a slave, but added something of his own to the treaty. The prisoners were not restored to him. Dioclesian kept them to grace his triumph.

This peace lasted forty years.

This peace so advantageous to the Romans, lasted forty years. I suppose the war to have taken up two campaigns: for I think it would be crowding events too much, if they were to be limited to one. In this case, the war begun in the year of Christ 296, ended in the year 297. From that time to the year 337, when Constantine, provoked by Sapor who wanted to withdraw the five provinces ceded to Dioclesian, would have made war against the Persians if death had not prevented him; the space is forty years.

Galerius is swelled with pride. Tillent. Lactant.

The victory over Narses was glorious for the empire, but fatal to Dioclesian. It swelled the pride of Galerius, who took for it the pompous titles of *Persicus*, *Armeniacus*, *Adiabenicus*, and *Mediacus*. Disdaining a mortal origin, he stiled himself the son of Mars; and though received and treated with high distinction by his adoptive father and emperor, he grew weary of having only the second rank. "Always Cæsar!" said he. "Until when shall I be nothing but Cæsar?" At length, gaining an ascendant over Dioclesian, he prevailed on him to persecute the Christians, and forced him to abdicate the empire. But this was a work of time: several years elapsing before he could thoroughly withdraw himself from his allegiance to a prince whose merit was conspicuous, and whom he had long obeyed. Between the peace concluded with the Persians, and the persecution ordered against the Christians, five years intervened, during which we have but few events to notice.

Events of less importance dur- ing a space of five years.

Dioclesian employed this time chiefly in providing for the domestic welfare of the empire, and in securing its frontiers by castles built upon the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates. Am-

mianu

mianus Marcellinus mentions particularly Cercusium in Mesopotamia, a place little regarded until then, but which Dioclesian fortified, because its situation at the confluence of the Chaboras and Euphrates rendered it an important post. Eum. pro schol. in Maur. Antonian. l. XXIII.

Under the year of Christ 302 is placed a very considerable distribution of corn established to perpetuity by this prince for the city of Alexandria: and this instance of liberality inclines me not to believe too readily what Lactantius says of a great dearth of provisions occasioned by Dioclesian's injustice, and increased by an injudicious regulation of their prices, which it was soon found necessary to repeal. It is well known how difficult it is to find a remedy in such cases; and that princes and magistrates, with the very best intentions, are often at a loss how to avoid murmurs and complaints. Tillem. Lactant.

It was during this same interval of peace and tranquillity that Dioclesian made his great buildings at Nicomedia and Rome. We likewise read of Baths built by Maximian at Carthage. Euseb. Chron.

There seems not to have been any considerable warlike commotion in all this time, except towards the Rhine. I have mentioned the victory which Constantius gained over the Alamanni in the year of Christ 301.

S E C T. II.

DIOCLESIAN'S persecution. Rebellious commotions in Melitene and Syria. Dioclesian goes to Rome, to celebrate there the twentieth year of his reign, and at the same time his triumph. His games are not magnificent. The people are dissatisfied with them. Dioclesian leaves Rome abruptly. He falls into a lingering illness, which affects his head. Galerius, taking advantage of it, forces him and Maximian to abdicate the empire. Dioclesian and Maximian abdicate. Severus and Maximian created Cæsars. Dioclesian lived contented in his retirement. His remarkable saying concerning the difficulty of governing well. Remains still subsisting of Dioclesian's palace at Spalatro. He had weakened the Prætorians. Suppression of the Frumentarii, or public spies. Several of Dioclesian's laws in the code. Judgment concerning his character.

Dioclesian's persecution.
A. E. 1014.

DIOCLESIAN, in the beginning of the year 303, was in the nineteenth year of an uninterruptedly prosperous reign, the bare duration of which was very extraordinary among the Roman emperors, almost all of whom, for a century past, had only appeared rapidly upon the throne, to be as suddenly pulled down. All Dioclesian's enterprizes had succeeded. His government combined the sweets of peace with the glory of arms. Forced, by the circumstances of affairs, to share the sovereign authority with colleagues, he found in them the deference of subjects: and the empire, governed by four princes, had but one head. This brilliant prosperity began to decline from the moment of his suffering Galerius to persuade him to persecute

persecute the Christians, whom he had until then not only tolerated, but favoured and protected. Eusebius has left us the following description of the flourishing state which the church had attained to under favour of the long peace she had enjoyed since Valerian: for under Aurelian she was rather menaced with persecution, than actually persecuted.

Euseb. Hist. Eccl. VIII. 1, 2.

“ I cannot, says Eusebius, sufficiently express the freedom and dignity with which the gospel was preached before this last storm, nor the honour it was held in by all men, Greeks and barbarians. Our princes bestowed a thousand marks of kindness upon those who professed it, and trusted them with the government of provinces, at the same time that they dispensed with their offering those sacrifices which piety forbids. The imperial palaces were filled with faithful, who, with their wives, children, and servants, gloried in worshipping the name of Christ under the eyes of their masters, and had a greater share than any other officers in the favour and confidence of the emperors. After the example of their sovereigns, the intendants and governors of provinces respected and honoured the chiefs of our religion. Our assemblies became so numerous, that the old churches being no longer large enough to contain them, we built more spacious ones in all the cities. Such, continues the historian, was our happy situation, so long as we deserved the protection of heaven by an holy and irreprouchable conduct.” Another circumstance to be added to Eusebius’s account, and which will shew plainly what progress Christianity had made in the palace, is that there is room to believe that even Dioclesian’s wife Prisca, and his daughter Valeria married to Galerius, were Christians.

Not that the church had escaped all persecution since Dioclesian’s accession to the throne. I shall

Tillem. Hist. Eccl. Tom. IV. soon § F.

soon observe that Galerius used the Christians in his armies extremely ill: and in the year 286. Maximian had made several martyrs, the most illustrious of whom are St Maurice and his legion, and St Denys of Paris and his companions. But neither Dioclesian nor Constantius had ever shewn any hatred against the Christians: Maximian's violences were only transitory, and those of Galerius had not been carried to extremes. The church in general, and particularly that of the East, which was best known to Eusebius, may therefore be said to have enjoyed peace and tranquillity for a long time.

Euseb.

This calm, accompanied even with glory, had produced its usual effect, a relaxation of discipline and morals. "Envy, ambition, hypocrisy, glided in among us, says Eusebius: divisions between the ministers of religion, divisions between the people. We made war upon each other, if not with arms, at least by speeches and writings. Even those who held the rank of pastors, despising the divine precepts, quarrelled among themselves, were filled with animosity, and disputed for the first places in the church of Christ, as if they had been secular principalities. Our sins therefore kindled the wrath of God against us, and induced him to chastise us in order to bring us back to him."

*Lactant. de
mort.
Persic. 10
—15.*

Galerius, worthy to lend his ministry in the punishment which God thought proper to inflict upon his people, was, as we learn from Lactantius, the chief instrument of it. He had been brought up in hatred of the Christian name by his mother, a woman extremely superstitious, who, offering frequent sacrifices in her village to the pretended deities of the mountains, had taken great offence at the Christians for their refusing to partake of the repasts which she gave at the same time, and for their fasting and praying whilst she celebrated feasts of joy with the inhabitants of the place. Galerius, as superstitious as his mother, and full of the prejudices

dices which she had instilled into him, was not in a situation to follow entirely this bloody impression during the first years of his elevation. His thoughts were taken up with war: and he found himself in a state of subordination, which did not permit him to command exactly as he pleased. But hatred of the Christians took root in his heart: and he at length found Dioclesian disposed to second him, on the occasion I am going to mention.

Dioclesian had the weakness of wanting to dive into futurity, and of believing that it might be discovered in the entrails of animals. As he was offering sacrifices with this view, some of the Christian officers belonging to his palace, who were present, made the sign of the cross, which Lactantius calls the immortal sign, upon their foreheads. In consequence of this the sacrifices were disturbed, and the priests could not find in the victims the marks by which they pretended to know the will of the gods; or perhaps they only said they could not find them, in order to exasperate the prince against those whom they hated. What is certain, is that they declared to the emperor that the presence of profane men disordered them in their functions, and hindered them from succeeding therein.

