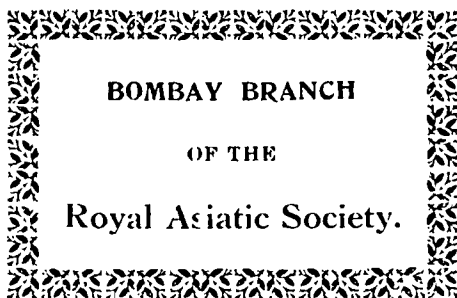


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THE
HISTORY

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

BOOK XXIX.

PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF THE REIGN OF
CONSTANTINE.

CONSTANTIUS VI. }
GALERIUS MAXIMIANUS. } AUGG.

A. R. 1057.
A. C. 306.

CONSTANTINE, having been proclaimed *Augustus* by his troops, wants to make Galerius acknowledge him as such. But this last allows the title of *Augustus* only to Severus, and reduces Constantine to that of *Cesar*.

Inroads of the Franks stopt by Constantine, who ravages the country of the Brueteri with fire and sword, and takes a great number of prisoners, whom he orders to be exposed to wild beasts.

Maxentius, the son of Maximian Hercules, raises an insurrection among the prætorians at Rome, and assumes the purple on the 28th of October. Severus, who was then in Italy, marches against them.

Maximian Hercules takes the field, as if to assist his son, who resigns the purple to him.

Maxentius reigns six years, without ever being acknowledged by Galerius. These two princes were always enemies. From this division proceeded a double nomination of consuls, the one chose by Galerius, the others by Maxentius; which occasions an irregularity and confusion in the annals of the empire. Maxentius's consuls were acknowledged at Rome, and those of Galerius in the rest of the empire. We shall take notice of them all, making M. de Tillemont our guide.

A. R. 1058.
A. C. 307.

M. AURELIUS SEVERUS AUGUSTUS.
MAXIMINUS CÆSAR.

At Rome.

MAXIMIANUS HERCULIUS AUGUSTUS IX.
MAXIMINUS CÆSAR.

Constantine was likewise consul this year; probably substituted in the room of Severus, who soon lost the consulship, with the empire and his life.

Severus had advanced towards Rome, in order to attack Maxentius. He was betrayed by his own people, and obliged to shut himself up in Ravenna, where Maximian Hercules besieged him, and reduced him to the necessity of putting himself into his hands, upon a promise that his life should be safe. This promise was not kept, and Severus was forced to have his veins opened.

Maximian passes into Gaul, in order to strengthen himself by an alliance with Constantine, to whom he gives his daughter Fausta in marriage, and grants the title of *Augustus*. Constantine had been married before to Minervina, by whom he had a son, the unfortunate Crispus Cæsar.

Galerius enters Italy, in hopes of destroying Maxentius; but is forsaken by a great number of his troops, and forced to save himself by flight.

Maximian

Maximian returns to Rome, and endeavours to strip the purple from off the shoulders of his son.

Not being able to succeed therein, he goes into Gaul, and afterwards to Carnuntum in Pannonia, where Galerius had desired Dioclesian to meet him, in order to give the title of Augustus to Licinius, in his presence, and with his consent. Maximian tries in vain to persuade Dioclesian to resume the purple: Licinius is made *Augustus*.

Africa acknowledges Maxentius.

MAXIMIANUS HERCULIUS X. }
MAXIMIANUS GALERIUS VII. } AUGG.

A. R. 1059.
A. C. 304.

At Rome.

No consuls till the 20th of April.

From that day.

MAXIMIANUS AUGUSTUS.

ROMULUS CÆSAR.

Romulus was the son of Maxentius.

Maximin Daia causes himself to be declared *Augustus* by the soldiery, in spite of Galerius, who, being obliged to acknowledge him in that quality, makes no longer any difficulty to grant the same title to Constantine.

Maximian Hercules returning again to Gaul, abdicates the imperial dignity, and pretends to be satisfied with a private station; but harbours all the while ambitious projects in his heart.

Alexander revolts in Africa, against Maxentius, and makes himself emperor.

LICINIUS AUGUSTUS.

A. R. 1060.
A. C. 309.

We cannot say with certainty who was Licinius's colleague, nor indeed can we be absolutely sure as to his own consulate. Some annals (*Fasti*) say *after the tenth and the seventh consulate*, the tenth of Maximian Hercules, and the seventh of Galerius; as if

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there had not been any consuls this year in the departments that acknowledged the authority of Galerius.

At Rome.

MAXENTIUS AUGUSTUS II.

ROMULUS CÆSAR II.

Motions of the Franks upon the Rhine, and at the same time Maximian Hercules revolts.

Constantine repulses the Franks, and takes Maximian prisoner in Marseilles. He grants him his life.

A. R. 1091.
A. C. 310.

ANDRONICUS.

PROBUS.

At Rome.

MAXENTIUS AUGUSTUS III. sole consul.

Maximian attempts to murder Constantine in his bed, and being detected in the fact, is forced to hang himself.

His statues and images are pulled down, and consequently those of Dioclesian, which were generally placed close by them. He is ranked among the gods by his son Maxentius.

Constantine's expedition beyond the Rhine, against the Franks.

Galerius is seized with a shocking distemper.

Birth, and beginning of the reign of Sapor II. king of the Persians.

A. R. 1062.
A. C. 311.

MAXIMIANUS GALERIUS VIII. } AUGG.

MAXIMINUS II.

At Rome, from the month of September only,

RUFINUS.

EUSEBIUS.

Galerius publishes an edict to stop the persecution against the Christians. This edict was published at Nicomedia on the 30th of April.

He

He dies at Sardis, and, on his death-bed, recommends his wife Valeria, the daughter of Dioclesian, to Licinius.

Maximin possesses himself of Asia, which had been in Galerius's department. Galerius's states in Europe fall to the share of Licinius.

Galerius's widow, being used ill by Licinius, takes refuge, with her mother Prisca, in the territories of Maximin, who proposes marriage to her, and, upon her refusing to consent, banishes her to the desarts of Syria.

Maxentius conquers Africa back from Alexander, and tyrannises over it.

He made Rome and Italy groan under a yoke of iron, by his violences and horrid debaucheries.

Mildness and excellence of Constantine's government. He visits and restores the city of Autun.

Maxentius provokes the wrath of Constantine, who prepares to carry the war into Italy.

Constantine implores the assistance of the true God, of whom he had a confused knowledge. A miraculous cross appears to him in the heavens, whilst he is in Gaul. He is converted to Christianity, whilst instructed by bishops. Osius seems to have had a great share in his conversion. He makes the cross his principal standard. *Labarum*.

CONSTANTINUS II. }
LICINIUS II. } AUGG.

At Rome.

MAXENTIUS AUGUSTUS IV. sole consul.

A. R. 1063.
C. 312.

Constantine forces the pass of Susa, and after gaining several victories over Maxentius's lieutenants, arrives near Rome.

Battle, on the 28th of October, near the bridge Mulvius, in which Constantine gains a complete victory, and Maxentius, endeavouring to save himself by flight, is drowned in the Tiber.

Constan-

HISTORY OF THE EMPERORS.

Constantine enters Rome in triumph, and makes that capital forget the evils it had suffered under Maxentius.

The prætorians broken, and their camp destroyed.

Constantine is declared the first Augustus by the senate.

Constantine's arch, now subsisting at Rome.

Statue of Constantine holding a cross in his hand.

This prince, in his own name and in that of Licinius, publishes an edict in favour of the Christians.

Maximin had, till then, been a violent persecutor of the Christians; and had even made war upon the Armenians this year, in order to force them to renounce the Christian religion, which they had embraced. But fear obliged him to conform to Constantine's edict.

Here Eusebius marks the end of the persecution ordered by Dioclesian.

Beginning of the indictions.

A. E. 1064.
A. C. 313.

CONSTANTINUS III. }
LICINIUS III. } AUGG.

Licinius's marriage with Constantine's sister Constantia celebrated at Milan. Interview of the two princes on that occasion.

They issue jointly a new edict, more explicit and more extensive, in favour of Christianity.

Constantine marches to the Rhine to fight the Franks, whom he again defeats and drives back beyond that River.

Dioclesian dies in his retreat at Salona, oppressed with grief. He is ranked among the gods by Maximin and Licinius.

Maximin attacks Licinius, and enters Thrace in an hostile manner. He is defeated near Andrinople, repasses into Bithynia, and does not stop till he reaches Cappadocia.

Licinius

Lacinius orders the edict made at Milan to be published at Nicomedia on the 13th of June, ten years and about four months after the publication of Dioclesian's edict for the persecution.

Maximin likewise issues an edict in favour of the Christians, compelled so to do by his misfortunes.

General peace of the church.

Licinius pursues Maximin, who poisons himself at Tarsus in Cilicia, and dies a few days after in violent agonies.

His family is extirpated by Licinius, who likewise puts to death Severianus the son of Severus, Candidianus the natural son of Galerius, Prisca and Valeria, one the wife, and the other the daughter of Dioclesian. Thus the whole race of the persecutors was destroyed.

Secular games omitted.

VOLUSIANUS II.
ANNIANUS.

A.R. 1065.
A. C. 314.

The council of Arles against the Donatists.

Constantine demands of Licinius a new partition of the empire, and upon his refusal declares war against him.

The battle of Cibalis in Pannonia, in which Licinius is conquered.

Valens created Cæsar by Licinius.

The battle of Mardia between Philippopoli and Ardrinople, the success of which remained doubtful.

Peace concluded between the two emperors. Valens put to death. Great part of Illyricum, Macedonia, and Greece, ceded to Constantine.

CONSTANTINUS IV. }
LICINIUS IV. } AUGG.

A.R. 1066
A. C. 31

Constantine abolishes the custom of crucifying criminals.

He

HISTORY OF THE EMPERORS.

He celebrates the anniversary of the 10th year of his reign at Rome.

A.R. 1067.
A. C. 316.

SABINUS.
RUFINUS.

Constantine the younger born at Arles.
Law permitting and authorising the giving of slaves their freedom in the church in presence of the bishop.

A.R. 1068.
A. C. 317.

GALLICANUS.
BASSI .

Crispus and Constantine, both sons of the emperor Constantine, and Licinianus the son of Licinius, are created Cæsars.

Birth of Constantius, the second son of Constantine and Fausta.

A.R. 1069.
A. C. 318.

LICINIUS AUGUSTUS V.
CRISPUS CÆSAR.

A.R. 1070.
A. C. 319.

CONSTANTINUS AUGUSTUS V.
LICINIANUS CÆSAR.

A.R. 1071.
A. C. 320.

CONSTANTINUS AUGUSTUS VI.
CONSTANTINUS CÆSAR.

Law which abolishes the penalties anciently ordained against celibacy.

Victory gained by Crispus Cæsar over the Franks.

Birth of Constans, the third son of Constantine and Fausta.

A.C. 1072.
A. C. 321.

CRISPUS II. }
CONSTANTINUS. II. } CÆS.

The celebration of Sunday ordained by law.
Licinius drives the Christians from his palace, and thereby begins the equally artful and cruel persecution

persecution which he exercised against them for three years.

PETITIONIUS PROBIANUS.
ANICIUS JULIANUS.

A. R. 1073.
A. C. 322.

The barbarians bordering upon the Danube defeated by Constantine in several battles.

SEVERUS.
RUFINUS.

A. R. 1074.
A. C. 323.

Incursions of the Goths checked by Constantine.

This prince, zealous to protect the Christians, could not see them oppressed by his colleague, without being grieved. Licinius, on his side, feared them, on account of their attachment to Constantine. Besides this, he was brutal, violent, and cruel. From this disposition of his arose, the war between the two emperors.

The battle of Andrinople, in which Licinius is conquered. He shuts himself up in Byzantium, which Constantine besieges by land.

Constantine's fleet, commanded by his son Crispus Caesar, destroys that of Licinius.

This last leaves Byzantium, crosses the sea, and goes to Chalcedon, where he makes new preparations. He creates the grand master of his household, M. Martinianus, *Caesar*.

Constantine passes into Asia. The battle of Chrysopolis. Licinius, defeated, retires to Nicomedia, and by the mediation of his wife Constantia, Constantine's sister, obtains safety for his life, on condition of his quitting the purple, and submitting to the conqueror. He is sent to Thessalonica. The *Caesar* Martinianus is put to death.

Soon after, that is to say this very year, or the next, Constantine caused Licinius, who could not brook being reduced to a private station, but framed plots

plots with the Carbarians, to be put to death. Licinius is declared a tyrant, and his edicts are set aside. His son soon followed him, and was likewise put to death, without any just reason, that we know of, being assigned for this rigour.

Constantius, the second son of Constantine and Fausta, is made *Cæsar*.

A. R. 1075.
A. C. 324.

CRISPUS II. } *Cæs.*
CONSTANTINUS III. }

Constantine, sole master of the empire, labours more effectually than ever to propagate Christianity, and bring about the ruin of idolatry.

First measures taken by this prince with regard to the Arians, who were then springing up.

A. R. 1076.
A. C. 325.

PAULINUS.
JULIANUS.

The council of Nice.

Constantine celebrates his twentieth year at Nicomedia. He celebrated it the next year at Rome.

Edict by which he invites all that were oppressed by his magistrates and officers to have recourse to him.

Law forbidding combats of gladiators.

A. R. 1077.
A. C. 326.

CONSTANTINUS AUGUSTUS VII.
CONSTANTIUS CÆSAR.

Constantine goes to Rome.

Deceived by the calumnies of his wife Fausta, he puts his son Crispus Cæsar to death; and afterwards, having discovered the truth, he punishes Fausta, herself with death.

At Rome, he shews strongly his contempt for all idolatrous superstitions; and the dissatisfaction which the senate and people expressed against him on that occasion, by murmurs and complaints, first made him take a dislike to that capital.

CONSTANTIUS.
MAXIMUS.

A. R. 1078.
A. C. 327.

The Constantius who was consul this year does not seem to have been of the imperial family.

The holy sepulchre, and the cross of Christ discovered.

Constantine begins building the church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem.

JANUARIUS.
JUSTUS.

A. R. 1079.
A. C. 328.

The death of St Helena, the mother of Constantine.

The beginning of Constantinople. Constantine first intended to build at Ilium, and even began so to do. But he soon gave up that design, and determined in favour of Byzantium, of which he undertook to make a second Rome.

CONSTANTINUS AUGUSTUS VIII.
CONSTANTINUS CÆSAR IV.

A. R. 1080.
A. C. 329.

Reasons and authorities are not wanting in support of the opinion that the building of Constantinople was not begun till this year. But that which we have followed is the most probable.

GALLICANUS.
SYMMACHUS.

A. R. 1081.
A. C. 330.

Dedication of the new city, to which Constantine gave his name, on Monday the 11th of May.

No public exercise of idolatry allowed at Constantinople, which its founder made an intirely Christian city.

Church of the Apostles.

The

The buildings, being run up in too great a hurry, were not sufficiently solid.

Constantine enriched his city with the noblest prerogatives. He established a senate in it, took great pains to people it, and in less than ten years rendered it the second city in the world.

A. R. 1082.
A. C. 331.

BASSUS.
ABLAVIUS.

Church built by Constantine's order at Mambraë.

Edict rendering perpetual the fourth part of the taxes to which lands were liable.

To this same year is referred the law by which the parties to any suit were allowed to have their difference determined by the bishops. J. Godfrey thinks it a forgery.

A. R. 1085.
A. C. 332.

PACATIANUS.
HILARIANUS.