Constantine himself relates, in Eusebius, a fact very analogous to this, and which happened about the same time. An oracle of Apollo confessed that the just then upon the earth, prevented its giving true answers as in former days. Dioclesian asked his sacrificers who those just were, and they did not scruple to answer him that they were the Christians.

If what they said was true, Dioclesian ought surely to have inferred from thence the impotence and futility of the gods he worshipped. But instead of reasoning in that just manner, he flew into a passion against those who hindered him from coming at his favourite knowledge, and ordered that

that all the officers of his palace should either sacrifice to his gods, or be whipped for their disobedience. He even extended the rigour of this ordinance to his soldiers, insisting that they should sacrifice or be broken. Galerius, who had long made the troops under his immediate command observe the same law, was highly pleased at finding himself authorised by Dioclesian, and resolved to seize the opportunity to carry things to the utmost extremity.

*Eus. Hist.
Ecc. L.
VIII. p.
295. § 317.*

Lactant.

He went to the old emperor at Nicomedia, and spent the winter with him, pressing him incessantly to render the persecution general, and to add to it the penalty of death. He represented to him that the former orders were insufficient, and had not procured the deities of the empire a single worshipper. That the Christians in the army made no difficulty of quitting the service rather than their religion; and that even the exemplary severity inflicted upon some of them, who had been punished with death, had not made the least impression upon them, or abated their obstinacy. Dioclesian resisted a long while. He knew how much Christianity had increased, and could not think of spreading trouble and desolation throughout the whole empire: but would have remained satisfied with turning the Christians out of his palace and armies. Galerius not agreeing to this, but on the contrary persisting vehemently in his own opinion, a great council was held, in which the affair was deliberated. But all that were present, either prejudiced against the Christian religion, or desirous to curry favour with their Cæsar, who now began to soar, sided with Galerius. Dioclesian still deferred coming to a resolution, and, either to disculpate himself, or out of superstition, sent to consult the oracle of Apollo at Miletus. This was making the Pagan priests judges in their own cause. Apollo could not fail to order the enemies of his worship to be extirpated.

pated. At length Dioclesian yielded, but without consenting to the shedding of blood. That excepted, it was agreed that the Christians should be tormented by every kind of violence; and the destruction of their church in Nicomedia was resolved on as the first act of hostility. The day fixed for the execution of this design was the twenty-third of February, on which the Pagans celebrated the feast of their god Terminus, as if, by an idle and superstitious allusion, that day had bid fairer than any other to put a final stop to a contrary religion.

The day agreed on being come, a party of soldiers, headed by their officers, went to the church, broke open its doors, and began to hunt for the image of the God worshipped there, imagining that they should find in a Christian church something like what they saw in their own temples. They found the Holy Scriptures, which they burnt, and delivered every thing else up to be plundered. The princes were at the palace windows, from whence they saw what passed, and by that means presided personally at the execution of their orders: for the church stood upon an eminence directly facing them. Galerius was for setting it on fire: but Dioclesian, fearing lest the flames should spread farther, and thereby occasion great mischief, opposed that step, and sent some of the prætorian guards armed with hatchets and such other like instruments, who in a few hours destroyed the building and levelled it with the ground.

The next day, the edict of persecution was published in Nicomedia. This edict did not order death: but that excepted, it comprehended every rigour that could possibly be imagined. It ordered, that the churches of the Christians should be pulled down in every city: that their books of religion should be burnt publicly: that all Christians should be punished; if of distinguished rank, by forfeiture of their posts and dignities; if of the lower class, by the loss of liberty: that they should all be liable to be put to the rack,
without

Eccl. III.
Eccl. VIII.
§ Tacit.

without any exception on account of birth or employments: that the courts of justice should be shut against them, so that they should not be able to commence or prosecute any suit in their own behalf; and that, on the contrary, all actions brought against them should be received, and determined to their disadvantage.

Such was the tenor of the first edict, to which was soon after added a second, aimed particularly against the bishops and other ministers of the Christian religion, whom the magistrates were ordered to seize and imprison, and to compel by every means, to sacrifice to the gods of the empire.

These edicts were sufficient to authorize the judges to pass sentence of death upon whoever persevered in resisting them; and they accordingly bestowed the crown of martyrdom upon several. But in the subsequent declarations, death was expressly mentioned, and ordered to be inflicted without distinction upon all that professed Christianity.

Dioclesian was led to this excess of cruelty, contrary to all his principles, by what seemed to him a necessary consequence of the first step he had been induced to take, from which, though he had agreed to it unwillingly, he thought he could not afterwards recede with honour. Two circumstances contributed, from the very first, to kindle his hatred, and make it appear just to him. One of them proceeded from the indiscreet behaviour of a Christian: the other was artfully brought about by Galerius.

As soon as the first edict was posted up, a zealous Christian pulled it down and tore it publicly. He was seized, delivered up to the executioner, severely mangled, laid upon a grid-iron, and broiled to death. He suffered all this punishment with inflexible firmness and serenity, which never forsook him to his last breath. It is to be hoped that the merit of martyrdom expiated before God the fault committed through his rashness: but we may easily

*Tillem.
Persec. de
Diocl. art.
13. & 19.*

*Em. Hist.
Eccl. VIII.
5. & Lac-
ton.*

easily

easily conceive what impression so audacious an action, and so contrary to the laws, must have made upon the mind of such a prince as Dioclesian.

Galerius heightened it by a detestable artifice. Making some of his own officers privately set fire to a part of the imperial palace, he laid this crime to the charge of the Christians, who, said he, had committed it, in order to be revenged and set themselves at liberty by destroying the two princes who had declared war against them. Dioclesian, cunning as he was, did not suspect this treachery. He flew into a violent passion against the Christian officers, of which he had great numbers in his palace, and ordered them to be racked in his presence; but in vain. As they persevered in asserting their innocence, the truth was not cleared up: for no one thought of interrogating Galerius's officers. It is pretty extraordinary that even Constantine, who was then upon the spot, did not suspect the authors of this wicked plot, but ascribes the fire in question to lightning, in a speech which he pronounced long after, and which Eusebius has preserved. M. de Tillemont offers a probable conjecture to reconcile the testimonies of Constantius and Lactantius, by supposing that the palace might be set on fire by lightning, and that Galerius then gave private orders to his officers to add fresh fuel to the flames.

*Eus. Or.
Cont. c.
25.*

He repeated the same treachery a fortnight after. The fire broke out again suddenly, but by speedy assistance was prevented from spreading. However, Galerius, seizing this opportunity, after having worked Dioclesian up to the pitch he wanted, left Nicomedia abruptly, saying that he would not stay there to be burnt alive by the Christians.

It was probably in consequence of this conspiracy falsely imputed to the Christians, that Dioclesian issued his second edict, which filled with bishops, priests, and deacons, the prisons destined for malefactors, to such a degree, that no room

*Eus. Hist.
Lect. VIII.
6.*

was

Lactant.
15.

was left in them for these last, they being all filled with saints and holy men. It was also then that he compelled, to use Lactantius's words, his wife Prisca, and his daughter Valeria, to sacrifice to idols. If this be true, if compulsion was really used with them, it is a proof that they were Christians, or at least well inclined in favour of Christianity, and that they had been instructed in it to a certain degree.

Tillem.

The persecution was general throughout the whole empire: for the edicts which ordered it were sent to Maximian and Constantius, to be executed by them in their departments. Dioclesian's authority was so much respected by those he had associated to his power, that whatever he resolved was a law to them. Maximian, naturally cruel, and whose hands had long been imbrued in Christian blood, exulted in the office of seeing the edicts rigidly put in force. Constantius, though they were repugnant to his more humane way of thinking, could not however absolutely refuse to do what was required of him. He suffered the churches of the Christians to be pulled down, but spared the lives of the people. I do not mean by this, that none were martyred in the whole extent of the country under his command. The fanatic zeal of some governors and magistrates crowned several Christians in Gaul and Spain: and to this time belongs particularly the glorious combat and martyrdom of the great St Vincent. But Constantius had no other share in these violences, than barely tolerating what he did not dare to hinder, curbed as he was by the rigour of the edict, and by his respect and deference for Dioclesian.