The Goths conquered by the young Cæsar Constantine.

The Sarmatians forced to submit.

A. R. 1084.
A. C. 332.

DALMATIUS.
XENOPHILUS.

Dalmatius, who was consul this year, was either brother, or nephew to Constantine.

It is beyond all doubt, that Dalmatius the father was decorated with the title of censor; and he was the last that bore it.

It was therefore about this time that Constantine began to promote his brothers and nephews, whom the prudent St Helena had always taken care to keep under.

Constans, the third son of Constantine, is made Cæsar.

The

The death of the philosopher Sopater may be placed under this year.

Embassies from the Barbarians of the North, the East, and the South, who come to pay homage to Constantine.

The emperor writes to Sapor, in favour of the Christians in Persia.

He writes, and makes his children write, to St Antony.

OPTATUS.

ANICIUS PAULINUS.

A. R. 1085.

A. C. 338.

The Sarmatians, conquered by their slaves, seek shelter in the territories of the empire.

FLAVIUS JULIUS CONSTANTIUS.

RUFIVS ALBINUS.

A. R. 1086.

A. C. 335.

Julius Constantius, consul this year, was brother to Constantine. Gallus Cæsar and Julian the Apostate were his sons.

Constantine celebrates the anniversary of the thirtieth year of his reign. None of the emperors had reigned so long, since Augustus.

He divides the empire between his three sons, giving each of them his particular department.

He names his nephew Dalmatius Cæsar, and gives Dalmatius's brother Annibalian the title of king, assigning him for his dominions the lesser Armenia, Pontus, and Cappadocia. Dalmatius Cæsar was to have Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece. Constantine did not strip himself by any of these arrangements; but still kept the full enjoyment of all his territories, which were not to be actually divided till after his death.

Calocerus revolts in the island of Cyprus.

NEPOTIANUS

A. R. 1087.
A. C. 336.

NEPOTIANUS.
FACUNDUS.

The Nepotianus who was consul this year, seems to be the same who assumed the purple in 350, and who was the son of one of Constantine's sisters.

A. R. 1088.
A. C. 337.

FELICIANUS.
TITIANUS.

The Persians having broken the peace, Constantine was preparing to march against them in person: when he fell ill of the sickness of which he died.

He is baptized by Eusebius of Nicomedia, and dies on Whitsunday, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and thirty-first of his reign.

USURPERS under the reign of Constantine.

CALOCERUS in Egypt.

ALEXANDER reigned three years in Africa which he conquered from Maxentius.

VALENS and MARTIANUS were successively created *Cæsars* by Licinius.

HISTORY
 OF THE REIGN
 OF
 CONSTANTINE.

SECT. I.

CONSTANTINE a great prince, but not exempt from blemishes. When he began to share the sovereign power, Galerius was head of the empire. Galerius gives the title of Augustus to Severus, and obliges Constantine to be satisfied with that of Cæsar. Maxentius assumes the purple at Rome. Severus marches against him. Maximian Hercules re-assumes the purple. Severus, abandoned and betrayed, surrenders himself to Maximian, and is forced to have his veins opened. Maximian contracts an alliance with Constantine. Exploits of Constantine against the Franks. Maximian gives him his daughter Fausta in marriage, and creates him Augustus. Galerius goes into Italy to dethrone Maxentius, and is obliged to fly from thence with shame. Maximian attempts to strip the same Maxentius, his son, but misses his aim. He passes into Gaul, and from thence repairs to Galerius at Carnuntum. He is there witness of Licinius's promotion to the rank of Augustus. Maximian consul with Galerius. Intricacy with regard to the consulates, during the years that Maxentius reigned. Maximian returns to Gaul, and again abdicates the empire. Maximian forces Galerius to acknowledge him as Augustus, and thereby procures the same advantage to Constantine. New exploits of Constantine against the Franks. Maximian resumes the purple a third time, and is stripped of it by Constantine. He attempts to murder Constantine, is detected

in the fact, and hangs himself. He is ranked among the gods. His tomb. His statues and images destroyed. Violences of Galerius against all his subjects, and particularly against the Christians. God strikes him with a dreadful distemper. After a year of violent sufferings, Galerius issues an edict to stop the persecution. He dies. Particulars concerning him. Judgment concerning his character. His dominions divided between Licinius and Maximin. Four princes then in the empire. Maxentius, master of Italy, had likewise united Africa to his dominions, by the victory gained over Alexander, who had reigned there three years. He makes a cruel abuse of that victory. He prepares to attack Constantine. Picture of his cruelties. Constantine, a warrior and beneficent. Maxentius and Constantine come to an open rupture. Importance of this war. Constantine's conversion to Christianity. Constantine enters Italy, and gains several victories over Maxentius's troops. Last battle near Rome, in which Maxentius perishes. Constantine's triumphant entry into Rome. Noble use which Constantine makes of his victory. The prætorians broken, and their camp destroyed. Constantine's care to repair all the mischief which Maxentius had done in Rome. Marks of the affection of the people for Constantine. Statue of Constantine in Rome, holding a cross in his hand, with a religious inscription. Edict published at Rome by Constantine in favour of the Christians. Maximin is obliged to conform to it, at least in part. End of Dioclesian's persecution. Beginning of the indiction. Interview between Constantine and Licinius at Milan. Licinius's marriage with Constantia. New edict in favour of the Christians. Constantine marches to the Rhine, and gains a victory over the Franks. Painful death of Dioclesian, after many and long cruel vexations. State of the empire after the defeat and death of Maxentius. The Christians persecuted by Maximin. Maximin attacks Licinius, and carries the war into his dominions. He is conquered, and perishes

perishes by a dreadful disorder. His family, and all that remained of the race of the persecutors, is exterminated by Licinius. Secular games omitted. War between Constantine and Licinius. Treaty of peace, by which Constantine aggrandizes his dominions considerably. This peace lasted eight entire years. Licinius persecutes the Christians, first secretly, and afterwards openly. The war increases between Constantine and Licinius. Battle of Adrianople, in which Licinius is conquered. Licinius's fleet is destroyed at the entrance of the Hellespont. He goes from Byzantium to Chatcedon, and is defeated a second time near Chrysopolis. He obtains safety for his life, and is sent to Thessalonica. Happiness of the empire reunited under Constantine only. Joy of the Christians in particular, whose religion triumphs. Death of Licinius and his son. Constantine puts to death his eldest son Crispus, and his wife Fausta. Fable advanced by Zosimus with regard to the motive of Constantine's conversion. Constantine displeases the inhabitants of Rome, by the contempt with which he treats the superstitions of Paganism. He takes a dislike to Rome, and resolves to fix his residence elsewhere. He begins to build near Ilum, but soon prefers Byzantium. Sacred buildings founded at Constantinople. Constantinople an entirely Christian city. Constantine intends to make it equal to Rome. Dedication of the city.

I SHALL not begin this history of the reign of Constantine with so absurd and impious a piece of adulation as Eusebius of Cæsarea shamefully makes use of, when he says, that God only can be a panegyrist worthy of this emperor. I present to the reader a prince dear and respectable to Christianity, which he delivered from oppression, and placed upon the throne; great by his talents; great by his virtues; but not exempt from blemishes, even after he had embraced our holy religion. An interested policy, an ill grounded prejudice, and too much credulity,

Constantine a great prince, but not exempt from blemishes. Euseb. de vit. Const. l. 2.

made him commit inexcusable faults. What ought, however, to comfort us, is that the ten last years of his life, spent in works inspired by a zeal for Christianity, were no longer chequered with any mixture of vice; and the salutary waters of baptism, which he received just before his death, cleansed his soul from all former guilt, and put him in a condition not to lose the reward of what he did for the church of Christ.

When he began to share the sovereign power, Galerius was head of the empire.

I place his name in the title of this book, though it was some time before he began to hold the first rank among the princes who governed the empire. That supreme honour had devolved to Galerius, after the death of Constantius Chlorus: and even Constantine, whose troops had given him the title of *Augustus*, was soon after reduced by him to the inferior rank of *Cæsar*, as we shall see. But as he then began to have a share in the sovereign power, which afterwards centered wholly in him; the conveniency of giving one uninterrupted historical tissue, seems to me preferable to a more scrupulous exactness, which might not be attended with equal perspicuity.

Galerius gives the title of *Augustus* to Severus, and obliges Constantine to be contented with that of *Cæsar*. Lactant. de Mort. Pers. 25.

The first step that Constantine took after his father's army had proclaimed him *Augustus*, was to demand of Galerius the confirmation of what the soldiers had done for him. To that end he sent him, according to the then established ceremonial, his picture crowned with laurel, Galerius was not at all inclined to receive it. His views and arrangements were very different, as I said before; and he could not expect much deference or affection from Constantine, whom he had cruelly offended. Accordingly, in the first transport of his anger, he was very near ordering both the picture, and the messenger who had brought it, to be burnt. But, on the other hand, he considered that if he refused his consent, a war would be inevitable, and the consequence of it very uncertain. The young prince was acknowledged and beloved throughout all the countries which had obeyed his father; and,

and, if we believe Lactantius, he had the good wishes even of the troops that surrounded Galerius: so that this chief of the empire could not depend upon their fidelity, if he employed them against Constantine. He was therefore of necessity obliged to yield to the circumstances of things, and to consent to what he could not prevent. But at the same time, to vindicate, in some measure, the rights of his authority which had not been sufficiently respected, he conferred upon Severus the title of *Augustus*, vacant by the death of Constantius Chlorus, and ordered Constantine, when he sent him the purple, to rest satisfied with the name and honours of *Cæsar*. Constantine, with admirable moderation, submitted to this order, and descended without murmuring from the second rank in the empire to the fourth.

*Paneg.
Maximin.
& Const.*

Galerius was not absolutely dissatisfied with the actual state of things. If he had not received the advantage he expected from the death of his colleague, at least he did not lose any of his former possessions. Constantine did not declare himself his enemy, but on the contrary submitted to his orders to a certain degree. A new disturbance gave Galerius other alarms, and proved an evil beyond his power to remedy.

*Lactanti
26.*

He himself was the cause of it. I have already mentioned his ordering an exact account to be taken of all his subjects and of their possessions, and that this was done with a rigour which degenerated into tyranny. He thought to subject Rome itself to the same treatment, and had already named the officers that were to go thither, and, under pretence of numbering the people, to ravage that capital of the empire, and of the universe. Having thus alarmed and indisposed the citizens, he exasperated the soldiery also; and continuing what Dioclesian had begun, he weakened the prætorians by a new reduction of their number. In this situation of affairs, Maxentius, son of Maximian Hercules, and son-in-law to Galerius,

*Maxentius
assumes
the purple
at Rome.*

took advantage of the imprudent conduct of his sovereign to determine them to rebel, and to raise himself to the empire. He thought it extremely hard that Severus and Maximin should be preferred before a son and son-in-law of emperors, as he was, and be created Cæsars to his prejudice. The promotion of Constantine, who had resented a similar injury which he had received, was an additional incitement to Maxentius*. Encouraged by his father, who regretted the grandeurs he had been forced to renounce, and having gained over some of the principal officers of the camp and the city, he put himself at the head of the remaining prætorians; and being proclaimed Augustus by them, he mastered Rome without difficulty, put to death Galerius's commander in that city, and some other magistrates, and was received by the people as a deliverer. M. de Tillemont places this revolution on the twenty-eighth of October of the year of Christ 306; the same with which we begin the reign of Constantine.

Severus
marches
against
him.

Lactant.
26.

Our authors do not say where Severus was at the time we are now speaking of. As Italy was in his department, his absence from Rome, whether owing to neglect, or occasioned by business which required his presence elsewhere, doubtless facilitated Maxentius's success. As soon as he was informed of it, he made all possible haste to prevent the consequences of a commotion which threatened him with ruin; and backed by the authority of Galerius, who was unwilling to have laws prescribed to him a second time, and who had always hated his son-in-law, he collected all the troops that were dispersed in Italy, and marched towards

* The original expression seems rather to imply that Maximian Hercules opposed his son's design. But such writers as Aurelius Victor ought not to be followed blindly. Let us take from him what is probable, and make no difficulty of believing that Maximian was consulted. This first fact being admitted, no doubt can remain but that so ambitious a prince readily exhorted his son to claim the empire, and assisted him therein, in hopes and with a view of recovering it himself, as in fact he did.

towards Rome. But these troops were far from being inclined to serve him. They had always obeyed Maximian Hercules, and were of course attached to his son. Besides, the pleasures of Rome, which they had long enjoyed, made them wish rather to live there in peace and quiet, than to attack that city in an hostile manner. To confirm them in their sentiments, Maximian revived his claim at this critical juncture.

This restless old man, possessed with an ardent desire to re-ascend the throne, was probably glad to let his son try first what could be done, and afterwards resolved to make his own advantage of his success, and to carry the affair as far as it could go. In this view he went to Rome, under pretence of supporting Max-entius, and of winning the people over to the new prince, by whom he had been sent for. As soon as

Maximian Hercules re-assumes the purple.

Paneg.
Maxim. &
Const. &
Lactant.

he arrived there, his son, who had not the least suspicion of his design, proposed to him to re-assume the purple, and made the senate and Roman people request the same. There was no need of violence; Maximian gladly took possession of a dignity which he had quitted with regret. By this means, there were at once in the empire six princes, either *Augusti* or *Cæsars*: Galerius, Severus, Maximin, Constantine, Maximian Hercules, and Maxentius. We are told, that Maximian Hercules would willingly have increased this number by the addition of a seventh, and that he wrote to Dioclesian, exhorting him to take the same step as he had done. But his letters made no impression on Dioclesian, who, firm in his resolves, undertook nothing lightly, or without weighing well the consequences.

Eutrop.

Every thing succeeded at first with Maximian and Maxentius. Severus, upon his approaching towards Rome, was abandoned by his soldiers, who had never loved him, and who were now bribed by his enemies: so that his only resource was to fly to Ravenna. Maximian pursued him thither, and prepared to besiege him: but as the place was strong and well provided, he feared lest Galerius should have time to come to

Severus abandoned and betrayed, surrender himself to Maximian, and is forced to have his veins opened.

the

Aur. Vict. the assistance of a faithful and submissive colleague, if
Zor. the siege proved long. He therefore had recourse to
Lactant. perfidy: and as he had to deal with a credulous and
 timid man, he soon persuaded him that he had no
 design against his life; but on the contrary, would
 become his protector the moment he should have
 reason to cease to look upon him as a rival. Severus
Euseb, believed him, put himself into his hands, and return-
 ed him the purple, which he had received from him
 ten years before. Maximian, like a religious man,
 would not violate his oath: but he made his son act.
Zor. The unfortunate Severus was scarcely out of Ravenna,
Vict. Epit. and beginning to proceed towards his intended place
Lactant. of retreat, when an ambuscade, placed by Maxentius,
 seized him. He was carried to the three taverns upon
 the Appian Way; and all he could obtain there was
 a gentle death. He was permitted to have his veins
Tillen. opened. He left a son, called Severianus, who had
 not a better fate than himself, being killed a few years
 after by Licinius, as we shall observe. Severus's
 death must have happened towards the beginning of
 the year of Christ 307.