Eus. de vit.
Con. et. J.
13. § 15.

He therefore let some hot-headed enthusiasts, who were far from his sight, execute their orders. But in his court, he protected Christianity: and whilst the other princes inflicted their first acts of cruelty upon the Christians of their palaces, and endeavoured to make idolatry alone triumph about their

their persons; Constantius, actuated by very different principles, judged those most worthy of his confidence who were most faithfully attached to the Christian religion; and in order to know them, he put them to the following trial.

He ordered the Christians in his palace, who were very numerous, to be told, that he would have none of their persuasion any longer near him, and that they must consequently chuse which they would prefer, their religion or their fortune, and either resolve to sacrifice, if they would keep their places, or give them up if they refused. Even in those days all Christians were not saints, and there were among these several, who unwilling to quit the good things of this world for the future blessings of heaven, obeyed the order that was notified to them, for fear of losing their employments; whilst others, animated with a true faith, preferred their religion to all temporal hopes. When they had thus taken their several resolutions, Constantius shewed what he thought of them, by declaring that he could by no means put any trust in men who had forsaken their religion: for how, said he, can it be expected that they should be faithful to their prince, who have been faithless to their God? He therefore broke all these, and dismissed them with ignominy. Esteeming, on the contrary, those who had persevered in their engagements towards God, and looking upon them as men whose fidelity could be relied on, he not only kept them in the palace, but distinguished them above all others, and promoted them, as the surest friends he could have.

This remarkable instance of Constantius's affectionate regard for the Christians leaves no room to doubt but that the violences exercised against them in the provinces of his department, were the effect of the blind rage, of some particular governors, and of the prince's cautious wariness.

The

The case was very different in the other parts of the empire, where the princes themselves inflamed and rewarded the cruelty of their officers. There, the blood of Christians ran in streams. But as the detail of this persecution, the longest and most violent that the church ever suffered, belongs properly to ecclesiastical history, I shall confine myself to some general circumstances, which may not be quite foreign to my subject.

*Eus. Hist.
Ecc. VIII.
2.*

Tillem.

Eusebius tells us that fear made many apostates: but, with a discretion ill suiting the rules of history, he thinks it incumbent on him, says he, to draw a veil over those events so afflicting to Christianity. Perhaps his own interest might dictate this prudent silence: for it is certain that he was imprisoned for confessing the faith: it is also certain that he came out of prison without bearing any corporal marks of the violence of the persecutors; and that some illustrious confessors afterwards reproached him, in full council, with having basely purchased his safety and liberty by offering incense to idols.

Lapses were very common in the east: nor were they less so in Africa, where many, without pretending to renounce the faith, gave up the holy Scriptures, in conformity to the edict of persecution, and by that meanness escaped racks and death. These were called traditors, and gave rise to the schism of the Donatists, which proved extremely detrimental to the church, and of which the history makes part of that of Constantine.

But if the Christian church had cause to lament the weakness of some of her children, and even of her ministers, the glory of a great many martyrs and generous confessors edified and comforted her. M. de Tillemont has related their noble triumphs, so precious to piety.

*Eus. de vit.
Const. II.
63.*

A very great number of Christians, to avoid the persecution, fled to foreign lands, and found among the barbarians an assylum which the cruelty of their countrymen

countrymen the Romans denied them. We have already observed upon some other occasions, that these dispersions, owing to the fury of the persecutors, became subservient to the great designs of God, to make the name of Christ known to nations who had never before heard of the Saviour.

To open violence, racks, and torments, was added another kind of persecution, levelled, not against the body, but the mind. Two philosophers, or men of letters, instead of pitying the great distresses of the Christians, tried to aggravate their sufferings by writing against their religion, and endeavouring to rob them of the comfort of suffering for the truth. Lactantius alone describes one of these authors to us, but without naming him. He was a speculative, and not a practical philosopher; voluptuous, fond of ostentation and expence, and consequently greedy of money. His work, which according to the same Lactantius, was deemed purile, wretched, and ridiculous, is fallen into total oblivion.

The other writer was a magistrate intrusted in justifying the persecution to which he had contributed greatly by his bloody counsels. Hierocles, governor of Bithynia, at the same time that he employed the sword to extirpate Christianity, made use of his pen also to render it, had he been able, contemptible and odious. In one part of his work, which he intitled the *Friend of Truth*, he made, as I have elsewhere observed, a comparison of Apollonius, of Tyana with Jesus Christ. Eusebius has refuted him in that point. The rest of his writing turned upon pretended contradictions in our holy Scriptures, and was little more than a repetition of the objections before made by Celsus and destroyed by Origin. Lactantius answered it, not by a direct refutation, but by establishing in his *Divine Institutions* the solid foundations of the Christian religion, and demonstrating the absurdity of idolatry. Neither the philosopher's

*Lactant.
Const. Inst.
V. 2-4.*

*Id. de mort.
Pers. c. 16*

*Euseb. in Hi-
proo.*

*Lactant.
Instil.*

writing,

writing, nor that of Hierocles, would have been any ways formidable, had they not been armed with the imperial power.

The persecution ordered by Dioclesian, was carried on by himself during two years and two months. After his abdication, it ceased to be general. But some of his successors, particularly Galerius and Maximian Daza, continued it with great violence for eight years: so that it lasted in all, ten years and almost four months, that is to say, from the twenty-third of February in the year of Christ 303, to the thirteenth of June in the year 313; when the edict of Constantine and Licinius to restore peace to the church, was published at Nicomedia. We shall have occasion to mention it again, with the addition of some farther circumstances, because the interests of Christianity became more and more an affair of state, especially after Constantine had publicly embraced it.

*Lactant. de
mort. Per-
sec. 12. §
18.*

*Rebellious
commo-
tions in
Melitene
and Syria.
Eus. Hist.
Ecl.
VIII. 6.*

Some expressions of Eusebius seem to imply that Dioclesian's rage against the Christians was increased by two unexpected seditious commotions, for which he probably wanted to make them answerable, though their perpetual and constant submission to the legal authority ought to have screened them even from any suspicion of that kind. These commotions were neither considerable in themselves, nor by their consequences. Of the first, we know nothing more than what Eusebius says in very few words. A rebel, whom he does not name, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in Melitane, a country of Armenia: but his enterprise was defeated as soon as formed. That same writer is equally laconic in regard to the second fact: but we find in Libanius wherewith to supply his deficiency.

*Liban. Or.
XI, XII,
& XIII.*

The basin of the harbour of Seleucia in Syria not being deep enough, five hundred soldiers were ordered thither, to dig in it. This work, of itself very laborious, was superintended with extreme rigour.

rigour. They were not allowed time even to prepare their necessary food, so that after working incessantly all day with vast fatigue, they were obliged to spend part of the night in baking their bread. Unable to endure this cruel treatment, they resolved to shake off their hard servitude, and giving way to a frantic rage, of which we find several examples in that age, they forced their commanding officer, whose name was Eugene, to put on the imperial purple. He resisted: upon which they drew their swords and threatened him with death, which he, finding it inevitable, chose however to defer. Antioch was not far off: and the seditious, knowing that great city was then unprovided with troops, made their new emperor lead them thither. Worn out as they were with labour and want, they plundered and ravaged every thing upon the road, and eat and drank to such excess, that when they arrived at Antioch towards the evening, almost all of them were drunk, and much fitter to sleep than fight. However, as they were not expected, and had none to deal with but citizens taken at unawares, they entered the city without resistance, and ran directly to the palace. But after the first moment of surprize and terror, the Antiochians, recovering themselves, and considering the small number and helpless condition of their invaders, assembled, and armed as well as they could; the very women of the place joining them. The whole city, thus united, fell at once upon the five hundred soldiers half dead with drunkenness and fatigue, and killed every one of them. Their chief himself lost with his life, a phantom of grandeur which had lasted but one day.