Maximian though delivered from Severus, feared
contracts Galerius; and therefore resolved to strengthen himself
an alliance against him, by contracting a strict alliance with
with Con- Constantine. This young prince had no reason, any
stantine. more than Maximian, to like Galerius: and besides,
Lactant. he began his reign in a very brilliant manner, be-
 loved at home, and formidable to his enemies abroad.
 The first use that he made of his power, was to
 grant the Christians the free exercise of their religion,
Lactant. by * revoking expressly the edict of persecution,
 24. which his father had contented himself with not exe-
Eus. de vit. cuting. He used all his subjects with that humanity
Const. I. and mildness, of which his father had set him the ex-
 ample, and which he looked upon as the most precious
 portion

* It is thus that I reconcile the different accounts of authors; some of whom ascribe to Constantius Chlorus, and others to Constantine, the cessation of the persecution in the provinces of the West.

portion of his inheritance. At the same time, he checked the incursions of the Franks, whom nothing could hinder from infesting Gaul, and endeavouring to establish themselves there. Paneg. Max. & Const.

These people had no sooner seen Constantine pass over into Britain, than, taking advantage of his being absent, and at so great a distance, they broke the peace, and again began their ravages. Constantine having succeeded his father, marched against them, conquered them in Gaul, took two of their kings, Ascaric and Gaise, prisoners; and to strike their nation with terror, by making a severe example of those princes, he exposed them to wild beasts, in a magnificent shew which he gave after his victory. Not satisfied with this exploit, Constantine passed the Rhine, and entered the country of the Bructeri*; which he laid waste with fire and sword. Nothing was spared. The villages were burnt, the cattle slaughtered, the men and women massacred, and those that escaped the sword, and were made prisoners, met with a still more cruel fate. As he judged them incapable of ever performing any really useful service, on account of their perfidy and insurmountable ferocity, they were condemned to the same punishment as their kings, and delivered to wild beasts, whose savage disposition they imitated. Exploits of Constantine against the Franks. Eumen. Paneg. Const. Aug.

He hoped by this inexorable severity to reduce the Germanic nations, at least to a forced tranquillity. Judging from circumstances, which it was easy to foresee, that his arms might probably be called elsewhere, he was willing to secure the tranquillity of his country before he should be obliged to remove far from it. He took all possible precautions, in order to fortify the natural barrier which the Rhine opposes to Germany. He kept a fleet upon that river: the shore was defended by forts built at proper distances from each other, well provided, and well guarded. He began a bridge at Cologne, to facilitate his passage, and

* This people lived near the Ems.

and render it convenient, whenever he should have occasion to cross over to the other side; and the terror with which this undertaking struck the Germans was so great, that many of them came to Constantine to implore his clemency, and sue for peace; giving him hostages, and every assurance of an inviolable fidelity. Such was the situation of Constantine's affairs, when Maximian went to Gaul to see his friendship, in the beginning of the year of Christ 307.

There was already a great connection between them. Constantius Chlorus was the adopted son of Maximian, and had married his daughter-in-law, Theodora, who had given Constantine several brothers and sisters. Maximian cemented this alliance still more closely, by marrying his daughter Fausta to Constantine. This marriage had long been intended, if we believe the testimony of a panegyrist; and I see no reason why we should not, since the emperor Julian says the same, and assures us expressly, that it was an affair agreed on between Constantius Chlorus and Maximian. Constantine had, however, been married before to Minervina, of whom we know nothing farther, and had by her a son named Crispus, who might then be about seven years old, and whose unhappy end is the greatest blot in the life of his father. Minervina might perhaps be dead at the time we are speaking of; or perhaps she was repudiated to make way for Fausta. Certain it is, that she was not a concubine, but a lawful wife. Both Pagan and Christian writers agree in praising Constantine's chastity, and his aversion to all illicit pleasures.

Maximian, at the same time that he made Constantine his son-in-law, conferred upon him the name and rank of Augustus. Constantine then took possession of this dignity, looking upon Maximian's nomination as an incontestable title, far stronger than the proclamation of the soldiery after the death of his father. Yet he was not acknowledged in this quality by Galerius till the next year.

While

Maximian gives him his daughter Fausta in marriage, and names him Augustus.

Lactant.

27.

Zoe.

Paneg.

Maxim. &

Const.

Julian. Or.

1.

Tillem.

Paneg.

Maxim. &

Const. &

Ann.

Paneg.

Const.

While these things were doing in Gaul, Galerius entered Italy, to avenge Severus, and dethrone Maxentius. His design, if we believe Lactantius, whose zeal is always violent against this prince, was no less than to extirpate the senate, and massacre the people of Rome. This was an enterprise easier formed than executed. Galerius headed a numerous army: but his troops neither esteemed nor loved him; nor did he know at all what he undertook. He had never seen Rome; but, like Virgil's Tityrus*, imagined that city to be pretty much like those he did know, some small differences excepted. When he saw it, he was terrified at its immense extent, and began to doubt of success. Maxentius, who excelled at debauching the soldiers of his enemies, soon corrupted the fidelity of those of Galerius. Bribe by money and great promises, they exclaimed against the indignity of a war between the father-in-law and his son; affected a religious respect for the rights of their native country; and, as Romans, scrupled to attack Rome. They did not stop at vain clamours; but whole legions deserted, and went over to Maxentius. Galerius then found himself in a position exactly similar to that of Severus, and feared a like disaster. His pride was humbled: he threw himself at the feet of such of his soldiers as still remained with him, and by his prayers, tears, and promises of vast rewards, prevailed on them not to abandon him, but to escort him in his retreat. Thus he fled, without having drawn the sword, or tried the chance of battle.

Lactantius says he would have been totally destroyed, if he had been pursued. But Maxentius, as cowardly and negligent as he was treacherous and artful, thought himself happy in being delivered from his enemy, and never so much as attempted to obstruct his retreat. Galerius, who did not expect this extraordinary tranquillity, took a precaution suitable to his genius, to secure

Galerius goes into Italy to dethrone Maxentius, and is obliged to fly from thence with shame.

* *Urbem quam dicunt Romam, Melibœe, putavi.
Stultus ego huic nostræ similem. Virg. Ecl. I.*

secure his flight. He permitted, and even ordered his troops to plunder and ravage all the country through which they passed. This order occasioned the desolation of great part of Italy. The soldiers, left to their own discretion, were guilty of every excess. From this Galerius reaped two advantages. He enriched his own army, and left to those that might attempt to follow him, an exhausted country, in which they would not be able to subsist. Thus he returned back to his own provinces, with the shame of having miscarried in his enterprize, and with a considerable diminution of his forces.

Maximian attempts to strip the same Maxentius his son, but misses his aim.

Non. Paneg. Const. Aug. Zet.

Lactant. 18. Zet. Lactant.

Maxentius, freed from all fears, and intoxicated with his prosperity, gave himself up to all the vices of tyranny. He looked upon the estates of his subjects, and the honour of their wives and daughters, as things which he had a right to command; and thought himself secure in the exercise of every violence. He knew not that a new danger threatened him from his own father. Maximian was far from being satisfied with the vain title of emperor, without having any dominions. His son-in-law reigned in Gaul, and his son in Italy: but their power was not his, and he lived in a state of dependence on them. He tried to make Constantine arm against Maxentius: but not being able to succeed therein, he went in person to Rome, relying solely on himself, and determined since others would not assist him, to execute alone a deed, which his ungovernable ambition prompted him to undertake. He imagined that the troops which had formerly obeyed him, would return with pleasure to their old general and emperor: and his son's bad government seemed to offer him a more favourable opportunity to stir up a sedition. He planned his batteries, set his engines to work, and being naturally rash and bold, easily persuaded himself that he had gained sufficient strength. He then convened an assembly of the soldiers and people, and there inveighed against the bad government of Maxentius, who was present, declared him unworthy of the

the empire, and endeavoured to strip him of it by violence, by tearing the imperial purple from off his shoulders with his own hands.

This extraordinary violence seems, in M. de Tille-
 mont's opinion, to authorise the suspicions which
 some writers have thrown out concerning the legiti-
 macy of Maxentius's birth. They have said, that he
 was not the son of Maximian, but a spurious child
 introduced by the empress Eutropia, out of political
 views, which induced her to commit that crime.
 Such a supposition is scarcely probable in itself: the
 authority of the writers who attest it, is not great:
 and in reality Maxentius always enjoyed the rights
 and state of Maximian's son. If that old emperor
 did proceed to the excess I have been speaking of
 against him, it cannot be much wondered at, consi-
 dering his extreme ambition: for Maximian was
 very capable of violating the rights of nature to at-
 tain a throne.

But his measures were badly taken. Maxentius
 found a support in the soldiery, who espoused his
 interests with a high hand against an unnatural fa-
 ther, a turbulent old man, who neither knew how to
 keep the empire when he had it, nor how to be con-
 tented with the private station to which he had re-
 duced himself; but wanted to take back, by a hor-
 rid crime, what he had quitted through fickleness or
 weakness. Maximian was in danger of his life.
 Forced to fly for safety, he was driven from Rome,
 says Lactantius, like another Tarquin the Proud.

He retired in confusion and despair, but not chang-
 ed; and went into Gaul to his son-in-law Constantine,
 whom he endeavoured in vain to infect with his fury.
 Meeting with no encouragement from that prince,
 who neither would espouse his quarrel, nor assist him
 in his views of revenge, he had recourse to his son's
 implacable enemy, Galerius. Lactantius imputes to
 him a design, well worthy indeed of such a man, but
 scarcely probable in the then situation of affairs, of
 killing

*Tillem.
 Const. Ari.
 9. Auon.
 Paneg.
 Const. Aug.
 Vic. Eptit.*

Lactant.

*He passes
 into Gaul,
 and from
 thence re-
 pairs to
 Galerius
 at Carnu-
 tum.
 Eutrop.
 Lactant,
 29.*

killing Galerius, and usurping his place. It is true, that the throne was his object in all he did, and that the desire of re-ascending it possessed him even to a degree of madness, and made him ready to destroy every one that stood in his way. But Galerius's power was too well fixed to be easily shaken, and Maximian's views did not tend, at least directly, to overturn it. He proposed to himself, as we shall see, another plan, which miscarried: and all he got by his journey was, being witness to Licinius's nomination to the rank of Augustus.

He is there witness to Licinius's promotion to the rank of Augustus.

Galerius did not yet acknowledge Constantine as *Augustus*. He looked upon Maxentius as an usurper and a tyrant. It is more than probable, that he thought Maximian's resuming the purple an irregular step, and that he allowed him no other character than that of ancient emperor. Consequently the place of *Augustus*, which Severus had held, was still vacant according to his system, and he intended it for Licinius.

Eutrop.

Licinius was his countryman, his constant friend, and had done him great services in the war against Narses, king of the Persians. He was imputed an excellent general, and knew how to maintain discipline among the troops. But that was his only merit. In other respects, nothing is more odious than the picture which even the Pagans have drawn of him. They charge him with being shamefully covetous, infamously debauched, intractably obstinate in his temper, extremely passionate, and so great an enemy to learning, of which he himself had not the least idea, that he hated and despised all men of letters to such a degree, as to call them a public poison. The science of the bar was particularly his aversion: but, in general, whoever cultivated any branch of study was suspected by him: and as he joined cruelty to his other vices, several philosophers were condemned by him to punishments which the laws inflicted on none but slaves.

Aurel. Vict.

Ench. Hist.

L. d. N. B.

He was a violent persecutor of the Christians, as far as it was in his power to follow his inclination; and if he,

he, at certain times, spared them, or even seemed to protect them, that mildness was owing only to his policy, which he knew perfectly well how to accommodate to the circumstances of things. His very soul was savage and ferocious; and all the defects of a rustic birth and clownish education, were seated with him on the throne; though he claimed a kind of nobility, by pretending to be descended from the emperor Philip: an idle imagination, which only added the ridicule of vanity to the real meanness of his origin. He retained, however, from his first condition in life, one laudable way of thinking, estimable even in the greatest prince. Born in a village of Dacia, and accustomed to the labour of husbandry during his infancy, he always continued to esteem those who cultivate the earth: a part of the state too often neglected, and which is nevertheless its basis and support.

Capit.
Gord.
III. 34.

Vict. Epit.

After this sketch of Licinius's character, we need not wonder at Galerius's liking him, since he found in him a person so like himself. He had long intended to raise him, as I observed before; but did not think proper, in the first change of which he was the cause, to propose to Dioclesian his being created *Cæsar*, because Licinius, being then upwards of forty years old, seemed to him of a proper age to be at once made *Augustus*. He had Constantius Chlorus's place in view for him: but his plan having been disconcerted by the promotion of Constantine, he seized the opportunity of Severus's death to execute at last what he had resolved.

Laclant.
20.

Maxentius's usurpation, and Maximian's mad ambition, were still an obstacle: and I take it to have been on account of these difficulties, that Galerius was willing to back what he did with the approbation of Dioclesian, who was looked upon as the father of all the then reigning princes, and the dignity of whose behaviour in his retirement, still bore an awful air of majesty. Galerius therefore intreated him to repair to Carnuntum in Pannonia, where he then was, that they might confer together.

Zur. 4.
Laclant.
20.

It was in this city that Maximian, who was neither expected nor desired, joined them, with views very different from theirs. His design was to endeavour to obtain of Dioclesian by personal intreaties, what he had tried in vain to affect by letters; to persuade him to resume the supreme authority jointly with him, in order, said he, to preserve the empire, restored to a flourishing condition by their care and labours during so many years, from being left at the mercy of an imprudent youth, who had thrust himself into a part of the government which he was not capable of managing. Dioclesian easily saw through these artful speeches and specious pretences of public good, the personal interest which set his colleague to work. But without entering into useless explanations, he contented himself with praising the sweets of retirement; and probably then mentioned the colworts of his planting, as enjoyments greater than any that grandeur could afford. Thus every thing was transacted quietly at Carnuntum. Licinius was declared Augustus by Galerius, in the presence of Dioclesian and Maximian, on the eleventh of November in the same year 307, in which Severus was killed; and he had for his department Pannonia and Rhætia, till such time, doubtless, as Italy could be given him, by taking it from Maxentius.

Vict. Epit.

Titelm.

Maximian
consult with
Galerius.
Intrigues
with re-
gard to the
consulates
during the
years that
Maxen-
tius reign-
ed.

Galerius, by naming Licinius *Augustus*, confirmed and aggravated Maximian's disgrace. He seems, however, to have been willing to comfort him by some marks of regard, and to have permitted him to retain the honours and title of *Augustus*, since he made him his colleague in the consulship the following year, 308, giving him even the first rank.

I must observe here, that the confusion which reigned in the empire from the time of Maxentius's usurpation, has occasioned a great disorder in the *Fasti*; by which the consulates of all these years are rendered extremely perplexed: Maxentius never was acknowledged by Galerius, who was head of the empire;
and

and on the other hand, Galerius was not acknowledged at Rome, where Maxentius ruled. Each of these two princes appointed consuls, and would not allow of those that were named by the other. From thence ensued many intricacies, which it is often difficult to clear up. But this is not a place to enter into those discussions. Such as are curious to be informed of them may consult M. de Tillemont.

Maximian, decorated with the nominal title of *Augustus*, and the outside shew of the honours of consulship which was not acknowledged at Rome, soon grew weary of staying with Galerius. In the year 308, he returned to Gaul, where Constantine was always ready to give him a safe asylum, not having yet learned to mistrust his father-in-law, and the incurable passion to reign which directed all the actions of that ambitious old man; who, the better to deceive Constantine, now affected an uncommon moderation, and quitted the purple a second time. He hoped by this to wipe off all suspicion, and at length attain his ends, by so much the more certainly, as his machinations would be more private and concealed. Constantine's easy temper favoured the perfidious hopes of Maximian. The young emperor not only enabled his father-in-law to enjoy an imperial opulence in his private station; but treated him with the utmost deference; insisted that his subjects should respect and obey Maximian; and personally set them the example, taking his advice, and consulting his pleasure, so as to leave himself little more than the bare honours of the supreme rank, while the other had the far greater share of real power.

Such generous treatment would have satisfied any man capable of the least moderation. But * as an orator,

* Nullis muneribus fortunæ expleantur, quorum cupiditas ratio non terminat: atque ita eos felicitas ingrata præterfluit, ut semper pleni spei, vacui commodorum, præsentibus careant, dum futura prospectant. At enim divinum illum virum qui primus Imperium & participavit & posuit, consilii & facti sui non pœnitet.

orator, whom I have quoted more than once, observes on this very occasion; no gifts of fortune can ever satisfy the greediness of those whose desires exceed the bounds of reason. Their happiness serves only to render them ungrateful. Always full of hopes, and never enjoying what they do possess, they lose the present, in expectation of future things. What difference, adds the same orator, between Maximian and his colleague! This divine man, who first gave to another a share of the empire which he might have kept wholly to himself, and afterwards resigned it all, does not repent what he has done, nor think that lost which he has ceded voluntarily. Truly happy in a private station, he is courted and revered by the masters of the world.

Some time was necessary for Maximian to dispose matters suitably to his views. He therefore remained quiet all the year 308, and part of the following.

Maximian forces Galerius to acknowledge him as Augustus, and thereby procures the same advantage to Constantine. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. VIII. 13. & Iact. 32.

In the beginning of 308, Constantine enjoyed the title of Augustus only in the provinces that obeyed him. The ambition of another man procured him the advantage of being acknowledged in that quality by Galerius, and consequently by the whole empire, those countries excepted which were governed by Maxentius.

Maximin, who had been made *Cæsar* three years before by Dioclesian, at the request of Galerius, was highly incensed when he saw Licinius promoted to the rank of *Augustus*. He thought himself injured thereby, and his complaints were not without some foundation. As he was the eldest *Cæsar*, he thought himself justly authorised not to yield up the pre-eminence to one of a later creation, and he wrote accordingly to Galerius, who was greatly exasperated at finding his nephew oppose his will. He had him raised from the dust, depending upon an implicit obedience from him; but

nec amississe se putat, quod sponte transcripsit. Felix beatusque vere, quem vestra tantorum principum colunt obsequia privatum. Euseb. Paneg. Const. Aug.

but in truth he did not deserve it. His own example recoiled upon him. After the violence with which he had treated Dioclesian, he had no right to complain of any want of submission in his own creatures. He insisted, however, on being obeyed; and returned for answer to Maximin, that his regulations ought to be respected, and that, moreover, Licinius's age was a solid reason for giving him the preference. Maximin insisted still more strongly: the affair turned into negotiation; and Galerius, beginning to give way, proposed abolishing the name of *Cæsars*, and giving to Maximin and Constantine, whose cause was the same, the title of *sons of the Augusti*. This change of words was a mere illusion, which did not at all lessen the injury Maximin complained of. Not being able to obtain justice, he righted himself. His army, assembled by his order, declared him Augustus; and he sent the news of this event to Galerius, representing what had passed as the spontaneous act of the soldiery. I cannot omit any opportunity of shewing how great the power of the military people then was in the Roman government. Galerius yielded, and consented that the title and honours of *Augustus* should be given to the four princes, himself, Licinius, Maximin, and Constantine. Maxentius was still looked upon as a rebel and a tyrant.

From this arrangement, in which force had a greater share than the laws, a dispute arose concerning the ranks of the several *Augusti*. Galerius was indisputably the first: but the other three set up jarring pretensions, contrary to each other. Licinius was favoured by Galerius. Constantine was the first of the three who had borne the title of Augustus. Maximin insisted on his being the oldest *Cæsar*. Subsequent events decided the dispute.

Constantine distinguished the era of his increase of honours, by new exploits against the enemies of the empire. The Franks had taken up arms again, and threatened to invade Gaul. Constantine

New exploits of Constantine against the Franks.

*Bun. Pa-
arg. Const.
Aug.*

stopt their incursions the moment he appeared, and that twice in a very short time: for the attempts of Maximian Hercules obliged the young prince to give over his first expedition before he had completed it; and the Franks, taking advantage of his absence, renewed their hostilities, and thereby obliged him to return once more against them. The barbarians, struck with terror at his approach, immediately laid down their arms.

*Maximian
resumes
the purple
a third
time, and
is stripped
of it by
Constantine.*

*Id. ibid. &
Lact. 29,
30.*

His faithless father-in-law gave him still far greater uneasiness by domestic intrigues, which, joined to the war I have been speaking of against the Franks, at last occasioned the ruin of their author.

Upon the first news of the rebellion of the Germanic nations, Constantine immediately prepared to march against them; when Maximian advised him to take only a small part of his forces, which, said he, would be more than sufficient to master such an enemy. Constantine, active, full of fire, and loving above all things to execute quickly whatever he had to do, readily approved of this advice, in giving which the treacherous old man had two very sinister views. On one hand, he flattered himself that his son-in-law, thus slightly attended, might possibly be killed in battle against those warlike nations; and on the other, that it might not be difficult to seduce the numerous troops left unemployed, when they should be no longer awed by the presence of their prince. Full of these thoughts, the moment Constantine was gone, he set about corrupting the officers and soldiers; and as soon as he knew of his being arrived in the enemy's country, he threw off the mask, resumed the purple for the third time, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and, seizing the prince's treasures, gave a largess to those that were willing to share the spoil with him. Many, however, faithful to their lawful prince, refused his gifts. This happened in the country now called Provence.

Constantin^o

Constantine, who was then upon the Rhine, was soon informed of these proceedings; and as he had already gained some advantage over the Franks, by which things seemed to be secured on that side, he flew immediately to the greater danger, which threatened him with ruin. The ardour of his troops was equal to his own: all delay seemed odious to them. From the borders of the Rhine they reached Challon on the Saone, without resting at all in that long march. There Constantine embarked his troops, and transported them by water down the Saone and the Rhone to Arles, where he expected to find Maximian. But the ambitious old man had left that place. Surprized by Constantine's extraordinary diligence, and not having had time to strengthen and increase his party, he fled for safety to Marseille, threw himself into that city, and prepared to defend it, till such time, says Eutropius, as he should find an opportunity of escaping by sea to Italy, where he still hoped that his son Maxentius would protect him. The whole country which he abandoned, returned with joy to its obedience to its lawful master, and the troops which had been seduced gladly renewed their oath of fidelity to him. Constantine was beloved; and Maximian's whole force consisted now in the soldiers he had carried with him, who were far from being attached to him, as the event will shew.

The reduction of so weak an adversary was no difficult affair. Constantine, presenting himself before Marseille, directed a general assault: but the scaling ladders proving too short, he ordered a retreat to be sounded, and withheld the ardour of his soldiers, who minded no difficulties, nor thought any thing impossible for their courage to effect. He seems to have desired to conquer with less danger and less bloodshed, by means of a private intelligence which he had with the city. For whilst Maximian was upon the walls, Constantine, from the bottom of them, entered into talk with him, and reproved him for his conduct in

gentle terms, to which the old emperor answered with brutal invectives. While they were thus engaged in words, the citizens opened one of their gates, through which Constantine's troops suddenly rushed in. Maximian was immediately seized and carried to his conqueror, who contented himself with giving him a verbal reprimand, and spared his life, out of respect for the affinity between them. He took, however, the necessary precautions for his safety; stripped the old man of the imperial purple, and kept him near his person.

Maximian remained quiet during the rest of the year 309, to which the mad enterprize I have now been speaking of seems to belong. But peace and tranquillity were things contrary to his nature. In the next year, the 310 of Christ, he formed a new conspiracy, still blacker than the former, and which at last drew upon him the death he deserved.

He attempts to murder Constantine, is detected in the fact, and hangs himself.

Wickedness blinds its followers: and impunity for a first crime generally leads a bad heart to commit others. Maximian was impious and mad enough to solicit his daughter to deliver Constantine up to his fury. Intreaties, caresses, and vast promises were employed to prevail on her to leave the door of the emperor's bed-chamber open at night, and to remove the guards from about it. Fausta was exceedingly perplexed. On one hand she feared her father's rage, if she refused to consent to what he required of her; and on the other she was determined not to betray her husband. She promised to do what was proposed, and gave an account of the whole to Constantine: upon which measures were concerted between them to convict the criminal, by catching him in the fact. To this end an eunuch, whose life was not much valued, was put into the emperor's bed, whilst an affected negligence throughout the whole apartment seemed to invite the assassin to strike his intended blow. Accordingly, in the middle of the night, Maximian arose, and finding the guards either asleep or busied about other matters than their duty, made no

Zos. l. II.
Europ.
Lactant.

doubt

doubt but that Fausta had kept her word. He advanced, went up to the bed-side, killed the person he found in it, and, thinking he had killed Constantine, began to exult with transports of joy, when Constantine himself appeared, surrounded by a troop of armed men. Maximian's consternation may be more easily imagined than described. Struck with terror, he remained dumb and motionless. No excuse could possibly be pleaded, nor could he expect any favour. Constantine thought it enough to let him chuse his death; and Maximian ended with a rope, with which he hung himself, a life polluted with crimes. He was sixty years old, and perished at Marseille. Vict. Epli. Eutrop.

Such was the ignominious catastrophe of a prince who had reigned with glory near twenty years. Whilst he was directed by Dioclesian, his fortune was brilliant and happy; when abandoned to himself, his life became a tissue of rash undertakings, crimes, and misfortunes. A strong proof of the wisdom of him whose authority and counsels had contained within due bounds a character so prone to every excess.

Maxentius, willing to seem afflicted for a death which probably gave him joy, ordered the apotheosis of Maximian, and made a god of that prince who was detested by heaven and earth. Constantine was so far from envying him the honour of a fine funeral, that he himself built him a magnificent tomb. He is ranked among the gods. His tomb. His statues and images destroyed.

Towards the year 1054, this tomb was thought to have been discovered at Marseille. It was opened, and the body, which was found in it entire, was thrown into the sea by the advice of Raimbaud archbishop of Arles. Tillem.

It is pretty singular, that Constantine should erect an honourable monument to Maximian, and at the same time order his statues and pictures to be pulled down. This last operation, odious in itself, became still more so by the outrage it reflected on Dioclesian, whose statues and portraits were generally placed close by those of his colleague. Surely Constantine would Laetant. 42. Kurb. Hist. E. N. VIII. have ⁴³

have shewn more generosity, by sparing those representations of Maximian for Dioclesian's sake, than by enveloping his benefactor in the same disgrace with his enemy.

The death of Maximian happened in the year 310. He had been a violent persecutor of the Christians, and, as we observed before, had begun to exercise his cruelties upon them long before Dioclesian's edict obliged him in some measure so to do. As the first of the persecutors, he perished the first with all the marks of divine vengeance. He was soon followed by Galerius, who had been the principal author of the war solemnly declared against the servants of God: and God punished him immediately with his own hand, without employing the ministry of men.

Violences
of Gale-
rius a-
gainst all
his sub-
jects, and
particu-
larly a-
gainst the
Christians.
Lactant.
31.

This prince, full of his grandeur, was far from thinking of the severe chastisement he was on the point of undergoing. In the beginning of the year 310 he was wholly taken up with preparations for the feasts he intended to celebrate on the first of March of the year 312, on account of the anniversary of the twentieth year of his reign: and as if the joy of the sovereign was to be heightened by the misery of the people, there was no sort of violence which he did not exercise upon his subjects in order to amass immense sums, to make his magnificence be admired. We have already seen what oppressions were occasioned by his order to number the people throughout the whole empire. This new impost was raised with the same unrelenting rigour. Soldiers*, or rather executioners, were posted every where. In vain did the unhappy people plead their indigence. They were forced either to pay immediately more than

* Milites, vel potius carnifices singulis adhærebant . . . Venia non habentibus nulla: sustinendi multiplices cruciatus, nisi exhiberetur statim quod non erat . . . Nulla ara sine exactore, nulla vindemia sine custode, nihil ad victum laborantibus relictum . . . Quid vestis omnis generis? quid aurum? Nonne hæc necesse est ex venditis fructibus comparari? Unde igitur hoc, & demontissime tyrannæ, præstabo quum omnes fructus auferas, universa nascentia violenter eripias? *Lactant.*

than they were worth, or to suffer a thousand torments. Not a barn was without an unmerciful collector, nor a vineyard without a guard. The husbandman and vine-dresser, whose labour furnished others with victuals and drink, were themselves reduced to die of hunger and thirst. Besides the fruits of the earth, gold, silver, and rich stuffs for the decorations of the shews, were exacted with unparalleled severity: so that whilst the unhappy subjects of the empire, by being stripped of their natural riches, were deprived of all means of acquiring others; those very things which they were disabled from getting, were insisted on from them. Thus Galerius, for the sake of frivolous amusements, ruined all that had the misfortune to be subject to his laws. But the Christians, besides the cruelties which they suffered in common with others, were loaded with the additional weight of a violent persecution, which lasted seven years, and, far from being mitigated by that length of time, grew more and more furious from day to day.

At length God took vengeance on this implacable enemy to his worship, and struck him with an incurable disease, the seat of which gives room to think, as I observed before, that it was occasioned by debauchery. Eusebius, and more particularly Lactantius, have left us a description of this disease, which none can read without being filled with horror. I shall only say, that his torments lasted a great while; that all the aid of physick, and all the art of surgery, afforded him no sort of ease; that the rottenness having penetrated to his bowels, a frightful quantity of worms and maggots issued from thence; and that his whole form was inexpressibly shocking. From the waist upwards, a deep consumption had reduced him to a skeleton; while the lower part of his body was so swelled, that no shape of feet or legs could be distinguished, but they looked like skins blown up with wind.

This wretched prince, even whilst he suffered the most excruciating pains, followed at first the natural barbarity

*Euseb.
Hist. Eccl.
VIII. 16.*

*God strikes
him with a
dreadful
disease.*

*Lactant.
33.
Euseb.
Hist. Eccl.
VIII. 16.*

barbarity of his temper. To reward his physicians and surgeons for the services they did him, he put several of them to death: and he still continued the persecution against the Christians with the same fury as before. The long duration of his illness, which lasted a whole year, tamed him, however, at last, and filled him with remorse for the cruelties he had exercised against so many innocent persons. Rufinus says, that one of his physicians, who doubtless was a Christian, helped him to make this reflection, by boldly remonstrating to him, that his distemper was manifestly a visitation from heaven, and could not be got the better of by any human means. That he had long made war against the servants of God, and that God had stretched out his hand against him. Galerius could not deny the justice of this reflection, which the violence of his anguish made him feel most sensibly. Like Antiochus, he was touched with a sort of repentance; but less pungent and less sincere than the contrition of that old offender. His pride would not suffer him fully to own his error; but in the edict which he published to stop the persecution, he still endeavoured to gloss over his past conduct.

After a year's sufferings, Galerius issues an edict to stop the persecution.
Rufin.
Hist. Eccl.
VIII. 18.

Lactant. & Euseb.

Euseb. Hist. Eccl.
VIII. 17.

Lactant.
16.

This edict, though his own work, carries with his name those of the emperors Constantine and Licinius. Maxentius is not mentioned in it, because he was not acknowledged by the other princes. But no reason appears why Maximian was not named. Probably he has been omitted through the negligence of copists. The edict was published in Latin, which was the language of the empire, and Lactantius has recorded it from the original.