Dioclesian was certainly obliged to the inhabitants of Antioch, and ought to have rewarded their fidelity and courage: nor had he any reason to be angry with those of Seleucia, in whose city the revolt began, but without their contributing to it in any shape. He was probably deceived by false re-

ports, which made him vent his fury upon the principal members of the council of each of those two cities, among whom was the grandfather of Libanius. The bloody execution of these innocent men, rendered his name so odious throughout the whole country, that ninety years after no creature there could hear it mentioned without horror.

Dioclesian goes to Rome to celebrate their feasts for the twentieth year of his reign, and at the same time his triumph.

Tillem.

Eus. Const. c. 25.

On the seventeenth of September in the year of Christ 303, which was that of the edict of persecution, this prince entered into the twentieth year of his reign: an uncommon happiness, as I before observed, for which he owed the Roman people feasts and shews. He had likewise to celebrate the triumph decreed to him and his colleague sixteen years before, and which he had ever since continued to merit by new victories gained, either personally, or by the ministry of their Cæsars. It is probable that Dioclesian, sparing as he was of his money, and very little popular, joined these two festivals into one, to save expence, and avoid the necessity of figuring in person, a thing he never was fond of, and still less so since the fright occasioned by the thunder that fell upon his palace at Nicomedia, and the fire which ensued, had affected his brain, and caused what we should call vapours. It was even with reluctance that he complied with the obligation his triumph laid him under of going to Rome, which he had never seen but once in all his reign, when he went thither to be acknowledged after the war against Carinus and the death of that emperor.

Tillem.

He staid at Rome as short a time as possible. The solemnity of his twentieth year fell, as I have just said, on the seventeenth of September. He put it off for two months longer, and celebrated it jointly with his triumph on the seventeenth of November.

Entrop.

The triumph of Dioclesian and Maximian was rendered splendid by representations of their battles and victories over very many different nations
in

in almost every part of the world. But its chief ornament was the captive * family of Narses king of the Persians. His wives, his sisters, and his children were led in chains before the chariot of the triumphers.

It does not appear that the two Cæsars had any share in the glory of this triumph, to which they had nevertheless contributed greatly by their exploits. The two *Augusti*, without doubt, looked upon Constantius and Galerius as their lieutenants; and by the oldest laws of Rome the triumph was due only to those to whom the chief command belonged.

The double solemnity of the *vicennalia* and the triumph, had drawn to Rome an immense concourse of all nations, big with expectations of seeing prodigiously magnificent games. Dioclesian gave games in fact, but not attended with any extravagance or luxury. “† Feasts, said he, at which the censor is present, ought to be conducted with decency and decorum.” The Roman emperors, as is known, took the title, or at least exercised the power of that office.

This severity was by no means relished by the Roman people, all whose rights and all whose cares were then, and indeed had long been reduced to their being fed by the prince's liberalities, and amused with shews.

The people, dissatisfied with Dioclesian, could not be silent, but loaded him with bitter sarcasms. This prince, who had never liked Rome, took a still greater aversion to his capital on account of this usage to which he was not accustomed. It

* I take Eutropius's expression literally. M. de Tillemont has chosen to modify it, by supposing that Narses's family appeared only in effigy in Dioclesian's triumph. I see no reason for giving this forced interpretation to the express words of the ancient author.

† *Castiores esse oportere ludos spectante censore.*

may with great probability be conjectured, that his first design was to stay there at least until the first of January, in order then to take possession of his ninth consulship in the capitol with Maximian, who was at the same time to enter upon his eighth. Piqued at a liberty which he thought degenerated into licentiousness, Dioclesian suddenly resolved to leave Rome. Notwithstanding the rigour of the season, he set out from thence on the twentieth of December, and performed the ceremony of taking possession of the consulship at Ravenna.

He falls into a lingering illness which affects his head.

His precipitation cost him dear. He was in a hurry to return to his favourite city, Nicomedia. The inconveniencies of the journey in a bad season, joined to a weak state of health, threw him into a lingering illness of which he never recovered perfectly. After keeping his apartment a long while; finding himself somewhat better he made an effort to appear in public on account of some solemn ceremony, and towards the end of the year 304, he celebrated the dedication of the circus he had built at Nicomedia. But either the fatigue he underwent that day, or the violence of his disorder, which had only been suspended, brought on a relapse, and endangered his life. The alarm was great: public prayers were put up for his preservation, and at length on the thirteenth of December he fainted away, and was thought to be expiring. However, he recovered life, but not his health: and when he appeared again in public two months and a half after, on the first of March in the year 305, he was so altered, broken and extenuated, that he could scarcely be known again. What was still worse for him, was that his mind remained affected, not indeed to a total and absolute degree of insanity, but in such manner that he was frequently bereft of his senses for a time, and those fits, when over, left behind them a lethargic numbness and heaviness.

Euseb. Hist. Eccl. VIII. 13. & Orat. Const. c. 23.

This

This melancholy situation of Dioclesian favoured the ambitious views which Galerius had for several years cherished in his heart. Thirsting after the first rank, he flattered himself that Dioclesian, worn out by illness, would neither have strength enough to keep the sovereignty, nor sufficient resolution to resist his importunities and solicitations to him to abdicate it. As to Maximian, whose only merit was courage in war, but who had no steadiness of conduct, no head, little sense and understanding, Galerius had no fear of him, nor doubted of being able to awe him into his measures. Besides the splendour and distinction which his victory over the Persians gave him, he had lately acquired the friendship and assistance of a nation of barbarians, who, driven from their native country by the Goths, had taken refuge in the Roman territories, and were received by Galerius, to whom they became a considerable reinforcement. His troops were by this means augmented, and he seems to have likewise added to them new levies raised in the provinces of his department, so that he found himself in a condition to give the law: and though the last of the four princes on whom the government of the empire then depended, he formed alone the plan of his intended alterations, taking upon him to exclude some, and put in others, just as is suited his interest or caprice.

The form of government established by Dioclesian, that is to say, of having two *Augusti* and two *Cæsars*, was to be continued. In consequence of the abdication of Dioclesian and Maximian, which he laid down as his first point, he and Constantius were to be the *Augusti*. The two *Cæsars* were next to be chosen: or rather they seemed to be already appointed by nature and the circumstances of things. Maxentius the son of Maximian, and Constantine the son of Constantius, were the only persons that could be thought of: and the right which

Galerius, taking advantage of Dioclesian's situation, forces him and Maximian to abdicate the empire.

Lucian. 3b.

18.

which their birth gave them seemed by so much the more indisputable, as Dioclesian had no son, and Galerius's son Candidianus was illegitimate, and then but nine years old. But neither of these two princes pleased Galerius: the one by his vices, the other by his merit, became equally suspicious in his eyes. Maxentius was his son-in-law, but a young monster, who already shewed the very worst of inclinations, to which he afterwards gave an unbounded loose, when he had possessed himself of the sovereign power. I do not, however, believe that this would have appeared to Galerius a sufficient motive of exclusion, if Maxentius had not affronted and vexed him by his haughtiness and arrogance, which he carried to such an height as to refuse to submit to the then established ceremonial with respect to the emperors, of paying homage, or, as it was called, *adoration*, to his father and father-in-law. Such a character could not but be both feared and hated. Constantine an amiable prince, and, as I have already described him, full of noble qualities, gave another kind of uneasiness and umbrage to Galerius, who was afraid to decorate his talents with a title of honour and power, lest he should thereby arm a rival against himself. He despised his father, whose moderation he looked upon as an effect of pusillanimity; and Galerius's projects tended to nothing less than stripping Constantius of the empire, if death did not soon deliver him from a colleague who was a burden to him. He therefore was far from thinking of strengthening him by making his son Cæsar. He wanted Cæsars who should owe their elevation to him, who should be his creatures, and whom he should be able to keep in a state of dependance. For these reasons he cast his eyes upon one Severus, who is not known in history until this moment, and upon his nephew Daia or Daza.

Severus, who took the names of Flavius Valerius, born in Illyricum of obscure parentage, had a way of thinking as low as his birth. Fond of wine, of dancing, and of every other excess of that kind, he turned day into night, and night into day. Galerius, when he presented him to Dioclesian, ascribed to him the merit of fidelity in the distribution of the sums he had intrusted him with for the troops: but I am apt to think that what chiefly recommended Severus to the person who promoted him, was the meanness of his mind, which promised Galerius a slave under the purple.

Daza was the son of Galerius's sister, and had, like his ancestors, and like his uncle himself, kept cattle in his infancy. Galerius had lately sent for him to court, and changed his ignoble name into that of Maximian or Maximin. This last is the name that has prevailed in history, for which reason we shall always call him by it. Medals and inscriptions name him C. Galerius Valerius Maximinus. He was then very young, void of education, destitute of culture, retaining all the clownishness of his country and birth, addicted to drunkenness, superstitious to excess. The sequel will shew what other vices his great change of fortune and the licentiousness of the sovereign power produced, or at least manifested in him. Galerius made no doubt of the blind submission of a nephew, whom he had raised from nothing to the throne. He was mistaken, as the event will shew.

When he had arranged his system in the manner that seemed to him best suited to his views, he set about executing it.

He began with attacking Maximian, as the easiest to overthrow, and at once succeeded by threatening to stir up a civil war, if he did not grant him the title of Augustus, which he had so well deserved, and which he was weary of waiting for. Maximian, though fond of power and grandeur, yielded;

yielded; fear getting the better of his ambition. He also accepted the *Cæsar* which Galerius proposed to him; and this last had the insolence to send Severus to him to be invested with the purple, even before he had conferred with Dioclesian upon that subject.

After this first victory, Galerius ventured upon the second attack, to which end he went to Nicomedia, to try to reduce a prince he had always feared, and whom he certainly would not have got the better of, if illness had not weakened him. He began at first pretty gently, representing to him that he was old, (though Dioclesian was then only fifty-nine) that his health was greatly impaired by the violent illness under which it was thought he would have sunk, and that the weight of the government was too much for him to bear. He proposed to him the example of Nerva, who, according to a tradition then received, but of which we have proved elsewhere the falsity, abdicated the empire, and committed it to the care of Trajan. Dioclesian rejected this idea, which he judged indecent, and by no means becoming him to entertain. But as he was informed by a letter from Maximian of what had passed between him and Galerius, in hopes of satisfying the audaciousness of an ambitious man by yielding partly to his desires, he said, that he saw indeed no reason why the title of *Augustus* might not be rendered common to the four princes who governed. This was not at all the plan of Galerius, who wanted to be master, which he knew he should never be so long as Dioclesian remained in place. He accordingly answered, that he would abide by the system established by Dioclesian himself. That it was difficult to preserve concord even between two equal colleagues, but that it would be absolutely impossible to maintain it among four. “If therefore, added he, you persist in not resigning your power, I shall know what I have to do: for my
“intention

“intention is not to languish always in an inferior station, and never to occupy any but the lowest rank.” Dioclesian’s head was no longer able to resist such violence as this, and Maximian’s example weakened him still more. Tears stole down his cheeks, and, conquered by an impression which stifled neither his inclination nor his understanding, he gave most unwillingly a consent he had not the courage to refuse. His only arguments then turned upon the choice of the Cæsars, which, said he, ought to be settled by joint deliberation of the four princes. “What need is there, replied Galerius, of a joint deliberation? Whatever we determine must please the other two.” Dioclesian answered, that their approbation was in effect sure enough, because none but their sons, Maxentius and Constantine, could be made Cæsars. “No! replied Galerius; I will not have Maxentius. He is proud, and braved me before he had any title. What then will he not do when associated to the sovereign power?” “You have nothing of that kind to reproach Constantine with, said Dioclesian. He is of an amiable disposition, and promises a still milder and more moderate government than that of his father.” Galerius, growing bolder as he gained ground, here declared his sentiments flatly. “What! said he, am I then not to be master of any thing? I must have Cæsars who will be submissive to me, who will be afraid to displease me, and who will take my orders in every thing.” He then proposed Severus and Maximin. Dioclesian represented in vain that he knew too much of the one, and too little of the other, to approve of such a choice. Galerius insisted, and said he would be answerable for them. “Do then as you please, said the emperor conquered and over-powered. It is your business, since you are going to be at the head of the empire.

“Whilst

“ Whilst the authority was in my hands, I took care that the republic should flourish. If any disgrace befalls it now, I shall not be answerable.”

The abdication of Dioclesian and Maximian. Severus and Maximian created Cæsars. Euseb. Chron. Eutrop.

Every thing being thus settled and concluded, Dioclesian and Maximian concerted matters so as to make their cession of the empire on the same day, that is to say, the first of May, one at Nicomedia, the other at Milan. We know not any farther particulars concerning Maximian, than that he quitted the purple, invested with it Severus, who had been sent to him by Galerius, and retired to a delightful place in Lucania, where he remained until his restless temper and other concurring accidents made him leave it, to run again after grandeurs which he had renounced with regret, and embark in new adventures, which, as we shall see, ended at last in a tragical death. The ceremony of Dioclesian's abdication is related at proper length by Lactantius.

Lact. 18.

19.

This prince ordered the troops to assemble upon a rising ground, three miles from Nicomedia, on the very spot where he had given the purple to Galerius thirteen years and two months before, and where to preserve the memory of that event, a column had been erected, crowned with a statue of Jupiter. To this assembly Dioclesian went in state, attended by his guards: and there shedding tears, the overflowings of his weakness, he made a short speech, setting forth, that his age and infirmities no longer permitted him to bear the weight of the empire; that he wanted rest after so many years of labour and fatigue; that he ceded the sovereign power to those who, being stronger than him, would be better able to discharge the duties of that high station, and that he was going to name two Cæsars in the room of Constantius and Galerius, who, by his abdication and that of Maximian, became *Augusti*.

Constantine, then thirty-one years of age, stood close by him, and had the wishes of the whole assembly.

sembly. No doubt was made but that he would be promoted to a dignity to which his birth and merit intitled him beyond dispute. Every one therefore was astonished to hear Dioclesian pronounce the names of Severus and Maximin. The surprize was so great, that numbers asked one another since when Constantine had changed his name. But Galerius did not leave them long in this suspense: for, stretching out his hand, he took by the arm Maximin, who was behind the throne, and made him advance that the soldiers might see him. Dioclesian then pulled off his purple mantle, and with his own hands laid it over the shoulders of the new Cæsar: after which, being no longer any thing more than a private man, he returned to the city, which he drove through in a coach, and from thence continued his route to his native place, Salona.

This account, taken from Lactantius, shews that Dioclesian did not renounce the empire without violence and reluctance. But what proves an uncommon greatness and solidity of mind in this prince, is that, as I observed in the beginning of his reign, after he had once taken his resolution, though he did that with a bad grace, he persisted in it with a steadiness which never varied during the nine remaining years of his life, without being tempted either by the opportunities that offered, or by the solicitations and example of his colleague Maximian, who re-assumed the purple twice. Every one knows his fine answer to Maximian and others of his old friends who exhorted him to quit his obscure life, and reclaim the empire. "Were you," said he to them, but to see the pot-herbs which I cultivate with my own hands at Salona, you certainly would never advise me to re-ascend the throne."

He

* Utinam Salone possetis vivere olera nostris manibus instituta. Profecto nunquam istud tentandum judicaretis.

Remark-
able saying
of this
prince con-
cerning the
difficulty
of govern-
ing well.
Vop. Aurel.
43.

He was then sensible of all the difficulty of the art of reigning, and saw, without doubt, at least some of the faults he had committed in the administration of the sovereign power. Those to whom he opened himself upon that head heard him own what was equivalent to such an acknowledgment, when he said: "Nothing * is more difficult than to govern well. Four or five interested courtiers enter into a league, and lay their snares in concert to deceive the prince. They represent things to him under such appearances as suit their views. The prince, shut up in his palace, cannot know the truth, nor any thing more than what they tell him. He promotes men who ought to be discarded, and dismisses others whom he ought to keep. In short, by the combination of a few wicked wretches, a good and even cautious prince, with the very best intentions, is betrayed and sold."