Galerius begins with boasting of his good intentions to reform abuses, according to the ancient discipline of the Romans. He ranked the Christian religion among those abuses, and calls the followers of it blind men, who had forsaken the maxims of their fathers, that is to say, idolatry. He acknowledges the fruitless violence of his endeavours to destroy Christianity, and

at the same time does justice to the fortitude of the Christians, several of whom had suffered death, and others, after their temples were shut up, would never go to those of the gods of the empire. He says, that moved with pity for their situation, and commiserating their being without the exercise of any religion, he, out of kindness and indulgence, permits them to renew their assemblies to worship God after their own manner; and he ends with enjoining them to pray for his preservation.

The reader will easily see the difference between such a declaration as this, and an express acknowledgment of the injustice of the persecution. Galerius's illness makes him alter his conduct, but cannot force him to condemn what he has done. Some good, however, resulted from it. The churches enjoyed peace: numbers of persons, detained in prison on account of their being Christians, were set at liberty; and the temples of the true God were restored. But Galerius did not deserve to be rewarded for a peace granted in such a manner as this was. The edict was published at Nicomedia, on the thirtieth of April, 311, and the emperor died the month following, probably at Sardica, the capital of Dacia, his native country. A little before his end, he recommended his wife and his natural son Candidianus, to Licinius, who, instead of being their protector, as he ought to have been on all accounts, proved, as we shall see, their most bitter enemy, and in a few years put them both to death.

Galerius esteemed and loved Valeria, whose name he gave to a small district of Pannonia, which he cleared and rendered habitable, by cutting down large forests, and draining the water of the lake Pelson* into the Danube. He loved his native country, Dacia, even to a fault, if it be true, as Lactantius says, that he had thoughts of illustrating it, by

*He dies.
Lactant.
25.*

*Particulars
concerning
him.*

Aurel. Vict.

*Lactant.
27.*

* If this lake was drained by Galerius, it has since resumed its first form. It is now called the Neusidler-Zee, and lies between the cities of Vienna and Rab.

What judgment may be formed of his character.

by abolishing the name of the Roman empire, and substituting that of the Dacian empire. All that history has recorded of this prince speaks him a man fond of extremes, and never knowing how to keep within proper bounds. Even if he had not been an ardent and cruel persecutor of the Christians, his ambition, harshness, and injustice in other matters, must have made us look upon him as a bad man. He was ungrateful towards Dioclesian, unjust towards Constantine, and tyrannical towards his people. His shining part was war: but even in that he did not succeed against Maxentius. He reigned nineteen years, two months, and some days, reckoning from the time of his being made Cæsar; and six years and some days from that of his being raised to the rank of Augustus.

His territories divided between Licinius and Maximian.

Lactant. 34.

Though we are not told of his having made any testamentary disposal of his dominions, it may be conjectured, with great probability, that his design was to leave them to Licinius. But Asia Minor, which he had possessed, lay too convenient for Maximian not to excite his cupidity. The moment he was informed of Galerius's death, he resolved to seize on that fine province; and taking advantage of the slowness of Licinius, who remained inactive, he marched into Bithynia, being received every where with joy, because, to gain the affection of the people, he abolished the grievous law of the *census*, to which they had been subjected. Licinius, at length, advanced against him, and the two princes, mutually threatening, and equally afraid of each other, drew up their troops on the opposite shores of the Streights or Bosphorus of Thrace. The dispute was ended by a pacific agreement. Licinius gave up all that his competitor, more active than him, had already possessed himself of, and agreed that Maximian should keep Asia, with the East, and Egypt. For his own share he had Illyricum, with Thrace, Macedon, and Greece, which were in a manner annexed to it.

By

By this arrangement the empire was divided as follows. Constantine, Licinius, and Maximin, acknowledging each other as *Augusti*, but disputing the point of pre-eminence in that quality, reigned, the former in Gaul, Spain, and Britain; the second in Illyricum; the third in Asia, the East, and Egypt. The center of the empire, that is to say, Italy, and Africa, were in the hands of Maxentius, whom the three other princes called an usurper.

Maxentius began, as I said before, with seizing Rome. It was in this same year, 311, that he reunited to his other dominions Africa, which had at first refused to acknowledge him, and where one Alexander had afterwards caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and enjoyed that title upwards of three years. Zosimus gives us the best account of this revolution, but still with that mixture of perplexity and obscurity which never fails to characterise the narrations of that writer.

Maxentius, having got the better of the attacks made upon him by Severus and Galerius, and finding his power well established in Italy, claimed Africa, as being dependent on it, and part of the dominions of Severus whom he had conquered. Accordingly he sent thither his statue, or portrait, which was the form of taking possession. This occasioned a division between the troops then in Africa. Part of them, and even the greatest, submitted to Maxentius: but others, out of attachment to Galerius, would not promise to obey his enemy. As these last were the weakest, they resolved to retire to Alexandria, where Maximin, who reigned in Egypt, would have sheltered them from harm. But their communication with that place was cut off, and they were obliged to return to Carthage, there to submit to the law of the strongest.

Maxentius, who did not rely much on this forced submission, had thoughts of going to Africa himself, to make the inhabitants of that country acknowledge him

Four princes then in the empire.

Maxentius, master of Italy, had likewise reunited to his dominions Africa, by the victory gained over Alexander, who reigned there three years.

Zos. l. II.

him in person. Cruelty and revenge were another inducement to him to take that step, in order to punish those whom nothing but force of arms had been able to subject to his laws. Besides all this, he mistrusted Alexander, who commanded in Africa, in quality of vicar to the prætorian prefect. Alexander was, however, by no means formidable; but having neither courage nor steadiness of mind; but being, on the contrary, effeminate, indolent, and old. But even with these defects, Maxentius was still inferior to him in every respect. A superstitious belief in the answers of the *aruspices*, or perhaps his own cowardice, which he chose to conceal under that specious veil, made him drop an expedition of the utmost importance to him. Upon a report of the priests, that the entrails of the victims they had sacrificed did not afford any favourable presages, he gave up the design of going to Africa, and abandoned himself entirely to the pleasures of Rome.

*Aurel. Vict.
& Zon.*

That he might, however, have some security against Alexander, he demanded of him his son, as an hostage. Alexander, fearing lest the youth, who was handsome, should be sacrificed to the tyrant's shameful and brutal lust, refused to send him: upon which Maxentius, highly incensed, employed assassins to murder Alexander privately. This odious step was the very thing that hastened the revolt. The assassins were discovered: and the soldiers justly enraged, and calling to mind all the old reasons they had to hate Maxentius, shook of his yoke, and invested their chief with the purple. This happened in the year of Christ 308. Alexander, notwithstanding his incapacity for business, enjoyed the imperial power in Africa, unmolested, for three years, because he had to deal with none but the wretch Maxentius.

In 311, Maxentius at last awaked from his lethargy, and prepared to make war upon Constantine. But first he resolved to reduce Africa; in which he met with no great difficulty. He sent thither his prætorian

prætorian præfect Rufius Volusianus, with a small number of troops, and one Zenas, a man otherwise little known, but thought to be a good officer, to be his counsellor and assistant. These two commanders defeated Alexander, who was taken prisoner, and strangled; and Africa thereupon submitted to Maxentius.

In this little war, or in the commotions which preceded it, the city of Cirta in Numidia, sustained a siege; but whether for siding with, or taking part against Alexander, is more than we can say; the expression of the original author being equivocal. It suffered greatly from the siege, and was afterwards repaired by Constantine, when it took the name of its benefactor, and was called Constantina.

The conqueror Maxentius abused his good fortune with all the cruelty of a grovelling soul. He ruined Africa by tyrannical researches, for which Alexander's revolt was made the pretext. Informers had a fine opportunity, says Zosimus, which they improved to the utmost, to accuse whomsoever they envied, on account of their birth or riches, of having favoured that rebel. None were spared. Numbers were put to death, and confiscation of their effects was the most favourable treatment any met with. Maxentius wanted even to destroy Carthage, and thereby deprive the Roman empire of one of its finest ornaments. He triumphed over it, as if that city had still been the rival of Rome. But he had not time to complete his vengeance on that unhappy place; doubtless because the war against Constantine seemed a more important object.

He pretended, as I said before, to be extremely exasperated on account of his father's death, and to be determined to have satisfaction for it. But the real motive that animated him, was ambition, and a desire to enrich himself with the spoils of Constantine. He did not do himself justice in daring to measure his strength with such an adversary. Detested and despised.

Aurèl. Vict.

He makes a cruel use of this victory.

Zos. & Aur. Vict.

He prepares to attack Constantine. Zos. & Luch. 42.

spised, he attacked a prince who was beloved and esteemed by all his subjects.

Picture of his vices.

The Christian writers are not the only ones who paint Maxentius with the blackest colours. The Pagans are not more favourable to him. Zosimus avers, that Maxentius exercised all sorts of cruelties and debaucheries in Rome, and throughout all Italy. To these odious excesses Aurelius Victor adds cowardice, timidity, and such excessive sloth, as, according to a panegyrist of those times, did not suffer him to set his foot beyond the walls of his palace. He was a stranger to all military affairs. The field of Mars never saw him. His exercise was confined to the delightful walks of his gardens, or his marble porticos. To go but to one of his villas, was, with him, a great expedition. He prided himself upon this shameful inaction; and was not ashamed to say, that he was the only emperor, and that the other princes fought for him on his frontiers. So great was Maxentius's idleness and effeminacy. As to his other vices, we find, in a Christian author, a detail of what Zosimus and Victor have summed up in two words.

Aur. Paneg. Const. Aug.

Euseb. Hist. Eccl. VIII. 14. & de vit. Const. I. 33. & 34.

Maxentius, says Eusebius, when first he became master of Rome, to give an advantageous idea of the mildness of his government, ordered the persecution against the Christians to be stopped. But that was only an affected piece of lenity: and if he had not the religion of his fathers so much at heart as to display his cruelty in defence of it; his passions, to which he gave an unbounded loose, made him commit the most horrid violence against all his subjects without distinction. Brutally debauched, he forced wives away from their husbands, and afterwards sent them back polluted and dishonoured. Nor was it the lower class of people only that he treated in this manner: his outrages extended to the families of senators, and to all that was most eminent in Rome. Nothing could conquer the fury of his desires, which, always

always reviving the moment after they had been satisfied, flew from one object to another, without leaving any virtue safe. He failed, however, in his attempts against that of the Christian women, who, fearing death less than they did the loss of their honour, bid defiance to the tyrant's utmost rage. Eusebius mentions one of them in particular, who, with an heroism which the morals of Paganism would have authorised, but which the law of the gospel does not permit us to praise, killed herself to save her honour.

Sophronia *, a Christian lady, married to one of the most illustrious of the senators, had the misfortune to please Maxentius. The tyrant's satellites had already beset the house, and her timid husband was ready to let them carry off their prey; when she, desiring a few moments to dress herself, went into her room, took up a knife, and plunged it to her heart. We are not told whether this tragical event occasioned any disturbance in Rome: but it did not mend Maxentius, who persisted in his infamy as long as he lived.

His cruelty was equally great in every other respect. Insatiably rapacious; whoever was rich, was sure to be criminal in his eyes; nor could the possessors of any thing that excited his cupidity, escape death. Patience, mildness, and submission, never disarmed his wrath; and still less the rank or dignity of the person. It is impossible, says Eusebius, to reckon up the number of senators whom he put to death under various, but always false pretences.

Following the maxim of the bad princes, he put all his trust in the soldiery, to enrich whom, he exhausted the public finances. "Enjoy yourselves, said Ann. 260 he to them, spend, and squander away what you neg. please: every thing is yours." In a quarrel which arose between the people and the soldiers, he Euseb. & Aurel. Vict. gave the latter leave to kill the former, and accordingly

* Eusebius does not name this lady. It is from Rufinus that we learn who she was.

ingly vast numbers of them were murdered. By thus indulging the troops in every licentiousness, he secured to himself creatures ready to execute his most desperate orders; and not only Rome, but all Italy, was filled with the ministers of his tyranny.

*Anon. Pa-
neg.*

*Euseb. &
Aurel. Vict.*

The public funds could not long suffice for the enormous expences by which he bought the affection of his troops. Unjust confiscations, taxes upon all the orders of the state, even the peasants not excepted, and the plunder of temples, were added to them. The consequence of so bad an administration soon was, a want of even the necessaries of life, and so violent a famine, that the oldest man then living did not remember ever to have seen the like in Rome.

Euseb.

To render his character completely infamous, Maxentius joined to his other crimes impiety and magic. Eusebius charges him with having ordered, when he was preparing for the war against Constantine, abominable sacrifices, in which women big with child and tender infants were the victims; in hopes of discovering in their palpitating entrails, what would be the fate of his enterprize, and of turning upon them the misfortunes that might threaten him.

*Constantine, war-
like and
benificent.*

After this picture of Maxentius, it would be needless to observe, that nothing was less like him than Constantine, who not only had all the contrary virtues, but, when the quarrel between them broke out into open war, cleared himself of the only fault he had in common with his enemy, by renouncing idolatry, and becoming a worshipper of the true God.

*Naz. Pa-
neg.*

Conat. Aug.

Warlike and beneficent, Constantine was equally careful to oppose his enemies abroad, and make his subjects happy at home. The Franks furnished him with perpetual causes of triumph. Most of the people that composed this league, the Bructeri, the Chamavi, the Cherusci, and several others, united together, in the year 310, to make a mighty effort, and prepared to enter Gaul, where they had already tried in vain to gain a settlement for upwards of sixty years. Con-

stantine

stantine marched against them, and, before he gave them battle, did a thing, which, though highly brave, deserves rather to be condemned, than commended, in a prince. Disguising himself, and taking with him only two attendants, he advanced to the enemy's camp, and entered into conversation with some of the soldiers, in order to be informed of their designs. More fortunate than prudent, he returned back without being discovered; and attacking the Franks afterwards with advantage, he totally defeated their army. Thus the union of the principal forces of the league served only to accelerate Constantine's victory, which would have cost him much more time, if he had been obliged to conquer all the different nations that opposed him, one after another. M. de Tillemont thinks it was for this important exploit, that Constantine took the surname of *Maximus* or *Greatest*, which was afterwards confirmed to him by posterity.

He well deserved it on every account; though still less for his success in war, than for his care and goodness towards the people that lived under his empire. He suppressed informers by severe laws, and put an end to those horrid vexations to which the best of men were perpetually exposed by their means. He visited his provinces, reformed abuses, and established good order every where, making them enjoy all the blessings of peace. Eusebius speaks of a journey which Constantine took to Britain, with the same intent. We learn from the panegyrist Eumenes, that Treves, where this prince usually resided, and which had suffered greatly from incursions of the barbarians in former times, was restored and embellished by his care: and that he built there a great circus, a square, basilics, and a public court of justice. This orator wished his native country Autun, no greater happiness, than that Constantine might vouchsafe to direct his steps thither.

*Ann.
Paneg.
Const. Aug.*

*Ess. de vit.
Const. I.
25.
Eum.
Paneg.
Const. Aug.*

*Eum. Grat.
Act. Flav.
Nom.*

His desires were accomplished. Constantine went to Autun in the year 311, and was moved with compassion when he saw the miserable condition to which the ravages of war, and the weight of grievous taxes, had reduced that city and the country round about. Resolving to apply a speedy and effectual remedy to these evils, he did not so much as give the senate and other orders of the city who had come out to meet him, time to lay their complaints before him; but prevented them, by asking what they thought would be necessary to make them easy and happy. Transported with joy and gratitude, they threw themselves at his feet. Constantine could not refrain from tears at so moving a sight; tears, says Eumenes, happy for us, and glorious for the prince who shed them. He inquired into their situation; and immediately, without making them wait for the favour, remitted them five years arrears which they owed to the treasury, and abated upwards of a quarter part of their usual annual imposts. This city, to honour so good a sovereign, assumed his name, and passed a decree ordering that it should be thenceforth called Flavia. But this name did not prevail over that of Augustodunum, which it had borne since the days of Augustus, and which it still retains.

The rupture
breaks out
between
Maxen-
tius and
Constantine.
*Nom.
Page.
Cont.*

It was in this same year, 311, that the rupture broke out between Constantine and Maxentius. They had never been sincerely united, though they had not proceeded to war, but acknowledged each other as colleagues, at least for a time. What makes me suppose this, is that Constantine's statues subsisted, as we shall see, and were revered in Rome, of which Maxentius was master. But the difference between their characters and principles was too great, not to produce a real division in their hearts, notwithstanding all appearances of peace.

*Annals
& Nov.
Page.
Cont. Ang.
& Eccl.*

Maxentius first lifted up the standard of war. Constantine respected the appearance of union between them, and therefore avoided coming to ext. emities.

He

He even made advances to his father-in-law, inviting him to live in peace and harmony : but his overtures were fruitless. Maxentius, puffed up with pride, and as full of ambition as he was destitute of talents, refused his offers, rejected his proposals. Proud of his numerous armies, he thought of nothing less than conquering all Constantine's share of the empire, and perhaps that of Licinius too. He did not openly declare war against this last : but he provoked Constantine most outrageously, by ordering his statues to be pulled down and treated with ignominy. This insult was a manifest act of hostility : and the prince against whom it was committed, seeing no longer any prospect of preserving peace, resolved to go in earnest to war with his equally audacious and despicable enemy.

He was even glad to find that the circumstances of things were such as forced him not to suffer Rome to be any longer harassed and oppressed by a detested tyrant. To facilitate his success, he secured the friendship of Licinius, by then proposing the marriage, which afterwards took place, between his sister Constantia and that prince. Maxentius, on his side, entered into an alliance with Maximin. But neither Licinius nor Maximin took any actual part in the quarrel, which was ended between Constantine and Maxentius.

This war was really a great one : not on account of its duration, for that was short ; but by reason of the importance of its object, the formidable preparations for it, and the great variety of exploits which it occasioned. But what renders it infinitely more considerable with respect to us, is the miraculous manner in which the Almighty was pleased to intervene, and its being the epoch of the conversion of Constantine, who restored peace to the church, and put an end to the continual persecutions under which she had laboured from her very cradle.

Those who speak most modestly of Maxentius's forces, say he had an hundred thousand fighting men. Zosimus makes his infantry amount to an hundred

and seventy thousand, and his cavalry to eighteen thousand. Severus's army, of which he became master, had furnished him with great numbers, which he afterwards increased by new levies in Italy and Africa. For the subsistence of these numerous troops he had provided vast quantities of corn, which, being preserved for the soldiers only, reduced the rest of his subjects to extreme want and misery. According to the same Zosimus, Constantine set out from Gaul with ninety thousand foot and eight thousand horse; and this we suppose to have been the case, without minding the language of panegyrists, who, to add to the splendour of the victory, by lessening the forces with which it was gained, say Constantine had fewer troops than even Alexander had when he undertook the war against the Persians, that is to say, not forty thousand men. What we readily believe upon their authority, is that Constantine could not take with him, in this expedition against Maxentius, all the troops he had then on foot, because he was obliged to leave part of them in Gaul, to defend that country against the incursions of the Germans, during his absence.

The conversion of Constantine to Christianity.


Eus. de vii. Const. l. 27—32. ll. 48—60.

Constantine was thoroughly sensible of the advantage his enemy had over him in point of strength: and God made use of his uneasiness in this respect, to wean him from the worship of impotent idols, and bring him to the knowledge of His truth. To this great end, things had been long prepared. Constantine, born of a father who esteemed and loved the Christians, had imbibed the same sentiments in his early years. He saw with horror the cruelties which Dioclesian and other princes exercised against them; and took particular notice of the divine vengeance so visible in the punishment of Maximian and Galerius. In consequence of these impressions, he was always favourable to those that followed the law of Christ; and the very first use he made of the imperial power, was, as we said before, to abolish every remnant of persecution. But still he had not got rid of the false ideas

ideas in which he had been educated, concerning a multiplicity of gods. He allowed every one to worship his own; whilst he himself paid homage to those he had been taught to revere; not knowing that the true God will be honoured alone, because he alone deserves our worship. The greatness of the danger to which he was going to be exposed in fighting against Maxentius filled him with serious reflections. He knew that his enemy had recourse to magic charms and sacrifices, to procure the assistance of the powers of hell. He, on the contrary, invoked that God whom he as yet knew but in a confused and imperfect manner, and prayed him to manifest himself unto him, and to be his protector. God heard his prayer, which proceeded from a sincere heart; and, with a goodness of which not only Constantine was the object, but of which the effect was to extend to the whole Christian church, granted him a signal prodigy, which, says Eusebius, it would be difficult to believe, if it was not very strongly attested. But, continues that writer, I have the account from the emperor himself, who has averred the truth of it to me upon oath.

Constantine, as he was marching with his army, towards evening, when the day began to decline, saw, in the sky, just over the sun, the figure of a luminous cross, with this inscription, "By this thou shalt conquer." His army saw, as well as himself, this miraculous phenomenon, which struck all the beholders with great astonishment. Constantine, though he lived in the midst of Christians, and was extremely kind to them, had so little notion of Christianity, that he did not know the meaning of this cross. A dream informed him of it. In the night, Jesus Christ appeared to him with his cross, and commanded him to have a representation made of that which he then saw, and to use it in all his battles as a sure defence against his enemies. Constantine obeyed. The moment he awaked, he sent for workmen, to whom he described the form of the cross he had

had seen, then made them draw a sketch of it, and afterwards ordered them to execute it magnificently. The following is the description which Eusebius gives us of it.

A long pike, covered with gold, was traversed at a certain height by a piece of wood which made it a cross. To the upper part, which rose above the arms, was fixed a crown of gold and precious stones, in the middle of which appeared the monogram of Christ, formed by the two letters X and P, crossing each other in this well-known manner, . From the two arms of the cross hung a purple standard, covered with embroidery of gold and jewels, so resplendent, that it dazzled the eyes of those that saw it. Under the crown and monogram were placed the busts of Constantine and his children, of gold. This trophy of the cross became Constantine's imperial standard. The Roman emperors had always had their peculiar standard, which was called *Labarum*; and which, loaded with representations of false gods, was looked upon by their armies as an object of religious veneration. Constantine, by substituting upon his *Labarum* the name of Christ instead of the images of the Pagan gods, disaccustomed his soldiers from an impious worship, and brought them by degrees to pay their adorations to that Being to which they are due. This precious ensign was committed to the care of fifty of the emperor's guards, chosen from among the stoutest, bravest, and most pious of that body, who were charged to surround and defend it, and to take it by turns upon their shoulders, when any of them should be tired. Constantine had several others made after the same model, not so rich, to be the military ensigns of all the troops that composed his army. He ordered too that even the arms of his soldiers should be marked with a cross, and that they should likewise bear it upon their shields and helmets.

Evang. I. 4.

*Euseb. de vit.
Const. II.
8.*

*Id. ibid. I.
II. IV. 21.*

The exact place where this miraculous cross appeared to Constantine is not known with certainty. But the sequel of facts in Eusebius determines us, as well as M. de Tillemont, to think it was in Gaul that this celestial prodigy was wrought. The time was certainly the year of Christ 311, when Constantine was making preparations for the war against Maxentius.

Tillem.

The truth of the fact, attested by Constantine himself, cannot be doubted. It made a great noise; and an orator of that very time, a Pagan by religion, mentions it plainly, though he disguises and dresses it up after the manner of the ancient fabulous stories. Nazarius says, that a celestial army was seen heading that of the prince, and that the soldiers of both these armies mutually exhorted and encouraged one another. Even this account, thus altered from the real fact, contains a manifest acknowledgment of a miraculous assistance sent from heaven.

*Naz. Po-
neg. Const.
Aug.*

I have already observed how little Constantine was acquainted with the first principles of Christianity. As soon as the miracle I have been speaking of had determined him to embrace our holy religion, he sent for bishops to instruct him in the fundamental articles of the Christian belief. It is surprizing that Eusebius does not name the masters of so illustrious a proselyte. Zosimus has been more explicit, merely out of malice. This writer, full of gall against Constantine and the Christians, ascribes this change in the emperor, which he stiles impious, to the lessons of an Egyptian who came to him from Spain: a vague description; but in which, by separating the truth from what is false, it is easy to know Osius, the greatest man then in the church. Osius was not an Egyptian, but he was bishop of Corduba in Spain: and the extraordinary marks of esteem, confidence, and affection, which Constantine never ceased to bestow upon him as long as he lived, concur to give us room to think that he respected in him the apostle of his conversion.

*Eus. de vit.
Const. I.**Zos.*

Tillem.

Constantine, becoming a Christian himself, brought his family over to the profession of the true religion. He brought his children up in it. His mother-in-law Eutropia, the widow of Maximian Hercules, his wife Fausta, and his sister Constantia, embraced Christianity. But his most glorious conquest of this kind was his mother Helena, who, to her faith in Christ, joined an exact practice of the precepts of the gospel, and, by her eminent piety, has justly deserved to be ranked among those models which the church honours and proposes to her children.

Constantine enters Italy, and gains several victories over Maxentius's troops.

The assurance of being protected by heaven was a strong encouragement to Constantine in the war he had undertaken against Maxentius. Besides this, the number of troops excepted, he had all sorts of advantages over his rival, both with respect to their personal qualifications, and to the justice and merit of their causes. Even if we abide by Zosimus's account alone, it is manifest that the good of the empire required that Constantine should remain conqueror.

v

Arden. & Nov. P. reg. Const. Aug.

He took the necessary steps to be so, marching every where at the head of his troops, whilst Maxentius, indolently shut up in Rome, made war only by his lieutenants. Constantine first presented himself before Susa, which is one of the keys of the Alps and of Italy. This place, which was then very strong, and provided with a good garrison, refused to submit without fighting, though offered in that case the most favourable treatment: upon which Constantine, who was not disposed to lose time in besieging it in form, ordering his scaling ladders to be placed against the walls, and set fire to the gates. The flames spread with such rapidity and violence, that both the inhabitants and the garrison were soon glad to implore the clemency of him whose offers they had before rejected. The conqueror heard their prayers. Entering Susa, he immediately gave orders to extinguish the fire, which would otherwise have consumed the whole place; and being now master of the pass of Italy, he advanced towards Turin.

There

There he found an army waiting in good order, ready to give him battle. A body of horse completely armed after the manner of the eastern cavalry, was its principal strength. Constantine attacked the enemy boldly, posting himself over against these cuirassiers. The fight was obstinate, and the slaughter great. The defeat of the enemy's horse seems to have been what decided the general fate of the battle. Constantine, who knew that, confined as they and their horses were in their armour, they could only advance forward, and that the least motion either backward or on either side was extremely difficult to them, opened his ranks to receive them, and afterwards closing upon them, his soldiers, with great clubs, knocked down both horses and riders, and killed them all, without losing a single man on their side. After the destruction of this body, in which Maxentius had placed his greatest hope, the rest of his army soon gave way, and fled towards Turin. But that city shut its gates against them, and this occasioned the greatest slaughter of the fugitives. Turin received the conqueror with joy, and gave the signal to all Gallia Transpadana to espouse the cause of Constantine. This prince entered Milan soon after, in the midst of triumphant shouts and acclamations; and the whole country on the left of the Po, from Turin to Brescia, acknowledged his laws. His clemency helped greatly to facilitate his conquests. He was not one of those haughty conquerors who mark their progress with terror and devastation. The cities which submitted to him had cause to bless their fate, experiencing from him nothing but benevolence and goodness.

At Brescia he was again opposed by a great body of horse, which was also put to flight, and retired to Verona, where a new army was assembling by Maxentius's order. Ruricius Pompeianus, a commander of great repute, headed it, and thought to stop Constantine before that city, which he hoped to make the barrier of that conqueror's rapid progress. He not only was
mistaken,

mistaken, but set out with a fault, which shews that he little deserved the character he bore. He ought carefully to have guarded the borders of the Adige, which the enemy was obliged to pass in order to reach Verona: but by his neglecting to take that absolutely necessary precaution, Constantine, by sending a detachment higher up the river, where it was narrower, less deep, and not at all defended, obtained an easy and unmolested passage, after which he immediately invested Verona.

Ruricius, after making several sallies, none of which succeeded, fearing lest the city should be at last taken by storm, left it privately, and raised a supply of fresh troops, with which he returned, determined either to fight Constantine, or make him raise the siege. The emperor was by that means between the city which he besieged, and an army of enemies whose numbers were considerable. In this situation he formed his plan with equal bravery and judgment; leaving part of his troops in his camp to continue the siege, whilst he, with the rest, marched against Ruricius. He had fewer men than his adversary, and was forced to draw his whole army out in only one line, in order to make a front equal to that of the enemy. But his prudence and valour made amends for his want of numbers. As soon as he had given his orders, he threw himself into the midst of the battle, being always foremost in the most dangerous places, with so little care of himself, that his principal officers could not help complaining of it to him after the victory, asking him *, " why he had endangered them all by exposing his own person to such eminent peril; and why he did not let them fight for him, instead of his fighting for them?" The battle began in the evening, and lasted till the night was

* *Quid operas, imperator? in qua nos fata projeceras, nisi te divina virtus tua vindicasset? Quis hæc est impudicitia? aut quo tibi manus nostras, si versa vice pugnas ipse pro nobis?*
Anon. Pauc.

was far spent. Ruricius was killed upon the spot, his army was destroyed, or dispersed, and Verona, having no longer any hope or resource, submitted to the discretion of the conqueror. Constantine used his advantage with moderation. He did not take away the life of any one that submitted; but he kept the soldiers as prisoners of war: and as their number was too great to be easily guarded, he ordered them to be put in chains made of their own swords: so that, as the panegyrist observes *, their arms, which had not been able to defend them in battle, secured them as captives.

Aquileia and Modena followed the example of Verona, and the whole country quite up to Rome was opened to Constantine. But Rome itself would not have been an easy conquest, if Maxentius had persisted in keeping himself shut up in that city. No event had hitherto been able to determine him to leave it; and his resource against so many disgraces, heaped upon him one after the other, had been to suppress, as much as he could, the news of his bad success. Upon the enemy's approach, he altered his resolution; less through reason, than through a blindness in which the Pagans themselves have acknowledged the hand of God. He flattered himself with hopes of debauching Constantine's army by the same artifices with which he had succeeded fully against Severus, and partly against Galerius: and besides this, the soothsayers and the books of the Sibyls, which he consulted, had agreed in foretelling him that the enemy of Rome would perish in the battle he was going to fight. An equivocal answer; but which he interpreted in his own favour; not doubting but the person who was coming to attack Rome with an army, must be the enemy meant by the prediction. Perhaps too his courage might just then be heightened by a small disadvantage which Constantine had suffered in a trifling

Last battle, near Rome, in which Maxentius perishes.