Remains
of Diocle-
sian's pa-
lace still
subsisting
at Spalatro.
*Diction. de
St. Marti-
nien.*

Dioclesian embellished his retreat in a manner answerable to his former fortune. He built himself a superb palace, four miles from Salona, the walls of which still subsist almost entire at Spalatro, a city upon the coast of Dalmatia, which perhaps took its name from this palace. Some other parts of that building also remain, sufficiently perfect to shew that they once were curiously finished and very magnificent.

Some particulars, which yet remain unnoticed, concerning Dioclesian after his retreat, shall be mentioned

* *Ego, says Vopiscus, a patre meo audivi. Diocletianum Principem, jam privatum, dixisse nihil esse difficilem quam bene imperare. Colligunt se quatuor vel quinque, atque unum consilium ad decipiendum Imperatorem capiunt: dicunt quid probandum sit. Imperator, qui domi clausus est, vera non novit: cogitur hoc tantum scire quod illi loquuntur. Facit iudices quos fieri non oportet: amovet a Republica quos debet obtinere. Quid multa! ut Diocletianus ipse dicebat, bonus, cautus, optimus venditur Imperator.*

mentioned in their order of time in the sequel of this history. I must now finish the picture of his reign and character, by adding to it a few touches which could not well be given sooner.

He lessened the number of the prætorians, and thereby prepared the way for Constantine, who broke them. Dioclesian's design was to weaken that body, which had made and unmade so many emperors. This precaution was by so much the more necessary to him, as being determined not to reside in Rome, he might justly fear troubles and rebellions in that capital, especially whilst he should live at a great distance from it. The same reason induced him likewise to reform and diminish the city-cohorts.

He abolished a set of spies established by the emperors under the name of *Frumentarii*, or inspectors of the corn. These were soldiers, whose function at first was to distribute to their comrades the measure of corn allotted to each man: and as this ministry gave them an opportunity of knowing all the soldiers of a cohort, or a legion, they were directed to examine into their characters, and give an account of such as they should know to be seditious and capable of raising disturbance. Their commission was afterwards enlarged, and they were authorised to observe, not only in the legions, but in the cities and provinces, every commotion, every suspicion of revolt, and to give notice of it to the court. Thence arose perpetual informations, and frequent calumnies against innocent people, many of whom perished upon false accusations of treason, always too readily listened to by princes. Dioclesian was universally applauded for abolishing all these *Inspectors of the corn*. But either he or his successors, substituted in their room *Agents of Affairs*, who soon became equally formidable and pernicious.

A great number of Dioclesian's laws inserted in the code prove the esteem in which his successors held

He weakened the prætorians.

Aurd. Vid.

Suppression of the *Frumentarii*, or public spies.

Several of Dioclesian's laws in the held code.

Tillm.

held his wisdom in that important part of government, legislation. M. de Tillemont cites one of those laws which does honour to the prince's equity. A certain Thaumasius preferred an indictment against Symmachus, in whose house he had been brought up from his infancy. Dioclesian forbade receiving the accusation, saying that it was iniquitous and unworthy of the happiness of his reign.

Judgment concerning his character.

Mamert. Geneth. Maxim. Aurel. Vict.

Capit. M. Aur. 19.

Upon the whole he was a great prince, an elevated and extensive genius, knowing how to make himself be obeyed, and even respected by those from whom he could not require an entire obedience, steady in his designs, and judicious in his choice of the most proper measures for their execution; active and always in motion; careful to distinguish merit, and to remove vicious men from about his person; attentive to make plenty reign in his capital, in the armies, and in the whole empire. But with so many qualities worthy of esteem, he knew little of the art of rendering himself amiable; and though he gloried in imitating Marcus Aurelius, he was far from copying his goodness. Besides the cruel persecution which he ordered against the Christians, we have seen that his government was in general hard, tending to oppress the people. All history reproaches him with pride, ostentation, and arrogance. Even † his prudence degenerated into artifice and cunning, and inspired sentiments of suspicion and mistrust. It has been observed ‡ that no connection with him could be trusted to, and that those whom he called his friends, could not depend upon a true and sincere affection on his side. His character resembled greatly that of Augustus: both of them acted upon selfish principles, and were virtuous

* Iniquum & longe a beatitudine nostri seculi esse credimus, ut &c. Cod. lib. IX. tit. 1. leg. 12.

† Diocletiani suspectam prudentiam. Eutrop. lib. X.

‡ Parum honesta in amicos fides. Aurel. Vict.

tuous only out of interest. But modesty and mildness establish a very advantageous difference in favour of the founder of the monarchy of the Cæsars, over the prince I now compare to him.

In matters of war, the parallel still holds good. Neither of them liked it, nor excelled in it, though they cannot be said to have been ignorant in military affairs, nor to have wanted courage when personal valour was necessary. Both, sensible of their defects, supplied their deficiency in this respect, by the choice of good and able generals or associates.

Dioclesian's mind was not at all cultivated, nor can I see any reason to believe that he favoured or protected learning, of which he was ignorant. I find no trace of eloquence under his reign, except in Gaul and at Rome, where Nazarius, Eumenius, Mamertinus, still kept up a shadow of it. How history was treated in those days, we may judge from the writers of the *Byzantine* collection, all of whom lived under Dioclesian, and whose enormous faults I have so frequently had occasion to point out. Philosophy sustained itself somewhat better, particularly by the means of the celebrated Porphyry, whose knowledge was extensive, and who, originally the disciple of Plotinus, continued the succession of the Platonic school. But even if he had not composed a furious work against Christianity, his philosophy in itself would deserve little esteem, being often bewildered in extravagant chimæras, and bordering upon magic, which at the same time, it affects to condemn.

State of learning and of the sciences under his reign.

Tillemont

PRINCIPAL EVENTS
OF THE REIGN
OF
CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS.

A. R. 1056. CONSTANTIUS V. } CÆSS. de in Augg.
A. C. 305. GALERIUS MAXIMIANUS V. }

CONSTANTIUS and Galerius become *Augusti* on the first of May, by the abdication of Dioclesian and Maximian.

The Roman empire is actually shared between them, but unequally. Constantius retains his department, that is to say, Gaul, Spain and Britain. Galerius governs Illyricum, Thrace, and Asia Minor himself, Italy and Africa by the ministry of Severus, and the east by that of Maximian.

Constantius makes his subjects happy. Galerius governs like a tyrant.

He keeps with him Constantine, whom he had excluded from the dignity of Cæsar, and who was an obstacle to his designs. He endeavours several times to have him destroyed.

A. R. 1057. CONSTANTIUS VI. } Augg.
A. C. 306. GALERIUS MAXIMIANUS VI. }

Constantine escapes from Nicomedia, and goes to Gaul, where he joins his father, who was then preparing to pass over into Britain.

Advantages

Advantages gained by Constantius over the Picts, a people whose name appears now for the first time in history.

Constantius dies at York on the twenty-fifth of July, leaving several children, but appointing Constantine alone to be his successor.

Constantine is proclaimed Augustus, on the same day, by the army.

S E C T. III.

Constantius held the first rank among the four princes who governed after Dioclesian. The empire actually divided between him and Galerius. Happiness of the provinces under Constantius. Galerius, on the contrary, governed tyrannically. Projects which he revolved in his mind. Constantine escapes from Nicomedia, and joins his father in Gaul. Constantius dies at York. He appoints Constantine his sole successor. The army proclaims Constantine Augustus. The fate of Constantius compared with that of his co-temporary princes.

AFTER the resignation of Dioclesian and Maximian, the Roman empire was governed by two *Augusti*, and two *Cæsars*, Constantius, Galerius, Severus, and Maximin. I place Constantius at the head, because he was the first of these four princes. He had always ranked above Galerius as *Cæsar*, and he preserved the same pre-eminence as *Augustus*. In the consulship which they bore together in the year of Christ 306, Constantius is named before Galerius.

But this was only a pre-eminence of honour: for Constantius was far from succeeding Dioclesian in authority, as he did in rank. The ambitious Galerius, who had not been able to bear the superiority of a prince to whom he owed every thing, was by no means disposed to submit to one whose equal he might pretend to be. He even despised Constantius's mildness, as I have said elsewhere; and, because he was more daring, thought himself made rather to command over him, than to receive orders from him. Constantius on his side was upon his guard against such a colleague, and feared him.