Laetani.
43.
Zoe.

* Ut servarent deditos gladii sui, quos non defenderant repugnantes. *Anon. Paneg.*

trifling skirmish. Impelled by these motives, and at the same time piqued at the reproaches of the people, who, whilst he was giving games in the Circus, had openly reproached him with his cowardice, he marched out of Rome at the head of his army, and encamped along the Tiber, between the bridge Mulvius and a place called the Red Rocks. There he himself prepared the cause and instrument of his ruin. He built over the river a bridge composed of two parts fastened together only by iron pins, which were easily knocked out, and then the bridge opened and formed a wide chasm in the middle. His design was to entice Constantine upon this bridge, and then to have it open, that he might fall into the river and be drowned. But his artifice turned against himself.

*Aur. Vict.
Eus. de vit.
Const. L.
39.
Zoa.*

Constantine, supported by just hopes, encouraged by his past success, and animated by his confidence in the God he adored, received a fresh proof of the protection of heaven, a little before the battle. He was warned in a dream to mark the arms of his soldiers with the sign of the cross, or the monogram of Christ, which had hitherto been placed only upon the *Labarum*: and it was upon this that he established the holy practice of which I lately anticipated the mention.

Euseb.

He was greatly rejoiced to see Maxentius come out to meet him, in order to trust his fortune to the decision of a battle. To fight, and to conquer, he doubted not would be the same. Accordingly, as soon as he drew near the enemy, he ranged his troops in proper order. Maxentius was likewise prepared on his side: but he had taken his measures badly. He had left himself so little space, that his hind ranks were quite close to the Tiber; so that if they were pushed ever so little, they must of necessity fall into the river.

Pandeyr.

Constantine, as usual, did the duty of a soldier and a general. He drew up his army advantageously, gave proper orders, fought valiantly himself, and was well seconded by his troops, always victorious when headed

headed by him. Those of Maxentius were numerous, and brave; but they wanted a better leader. Their commander had neither skill, courage, presence of mind, or resource. Consequently they could not long dispute the victory. They were broken at the first onset. The bravest stood their ground, and were killed: the rest, stupified and blinded, threw themselves into the Tiber, where most of them were swallowed up. Maxentius himself fled to his bridge; but, whether it was owing to the multitude that endeavoured to pass over with him, or to some other accident, the building, which was but weak, broke, and all that were upon it fell into the river. A few escaped by swimming: but Maxentius was drowned.

This happened on the twenty-eighth of October; on which day six years before he had seized on Rome, and usurped the imperial purple. With him was extinguished, or at least buried in total obscurity, all that belonged to him. His wife, whether the daughter of Galerius, or another, was alive when he perished, as was also a son of his. But from the time of his death no farther mention is made of either of them in history. His first son Romulus, whom he had made Cæsar, and twice consul, died before him; and we had made medals of this young prince from which we learn his apotheosis. That is all we know of him.

The day after his victory Constantine made his triumphant entry into Rome, where the joy of all the inhabitants was equal to his own. The terror of Maxentius's name was so great, that people would not at first give credit to the news of his death, for fear of his vengeance in case it should not prove true. But the body of the tyrant, which lay some time in the mud, having been found and known to be his, his head was cut off, and Constantine ordered it to be stuck upon a lance and carried before him in his triumph, as a proof of the deliverance of the Romans.

mans. This sight, frightful in itself, was to the people an object of festivity and joy; nor were the pale and bloody remains of the detested tyrant contemplated less eagerly, than the face of the conqueror rayed with glory.

The orator Nazarius, celebrates the pomp of this great day with an eloquence which heightens its splendour, and displays the solid motives of the public joy. "Never*, says he, did any day shine upon the Roman empire, happier than this, since the first building of the city. Not one of the boasted triumphs of antiquity can be compared to this of Constantine. No captive generals were led in chains before the conqueror's chariot; but it was preceded by all the Roman nobility, freed from the shackles they had borne. No barbarians were thrown into prison; but consulars were released. Foreign captives were not the ornament of this great festival; but Rome restored to liberty. She gained nothing from the enemy; but she recovered herself. No plunder added to her riches, but she ceased to be the prey of a tyrant; and, which is the height of glory, in lieu of servitude she resumed the rights of empire. Instead of prisoners of war, every one figured to himself another sort of captives. They

* Nullus post urbem conditam dies Romano illuxit imperio, ejus tam effusa, tamque insignis gratulatio aut fuerit, aut esse debuerit. Nulli tam læti triumphi, quos annalium vetustas consecratos in literis habet. Non agebantur quidem ante curram vineti duces, sed incedebat soluta nobilitas. Non conjecti in carcerem barbari, sed deducti e carcere consulares. Non captivi alienigenæ in troitum illum honestaverunt, sed Roma, jam libera. Nihil ex hostico accepit, sed seipsam recuperavit, nec præda auctior facta est, sed esse præda desivit, & (quo nihil adjici ad gloriæ magnitudinem protest) imperium recepit quæ servitium sustinebat. Ducī sane omnibus videbantur subacta vitiorum agmina, quæ urbem graviter obsederant. Scelus domitum, victa perfidia, diffidens sibi audacia, & importunitas catenata, & eruenta crudelitas inani terrore fremdebat. Superbia atque arrogantia debellatæ, luxuries coercita, & libido constricta exu ferreo tenebantur. *Naz. Paneg. Const. Aug.*

“ They thought they saw the most pestiferous monsters disarmed and loaded with chains. Impiety subdued, perfidly vanquished, and audaciousness reduced to despair; whilst tyranny, wrath, cruelty, pride and arrogance, licentiousness and debauchery, those dreadful enemies whose horrid excesses we had felt so long, now trembled with impotent rage.”

Constantine crowned his glory by the noble use he made of his victory. Zosimus writes, that he punished none with death except the principal partisans of the tyrant. Some moderns have thought that Maxentius's son was of this number. But the silence of history with regard to that infant prince is no proof that Constantine took away his life. I chuse rather to abide by the testimony of a cotemporary orator, who says expressly, that * the conqueror's sword was not unsheathed after the ending of the battle, and that he spared the heads even of those whose deaths the Romans demanded.

I find but one well-attested act of severity on the part of Constantine after his victory over Maxentius, and that without effusion of blood, and for a very just cause. The prætorians, those troops so corrupted and enervated by the pleasures of Rome; seditious to excess; so often stained with the blood of their emperors; who had scarce ever been able to suffer a good prince foreign, and had placed so many bad ones upon the throne; had lately attached and devoted themselves to Maxentius. Constantine broke them, and destroyed their camp, built, as we observed before, by Sejanus, under Tiberius. By breaking the prætorians, he did a service to Rome and to the empire, and at the same time he did not deprive himself of the necessary guards about his person: for other bodies had been already instituted to that end by former emperors under the names

Noble use
which Con-
stantine
makes of
victory.
Zos.
Tillem.

The præ-
torians
broken; :
their camp
destroyed.
Zos. &
Aur. Vict.

* Constantinus victorie licentiam sine prælii terminavit; gladios ne in eorum quidem sanguinem destringi passus est quos ad supplicia (Roma) poscebat. Anon. Paneg. Const. Aug.

of *protectores* and *domestici*. The city guards were probably continued, for the safety of the public.

*Anon.
Paneg.
Const. Aug.*

The other troops that remained of the tyrant's army could not but be liable to strong suspicions. Constantine therefore, not chusing to keep them near him, sent them to the Rhine and the Danube, there to forget the pleasures of Italy, and fight against the Barbarians. Perhaps he incorporated among them the broken prætorians, thereby reducing them to the level of legionary soldiers.

Constantine's care to repair all the mischief which Maxentius had done in Rome.
*Anon. &
Naz.
Paneg.
Buz. de vit.
Const. l.
41, & 43.*

The senate, which had been cruelly harassed and oppressed by Maxentius, found a deliverer in Constantine. We have already seen the orator Nazarius reckoning as the finest ornament of this generous conqueror's triumph, the nobles and consulars taken out of the prisons into which the tyrant had thrown them. Constantine likewise recalled the banished, and restored to their estates those who had been unjustly deprived of them. Besides these acts of beneficence towards great numbers of private persons, he expressed, both by his speeches and his actions, an ardent zeal for the honour of the senate in general, which he re-instated in its ancient rights, and rendered more illustrious than before, by adding to it the greatest men of the different provinces, that this august assembly might contain the choicest flowers of the whole empire.

He made the people love him, without flattering or corrupting them. The poor felt his liberalities of all kinds. Mild, affable, and easy of access, serenity and majesty were pictured in his countenance. Knowing how fond the Romans were of shews he treated them with games, at which he assisted in person; carrying his complaisance in that respect beyond the bounds prescribed by Christianity, of which he perhaps did not yet know all the severity. But, on the other hand, he was ever watchful to prevent every licentiousness that might have disturbed the tranquillity of the city. He kept the people within the bounds of their duty
by

by a prudent firmness, and as much through their affection and respect for him, as through the fear of punishment.

The embellishing of the city was likewise an object of his care. He built baths, and decorated the great circus with new and magnificent ornaments, and several porticos. In these expences, his modesty was apparent; as the honour of the buildings still reflected more on their original founders, than on him who only adorned them. *Anrel. Vict. & Nazari.*

One of the most detested parts of Maxentius's tyranny was his unbounded debauchery and lust, which respected no law, nor made any scruple of employing violence when seduction could not compass his ends. Constantine, always temperate, always chaste, knew none but lawful pleasures. Under his * empire, no handsome woman had cause to repent that nature had been bountiful to her. Beauty was not in his eyes an incentive to licentiousness, but the ornament of modesty.

I have already said, that Constantine made a law against informers. A revolution brought about by a civil war was a fine opportunity for those pests of society to avail themselves of. How many researches, how many accusations, would they not have set on foot, if the conqueror had been disposed to listen to them? Constantine prevented the evil, ready to spring up anew, by laws more severe than the former, condemning informers to suffer death, if they failed to prove any part of their allegation. *Tillem. Const. 27. & 31.*

Another law, well worthy of the justice and humanity of a great prince, provided for the relief of the poor, whom the collectors of the public money often loaded with heavier taxes than fell to their share, purely that they might favour the rich. Constantine made

* Nullam matronarum cujus forma emendatior fuerit, boni sui piguit, quum sub abstinentissimo imperatore species luculentata non incitatrix licentiæ esset, sed pudoris ornatrix. *Nazar.*

made a new regulation to prevent this odious and tyrannical partiality.

By a conduct so prudent in every respect *, he repaired, if we believe a panegyrist, in only two months that he staid at Rome, the evils of a six years tyranny: or, if there be any exaggeration in this expression, at least he cannot be refused the praise of having put that city in a way to recover the flourishing condition which became the capital of the world.

Marks of
the affec-
tion of the
public to-
wards Con-
stantine.
*Ann. &
Naz. Pa-
neg.*

So many virtues succeeding an assemblage of every vice could not but secure to Constantine the admiration, respect, and love of the people, who accordingly ran from all parts of Italy to see with their own eyes the benefactor and deliverer of the empire, in whom the most valuable qualities of the mind and heart were accompanied by the personal advantages of a graceful body, a pleasing countenance, an easy deportment mixed with a becoming dignity, and the firmness of a man blended with the bloom of youth.

Africa, which Maxentius had re-conquered, as I said before, and re-united to his dominions the year before his fall, submitted with pleasure to Constantine's laws. The head of the tyrant, who had desolated it by his vexations and cruelties, was sent thither. A pleasing sight to the inhabitants of that province, and a strong invitation to them gladly to receive the laws of the prince who had avenged their cause.

*Lactant.
44.*

The senate shewed its gratitude to Constantine, by assigning him the first rank among the Augusti. Maximin was indeed entitled to that pre-eminence, as the elder associate to the honours of the imperial dignity. But the virtues of Constantine justly determined the senate to decide the question in his favour.

That was not the only mark of the public affection for this prince. Every means were employed to shew it; and to eternize his memory: statues, shields, and
crowns

* Quidquid mali sexennio toto dominatio feralis infixerat. bi-
mestris fere cura sanavit. *Nazar.*

crowns of gold and silver; and edifices were consecrated to his name and glory, though built by Maxentius. I have already said that the city of Cirte in Africa, which he helped to recover from the injuries it had suffered from that tyrant in the war against Alexander, assumed the name of Constantine. But the noblest and most lasting monument of the victory gained over Maxentius, is the triumphal arch which the senate and Roman people erected to Constantine, and which still subsists to this day. The inscription upon it deserves to be inserted here.

IMP. CÆS. FL. CONSTANTINO MAXIMO
 P. F. AUGUSTO S. P. Q. R.
 QUOD INSTINCTU DIVINITATIS MENTIS
 MAGNITUDE CUM EXERCITU SUO
 TAM DE TYRANNO QUAM DE OMNI EJUS
 FACTIONE UNO TEMPORE JUSTIS
 REMPUBLICAM ULTUS EST ARMIS
 ARCUM TRIUMPHIS INSIGNEM DICAVIT.

*Antiq.
 Evol. T.
 IV. &
 Nardini
 Romæstat.
 VI. 15.*

That is to say: *To the Emperor Cæsar Flavius Constantine Augustus, the Greatest, the Pious, and the Happy, who by the inspiration of the Divinity, and the greatness of his courage, with the help of his army, avenged the republic by his just arms, and at the same time rescued it from the tyrant and all his faction; the senate and Roman people have dedicated this triumphal arch, as a monument of their gratitude.*

On one side of the arch are the words *LIBERATORI URBIS, To the Deliverer of the city*; and on the other, *FUNDATORI QUIETIS, To the Founder of public tranquillity.*

It is to be observed, that we do not find in this inscription the ancient titles which the emperors had used to take. No mention is made in it either of the tribunitian power, or the proconsular power, or even of Constantine's consulship. We may therefore the less wonder at the omission of the quality of high-priest, which would otherwise deserve some attention.

The naming of the army, and giving it a share in the honour of the exploit and of the monument, was the consequence and effect of the enormous power which the soldiery had obtained in the empire.

Antiquarians observe that the *basso-relievos* and other carvings upon this arch are of two different kinds of workmanship. Those on the upper part are good, and seem to them to have been borrowed and removed from Trajan's Square. They think they see in them the taste of that emperor's age, and some of his exploits. The others are of the same date as the arch itself, and prove by their clumsiness how much the polite arts were decayed in the days of Constantine.

The decree for erecting this arch was, doubtless, passed immediately after the defeat of Maxentius. But it appears from the monument itself, that the building was not finished and dedicated till the tenth year of Constantine's reign, that is to say, till the year of Christ 315, or 316.

Statue of
Constantine in
Rome,
holding in
one hand a
cross, with
a religious
inscription.
Euseb.
Hist. Eccl.
IX. 9.

The essential part of the glory of a Christian prince would be wanting in Constantine, if he had not ascribed to Christ a victory which he owed to his divine protection. But he acquitted himself faithfully of that great duty. He was neither puffed up by the endless praises he received, nor by the profusion of honours that were heaped upon him: and that they might be directed to their proper source, he ordered that a statue which was erected to him in the most frequented part of the city, should hold in its right hand a cross, with an inscription, in which he himself addressed the Roman people in these words: BY THIS SALUTARY SIGN, THE TROPHY OF TRUE VALOUR, I DELIVERED YOUR CITY FROM THE YOKE OF THE TYRANT, AND RESTORED THE SENATE AND ROMAN PEOPLE TO THEIR ANCIENT SPLENDOUR.