There being thus no union, no good understanding between these two princes, the empire, as Eusebius observes, was really divided for the first time; because the part of it which obeyed Constantius, though still considered as a member of the body, had in fact little more communication with that which acknowledged Galerius, than two neighbouring states at peace with each other.

The division was extremely unequal. Galerius had taken care that the new Cæsars should be chosen from among his dependants: in consequence of which, though there was some room to think that it was intended Severus should be in respect of Constantius what Constantius himself had been with regard to Maximian, in reality this Cæsar took his orders from Galerius. Constantius only kept his former department, Gaul, Spain, and Britain. Galerius had all the rest, and governed Illyricum, Thrace, and Asia, himself, Italy and Africa by the ministry of Severus, the east and Egypt by that of Maximin.

The people under Constantius's rule had reason to bless their fate. He had already made them happy whilst he held only a rank which subjected him to some dependence: but when he was no longer answerable for his actions to any but himself, he

The empire actually divided between him and Galerius.

Eus. Hist. Eccl. l. VIII. c. 13. & de Mart. Fal. c. 13.

Tillem. Const. art. 6.

Eutrop. l. X.

Happiness of the provinces under Constantius.

he increased the public felicity by displaying fully all the sweetness and goodness of his nature. The persecution against the Christians ceased absolutely in the countries which obeyed him; and his just example was followed by Severus, who, probably thinking he owed him that deference, or perhaps himself averse to the rigours exercised upon so many innocents, restored peace to the churches of Italy and Africa.

*Eus. de
Mart. Pal.
c. 13.*

In general, all the subjects of Constantius enjoyed an easy and quiet situation under an affable and popular prince, who wished to see the cities and inhabitants of his government flourish, and who declared in express terms, * that he had rather the riches of the state should be dispersed in several hands, than locked up in any one coffer. The reader may remember the instance I gave of his adherence to this maxim, under Dioclesian. This good prince, sure of being loved and respected for his virtue, kept himself at such a distance from pomp and ostentation, and was so fond of simplicity, that whenever he was obliged to give any great entertainment, he borrowed plate from his friends for the service of his table.

Entrop.

The happiness of these fortunate provinces was increased by a comparison of their blessings with the evils which those under Gallienus suffered. Nothing is more shocking than the description we find in Lactantius of the tyranny of that barbarous prince. To imitate the pride of the Persian monarchs, to be like them adored, and to command over none but slaves, was, in his opinion, little. To the most odious despotism he joined a cruelty which surpassed that of Nero. The most horrid deaths were

*Galerius,
on the con-
trary, go-
vern'd ty-
rannically.
Lact. de
mort. Per-
sic. 21, 22,
23.*

* *Melius est publicas opes a privatis haberi, quam intra unum claustrum reservari.*

inflicted by him for slight offences, and that without distinction of sex, rank, or age. Bare beheading was a favour granted only to those whose important services pleaded very strongly for them. Ladies of quality were sent to work-houses of slaves, and there subjected to the lowest drudgery. Galerius took an inhuman pleasure in seeing men devoured alive by bears of an enormous size, which he had collected, and kept in his palace. He had accustomed himself to practise these horrors upon the Christians, and he now extended them indifferently to all that had the misfortune to displease him.

All these condemnations were pronounced and executed without any form of justice. The judges that he appointed were savage and illiterate men, bred up in arms. Eloquence was stifled, the advocates of the state were silenced, and its civilians banished. All learning was deemed mischievous, and those who professed it might expect to be treated as enemies. An arbitrary licentiousness, freed from all consideration, annihilated the laws, and rendered every accomplishment of the mind useless.

Galerius was not less greedy of money, than cruel: but as death could be the portion of only a certain number of victims, he became the scourge of all his subjects by his enormous exactions. He ordered a general inventory to be taken of the possessions of all the inhabitants of his dominions: and this operation which cannot fail of being burdensome to the people, was executed with a most tyrannical rigour. Every * acre of land was measured, says Lactantius, the trees and vines were counted, the cattle of every kind were reckoned, and the number of persons in each district was set down.

* *Agri glebatim metiebantur, vites & arbores numerabantur, animalia omnes generis scribebantur, hominum capita nota-*

down. Every head of a family was obliged to appear with his children and slaves, and neither whips nor racks were spared in order to obtain true declarations. Tortures were inflicted upon children, to make them speak against their fathers; upon slaves, to oblige them to impeach their masters; upon wives, to force them to depose against their husbands: and if these methods failed, the possessors themselves were tormented, to extort from them confessions contrary to their interests, and often contrary to truth. Overcome by pain and anguish, they declared not what they really had, but what their tyrant wanted them to have. Age and infirmities were no excuse. The sick and the maimed were registered and assessed. The age of every one was rated by his looks: and that of children was increased, and the years of old people diminished, in order to bring them within the limits of the tax. Sorrow, mourning, and bitter complaints reigned every where. After a first enrolment, another officer came to examine whether any thing had escaped the former; and the list was then frequently swelled without reason or foundation, merely that this new person might not be thought useless. Even death did not set aside the grievous burden; the next of kin being often obliged to pay for deceased relations, whom the collectors of the tax thought proper to set

bantur unus quisque cum liberis, cum servis adrupt: tormenta ac verbera personabant: filii adversus parentes suspendebantur, fidelissimi quique servi contra dominos vexabantur, uxores adversus maritos. Si omnia defecerant, ipsi contra se torquebantur, & quum dolor vicerat, adscribebantur quæ non habebantur. Nulla ætatis, (nulla) valetudinis excusatio. Ægri & debiles deferebantur: æstimabantur ætates singulorum; parvulis adjiciebantur anni, senibus detrahebantur. Lucu & mæstitia plena omnia. *Lact.* 23.

set down as living. Beggars * indeed could not be rated, because they had nothing to pay with: but to get rid of the weight of their indigence, this inhuman prince ordered whole troops of them to be shipped off, and thrown into the sea.

Projects
which he
revolved
in his
mind.
Lactant.
20.

Some circumstances of what I have here copied from Lactantius may, I believe, be exaggerated: but the principal part of it is true. Galerius was greedy of money, and wanted no small sums for the projects then revolving in his mind. He aimed at no less than making himself master of the whole empire, by adding to the three-fourths already under his command, that which Constantius had reserved for his share. The accomplishing of this was, according to his plan, not to be the work of any length of time: for his colleague's health was such as rendered it improbable that he should live long. If death did not take him off soon enough, Galerius had still the resource of war and arms; and by joining Severus's and Maximin's forces to his own, he made no doubt of easily mastering a rival much weaker than himself. His design went yet farther: for most men are fond of indulging their own chimeras. After destroying Constantius, he was to confer the title of Augustus upon his old friend and counsellor Licinius; then to complete a reign of twenty years; to celebrate that period with vast magnificence; and finally to resign the sovereignty upon making his natural son Candidianus, Cæsar. Upon making this arrangement, the empire was to be governed by four princes, entirely devoted to him: the two *Augusti*, Licinius and Severus, owed all their grandeur to him; the two

* Mendici supererant soli a quibus nihil exigi posset, quos ab omni genere injuriæ tutos miseria & infelicitas fecerat. At qui homo impius misertus est illis, ut non egerent. Congregari jussit, & exportatos naviculis in mare mergi. *Id. ibid.*

two Cæsars, Maximian and Candidianus, were one of them his nephew, the other his son: and under their protection he promised himself a sweet and happy old age. Such were the schemes with which he delighted himself. But, says Lactantius, God, whom he had incensed, overthrew all this vain system.

Galerius himself saw an obstacle in his way in the person of Constantine, who was neither of a disposition nor an age to suffer himself easily to be deprived of his due. It is true he had that young prince in his power. Constantine, kept by Dioclesian as an hostage, remained at Nicomedia in the hands of Galerius, but not without filling him with perplexity and uneasiness. He had no right to require such an hostage, from Constantius, who was his colleague, and even his superior in point of precedence. To send him back to his father, who demanded him, would be counter-acting his own projects. The only remedy then was, to get rid of him: but that he did not dare to do openly, because Constantine was greatly beloved by the troops. He laid snares for his valour; engaging him to fight a furious lion, and exposing him to the greatest dangers in the war he was then engaged in against the Sarmatians. All was ineffectual; his wicked designs only covering him with shame. The hand of God protected Constantine, and reserved him for glorious deeds. At length Galerius, no longer able to resist so just a demand as that of Constantius, who, being extremely ill, and finding his end draw near, desired to see his son before he died, pretended to acquiesce, and gave Constantine leave to go, with the necessary orders for his being furnished with horses at the imperial post-houses. But a proof of his bad design even in this, is that when he gave him this order, which was towards evening, he commanded him to stay until the next morning to receive

Constantine escapes from Nicomedia, and joins his father in Gaul. Lactant. 24.

Zoner. & Prætor. ap. Phil. Lactant.

his

his final instructions. Constantine suspected him: and fearing that his design was either still to detain him at Nicomedia under some pretence or other, or to have time to send to Severus, through whose territories he was probably directed to pass, orders to stop him upon the road; he set out that very night, and took the prudent precaution of hamstringing or killing the horses at every post, after he had done with them, to prevent his being pursued.

Zor. l. II.
Vict. Epit.

Lactant.

The event justified his fears. Galerius, purposely, lay in bed until noon; when, rising, he was greatly surprised at not seeing Constantine, and still more so when he learned that he was gone: upon which he immediately ordered messengers to go after him. They, as readily, prepared to obey him: but the post-horses being incapable of service, all hopes of overtaking the fugitive prince vanished, and Galerius could only vent his wrath in vain complaints and menaces.

Constantius dies at York.
Eumen. Pa-
neg.
Constant.
Aug.
Anon. Am-
miano sub-
junctus.

Constantine arrived safe at his journey's end, and rejoined his father, who did not live long after. Constantius was then preparing to pass over from Gaul into Britain, to make war upon the Picts, a northern people, whose name appears here for the first time in history, but who may be the same that the emperor Severus warred against an hundred years before, and who, Herodian says, used to trace upon their bodies figures of animals with the point of a knife, and then paint them: from whence, perhaps, arose the name of *Picti* or *painted*, which the Romans gave them. Constantine embarked at Boulogne with his father, and followed him to the war against the Picts; on his return from which Constantius, having conquered the enemy, died in his son's arms at York on the 25th of July in the same year, which was the 306th of Christ.

Eutrop.
Vitem.

A. R. 1067.

He ap-
points Con-
stantine

This prince on his death-bed, settled his inheritance in a manner worthy of the wisdom he had shewn

shewn during the whole course of his life and his sole
 reign. His family was numerous. Constantine successor.
 was his son by his first wife, Helena. By Theo- Tilen.
 dora, whom he married, as I said before, when he Const. art.
 was made Cæsar, he had three sons and three 2.
 daughters. The sons were called Dalmatius, Ju-
 lius Constantius, and Annibalianus; the daughters,
 Constantia, Anastasia, and Eutropia. If Constan-
 tius had divided his dominions among so great a
 number of children, he would have exposed them
 all to certain ruin, as they would then have be-
 come an easy prey to the greedy Galerius. He
 therefore appointed for his sole heir in the sove- Euseb. vii.
 reign power, Constantine, who being then thirty- Const. I.
 two years of age, and having given proofs of his 21.
 valour and of every excellent quality, was able to Lactant.
 govern and defend, if it should be necessary, his 24.
 paternal inheritance, and thereby to succour and Julian, Or.
 support his brothers and sisters. He declared I. p. 13.
 him his successor, recommended him to the troops, Liban. Or.
 and ordered his other children to rest satisfied with III. p. 105.
 a private station.

The will of the dying emperor was a law to his
 family and army. As soon as he was dead, the The army
 soldiers prepared to execute his last orders, by proclaims
 raising Constantine to the empire. This last Constantine Au-
 made difficulties, and either desired, or pretended gustus.
 to desire them to stay for Galerius's consent. He Euseb.
 even tried to fly from them, if we believe the paneg. Paneg.
 testimony of a panegyrist. But certainly he was glad Const. Aug.
 to be stopped; and the troops having proclaimed Euseb. Hist.
 him Augustus, he celebrated in that quality his Eccl. VIII.
 father's funeral. 13. de vit.
 Const. I.
 22.
 Lactant.
 24, 25.

The usual honours were paid to the deceased
 prince with pomp and magnificence, and he was
 ranked among the gods.

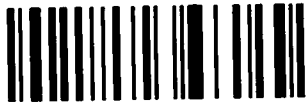
All the writers, Christian and Pagan, who speak
 of Constantius, have compared his fate with that of The fate of
 the other princes, his co-temporaries, and observed Constans
 compared with
 that of his
 co-tempo-
 rary prin-
 ces.

the astonishing difference between them. Constantius, after reigning with glory died peaceably in the midst of a flourishing family, and left his empire to his son : whereas all the others either met with untimely ends, or expired in great pain, without transmitting their grandeur to their heirs. The cause of this difference of fortune is found in their difference of conduct : a subject which, in my opinion, no one has treated better than Libanius, whose words I therefore beg leave to transcribe.

* The other princes who reigned with Constantius, says that rhetorician, looking upon the opulence of their subjects with an envious eye, studied to draw the whole wealth of their dominions into their own treasuries, and never thought themselves so happy as when their coffers were too shallow to contain the immense sums they strove to pile up in them. By this means the people languished in indigence and tears, and the heaps of gold remained useless and buried in the hands of their sovereigns. But the excellent prince of whom I speak, thought the hearts of his subjects his surest treasures : and if, at any time, he wanted money, he had only to let them know it : riches immediately poured in upon him like a copious stream, every one endeavouring to be foremost to

* Οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ κατ' ἐκείνους δυναστεύοντες ζῆμιον αὐτῶν ποίε-
 μνοι τὸ τῆς ὑπακῆς ἐν ἀφθόνοις διαίγειν, μετῆγον τὰς ἐκείνων ὑποχρέας εἰς
 τὰ βασίλεια· πείρας ὑδαμοσίας κρείοντες, εἰσινοχαιοῖν ζαλαάνοις τὰς θη-
 σαύρας, καὶ συνίσταναι τὰς μὲν ἀφαιρουμένης ἐν δακρυσὶ καὶ πνίξαι διαζῆν, τοῖς
 δὲ λαοῦσιν ἀνόητον κίεσθαι τοῖς πλῆτον. ὁ δὲ πάντα ἀρίστως ἔκενος . . .
 ταμίαια μὲν ἀτφάλα τὰς τῶν κτελημένων εἰκίας ἐδόμισεν. ὑδαμὴ γὰρ ἂν ἐν
 καλλίονι σαθῆραι· κατὰλαμοδονήσης δὲ δαπανημάτων ἀνάγκης, ἤρει κρυφαί
 τὴν χρεῖαν· καὶ πάντα ἢν χρημάτων μίση, ἐκείναι δὲ δόσιαν τοῖς πείλας·
 ἔτω τὰ μὲν ἐκείναι τὸ φιλόγμον προσέτιν, ὃ δὲ ἀναγκῆ συνῆζυκται τὸτο
 κα εὐμινῶς ὑπακῆων πείφκει· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ζαῦτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ χροσάμενος, ἔ
 ταυτὸν τοῖς ἄλλοις· ἔτι ἔπαυτο, ἔτι ἰπέμισεν. Liban. Or. III. p. 104.

to supply the public and private necessities. For when things are free and voluntary, emulation reigns ; but if they are forced, there is no longer any ardour to obey. Constantius, who acted upon principles so different from those of the other princes, had also a different fate. He never triumphed over the miseries of his subjects in order to indulge himself for a few years ; nor did he perish by the snares of those in whom he trusted. Whilst he lived, the affection of his people was his sure safeguard ; and when he died, he left his power and grandeur to his son.



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