We should have been glad to give this inscription in its original language: but we have only Eusebius's translation of it into Greek.

It was likewise a duty of religion incumbent on Constantine to deliver the Christians, his brethren, from the oppression they had groaned under for ten years past. He had granted them liberty of conscience in his dominions, in the beginning of his reign. He found them in possession of the same privilege in those he conquered from Maxentius: and Licinius, now his ally and his friend, could not fail to protect them at his request. But they had still an enemy in Maximin, who, after suspending the persecution against them in consequence of Galerius's edict, soon renewed it with great fury, as I shall have occasion to relate more fully in the sequel of this work: besides this, Constantine looked upon him as his secret enemy, and Maxentius's papers had discovered to him their mutual intelligence. However, as both sides dissembled, and still kept up an outward shew of friendship, Constantine made no doubt but that decency on one hand, and fear on the other, would oblige Maximin to conform to the desire of his colleagues. Upon this supposition, before he left Rome, he issued in his own name and in that of Licinius an edict, by which, after amplifying the former favours granted to the Christians, he permitted them to assemble publicly and build churches.

Edict published at Rome by Constantine in favour of the Christians.

Lact. 43.

44.

Font. Hist. Eccl. IX. 9.

He sent his edict to Maximin, who was extremely mortified at seeing it. He hated the Christians, and did not like to be forced by his colleagues, whom he considered as rivals, to act in his own dominions in a manner contrary to his inclination. On the other hand, not to grant any part of their demand, would be declaring war against them. In this perplexity, he took a middle way, and, in a rescript addressed to his praetorian prefect Sabinus, after mentioning Dioclesian and * Galerius, whom he calls his lords and fathers, he at first expresses a desire to maintain, in imitation of their example,

Maximin is obliged to conform to it, at least in part.

* The text says *Maximian*; by which I am confident, is meant Maximian Galerius, and not Maximian Hercules, whom Maximin could not call his father.

example, the worship of the gods of the empire. But afterwards, considering the great number of the Christians, and that the state would be deprived of useful subjects by banishing or proscribing them, he forbids any ill treatment to be used towards them, and declares that his design is to bring them by caresses and mildness to what he calls the right way. Such was the mitigation which Constantine's piety procured to the Christians of Asia and the East. Their enemies ceased to make war against them, but they did not enjoy the free exercise of their religion; nor indeed were they totally exempt from the danger of being killed: for if Maximin found an opportunity of having a Christian thrown privately into the sea, he never missed it. However, as all public executions ceased, and as the laws expressly forbid at least all open violence against the Christians, Eusebius reckons this year, the 312th of Christ, and the tenth of the persecution ordered by Dioclesian, as the last, and the epoch of the peace restored to the church. Lactantius postpones that happy event to the time of Maximin's ruin.

Lactant.
38.

The end of
Dioclesian's persecution.

Euseb.
Hist.

Eccl. VIII.
16.

Beginning
of the indiction.
Tallem.

This same year (312) is that in which several of the learned place the beginning of the Roman indiction, the origin and use of which we leave to the examination of chronologers.

Interview
between
Constantine and
Licinius at
Milan.

Marriage
of Licinius
with Constantia.

Lactant. 45.
Zon.

New edict
in favour
of the
Christians.
Euseb. X.
6.

Constantine, after having staid somewhat more than two months at Rome, where he probably took possession of his third consulship on the first of January 313, removed to Milan, to be present at the celebration of the nuptials between his sister and Licinius. These two emperors had always lived in harmony, and were now glad to cement their union more closely by a personal alliance.

While they were together at Milan, they made a new edict in favour of the Christians, to explain and enlarge that which was dated from Rome. They added to it an important article, permitting them to take possession, without any proceedings at law, and without

without paying any thing, of the churches and cemetēries of which they had been stripped: and as those places had passed, by sale, or by donations of the emperors, into the hands of private persons, the edict ordered the treasury to indemnify such proprietors as should be dispossessed.

This edict, however, was not confined to the Christians only. It granted liberty of conscience to the professors of any religion whatever. There are even expressions in it not over orthodox, and much more agreeable to the uncertainties of the Pagans with regard to the divine nature, than to the clear and positive system of Christianity: from whence it follows, that Constantine was even then not well informed, and that he thought he might lawfully shew a very great degree of complaisance for a colleague, who never was a Christian; and for subjects, of which the greatest part adhered strongly to their ancient errors.

Constantine did not stay long at Milan. Early in the spring he was upon the borders of the Lower Rhine, whether he was called by a new danger which threatened Gaul: and his arrival hindered the Franks from passing the river. But his plan was not to remain posted over against them, merely to guard it. He wanted to give them such a lesson, as should cure them, at least for some time, of the desire of making incursions upon the territories of the empire. With this view, he laid a snare for them. He spread a report, that a sudden commotion upon the Upper Rhine obliged him to go thither to check it: and in effect he removed to some distance, leaving upon the spot a number of troops with orders to keep themselves concealed as much as possible. The Franks, deceived by appearances, and thinking none were in the way to oppose them, passed the river, and began, as usual, to ravage the country: upon which Constantine, who had a fleet ready, immediately fell down the Rhine to the place where they were, and at the same time his other troops sallying out from this ambuscade, fell upon

Constantine marches to the Rhine, and gains a victory over the Franks. Anon. P^{te}. 1. *Ann. Aug. Zer.*

upon the plunderers, who, having no resource either by land or by water, were soon cut to pieces. Besides a great number of dead, which they left upon the spot, the Romans took many prisoners, on whom Constantine inflicted the same punishment as he had before subjected others of their countrymen to on a like occasion. They were exposed to wild beasts: a cruel treatment, if it was not absolutely indispensable.

Painful
death of
Dioclesian,
after a se-
ries of
great trou-
ble.

Whilst Constantine triumphed over tyrants and Barbarians, Dioclesian was at length punished for his hatred of Christianity, and ended by a painful death, a life in which he had not had one moment's peace of mind since the fatal edict by which he kindled up the persecution against the worshippers of the true God. From that moment, he was struck with a long and grievous illness, of which he never rightly recovered. Forced afterwards to strip himself of the empire, much against his will, his retirement seemed to promise him some tranquillity: but he found it filled with thorns. His statues beaten down with those of Maximian Hercules, by the side of which they were placed, gave him the first cause of uneasiness. But the melancholy fate of his wife Prisca, and of his daughter Valeria, overwhelmed him with bitter grief.

Zenon.
42.

They had enjoyed the honours due to their rank during the life of Galerius, to whom Valeria was married, and at whose court Prisca remained with her daughter. Galerius dying, recommended his wife to Licinius, in whom he had a great confidence, founded on the many favours this last had received at his hands. But Licinius, whose heart was bad, instead of respecting the widow of him to whom he owed every thing, quarrelled with her about her dower, and used her very ill, in order, as afterwards appeared, to force her to marry him. Valeria thinking to find better treatment from Maximin, who was married, fled into his territories with her mother, her husband's natural son Candidianus, whom she had adopted, and Severianus, the son of Severus. She was greatly mistaken in her hopes,

35.

40.

39—41.

hopes. Maximin, whose passions knew no bounds, and who, besides, thought perhaps of turning to his own advantage the pretensions which the daughter of Dioclesian might have to the whole empire, no sooner saw her at his court, than he solicited her to marry him, offering to that end to repudiate his wife. Valeria, who was virtuous, and had retained, from her former attachment to Christianity, at least the strictness of its morals, was thoroughly sensible of the indecency of Maximin's demand. She therefore answered resolutely, that it would ill become her to listen to a proposal of marriage while she was yet in mourning for her husband, the adoptive father of the very person who wanted to succeed him: that Maximin's offering to divorce his wife, shewed him to be of so unfeeling a disposition, as could not but give her room to apprehend that she herself might be treated with equal inhumanity, if she ever put herself in his power; and, in short, that a princess of her rank ought not to think of a second marriage. Maximin was highly incensed at this refusal, for which he revenged himself upon Valeria with all the cruelty of a tyrant. He stripped her of her estate, and took from her the ladies that attended her, some of whom, especially those which were her greatest favourites, he even condemned to death, upon a false charge of adultery. The eunuchs that waited on her were put to the most cruel torments; and she herself was banished with her mother, sometimes to one place, and sometimes to another, their exile being never fixed to any particular spot. Valeria, from the remotest part of the deserts of Syria, informed her father of her sufferings. Dioclesian felt them severely, and begged, both by letters and messengers, that his daughter might be sent to him. But his request was disregarded; and he had the additional mortification of being no longer able to relieve, from misery and bondage, all that was dearest to him in the world.

Uic. Epit.

To this grief, already very violent, was added a new one, which quite over-powered him. Constantine and Licinius having invited him to Milan for the ceremony of Constantia's marriage, he excused himself on account of his age and infirmities. The two princes thereupon wrote him menacing letters, in which they accused him of having favoured Maxentius, and of having then an understanding with Maximin. These reproaches have not the least shadow of truth, and I wish it were possible to lay the blame of them upon Licinius, rather than upon Constantine. Dioclesian was alarmed by them, and feared for his life. His head, weakened by old age and illness, could not sustain this violent blow. He was seized with such an agitation of body and of mind, as did not suffer him to rest either day or night; but he rolled himself sometimes upon his bed, sometimes on the ground, and spent his whole time in sighs, groans, and tears. A situation like this could not but soon bring a weak old man to the grave. According to some authors, he did not wait for that effect; but either starved, or poisoned himself. A memorable example, which ought for ever to have cured all sovereigns of the thought of abdicating their power. In the judgment of men, Dioclesian may seem to deserve pity. In the eyes of God, he merited the greatest humiliation for his pride, and an unnatural death for his cruelties against the saints.

*Constant.
92**Uic.
Hist. Eccl.
VII. 17.
Constant. &
Uic. Epit.**Uic. Epit.*

He died in his retirement at Salona, in the ninth year after his abdication, the sixty-eighth of his age, and the 313th of Christ. Great honours were paid to his memory: and a magnificent tomb was erected to him, which was still covered with purple in the time of Constantius the son of Constantine. He was ranked among the gods: a prerogative, says Eutropius, which never was bestowed upon any other man who died in a private station. This apotheosis equally misplaced and irreligious, cannot be laid to the charge of Constantine, who then professed himself a Christian. It must be imputed to Licinius and Maximin, who

*Ann.
Uic.
& XVI.**Eutrop.*

had

had offended Dioclesian whilst he lived, and whom it cost nothing to honour him after he was dead.

This was perhaps the very last thing these two princes did in concert. War broke out between them shortly after, and made a new change in the empire, of which it will now be proper to view the situation at the time we are speaking of.

By the defeat and death of Maxentius, the Roman empire was shared between three masters: Constantine, who possessed all the West, except Illyricum; Licinius, who reigned in Illyricum, under which Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, were included; and Maximin, who held Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. Constantine and Licinius were allied, Maximin feigned a desire to keep up a good understanding with his colleagues: but in fact he hated them, and was suspected by them. Besides his connections with Maxentius, other causes of enmity made an actual division between them, notwithstanding the outside shew of harmony and good will which policy induced them reciprocally to keep up. The reader may remember that Maximin was made Cæsar in prejudice of Constantine, and that Constantine, in his turn, was declared the first Augustus by the senate, in prejudice to Maximin. An open war had been very near breaking out between Maximin and Licinius on account of the succession to Galerius, and the treaty of partition to which they agreed out of necessity, and through fear of each other, had neither decided their pretensions, nor ended their animosities. Even Christianity became a subject of strife and hatred among the three princes. Constantine professed it, Licinius protected it, and Maximin was its implacable enemy. This last article requires some explanation and detail.

Maximin, the nephew and creature of Galerius, could not fail to espouse the sentiments of his uncle and benefactor. He was, of himself, so bigotted to superstition, as to create new priests and new pontiffs in almost all the cities and towns of his dominions,

State of the empire after the defeat and death of Maxentius.

The Christians persecuted by Maximin. *Euseb. Hist. Eccl. VIII. 12. 14. & 18.*
and *l. 9.*

Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 10. c. 6.
—33. and blindly to put an intire confidence in soothsayers and astrologers, with which he filled his court. This was more than enough to render him an ardent persecutor of the Christians, whose virtues he likewise hated, because every vice was centered in his own person. His unbounded avarice ruined the provinces: his excessive drinking destroyed his reason, and often made him give orders at night which he repented the next morning: and his horrid and tyrannical debaucheries were such, as no modest person can even attempt to describe. Crowning all these detestable qualities with an equally mad and stubborn attachment to idolatry, he at first shed torrents of blood of good and holy men: but finding afterwards, that the most cruel kinds of death served only to increase Christianity, instead of destroying it; he took another method, which he boasted of as a proof of his mildness and indulgence, and which consisted in putting out the right eye, and ham-stringing the left leg of all the Christian prisoners, and then sending them to work in the mines, where they were treated with inexpressible barbarity. The edict published by Galerius just before his death, ordering the persecution to be stopped, forced Maximin to grant the Christians some respite. But it did not last long. Again master of his actions, by the death of that emperor, and at liberty to follow his own inclination, he renewed his fury against them, with this only difference, that, not to contradict himself openly, he now sought for pretences, and endeavoured artfully to cloak his violences.

To defame Christianity by attacking its author, he industriously published false accounts of the death of Jesus Christ, newly fabricated with such consummate impudence and ignorance, that the death of our Saviour, ordered by Pilate, was by them placed under the fourth consulship of Tiberius, that is to say, full five years before Pilate ever entered Judea. Yet as these acts were full of abuse and blasphemy against Christ, Maximin set a great value on them,
con-

commanded that they should be posted up in all the public places of the city and in the country, and ordered all school-masters to make their scholars learn them by heart.

At the same time a duke (*dux*,) or general of the Roman troops in Syria, having taken up two women of bad fame at Damascus, forced them by menaces to swear that they had been Christians, and, as such, witnesses of the abominations which the Christians practised in their assemblies. He drew up a verbal process of this declaration, and sent it to the emperor, who triumphed in it, and ordered it to be published throughout the whole extent of his empire.

Though men thus traduced might appear, to those who knew no better, objects worthy of public chastisement; yet Maximin, still continuing to brag of his pretended mildness, and to act in consequence thereof a feigned part, would not proceed against them as of his own accord. But he instigated the cities of his dominions to demand the expulsion of the Christians, whose numbers, he made them say, polluted and defiled them. Antioch set the example, which was soon followed by all the rest. It was the way to please the sovereign. Maximin returned a favourable answer to their petitions, of which he was himself the secret author, and issued accordingly an ordinance, which was engraved on plates of brass, and fixed up in all the cities, to perpetuate the shame of those he hated.

In this ordinance, which Eusebius has preserved, Maximin boasted of the happiness of his reign, calling it the reward of his zeal for the worship of the gods. He congratulated himself on the fidelity of the earth, which, said he, restored with ample interest the seed intrusted to it; on the constant order of the seasons, which he did not suffer any alteration, prejudicial to the health of the body; and on the profound peace which his dominions enjoyed. But the divine Providence thought proper to confound this haughty and
impious

impious language, by sending barrenness and famine, which desolated the country; a contagious distemper which depopulated it, and which attacked particularly the eyes, as a palpable vengeance for the many Christians whose right eyes the tyrant had ordered to be put out; and lastly, an unhappy war, to which Maximin's own rashness first gave birth, and of which the bad success was but the beginning of his misfortunes.

This war is particularly remarkable for having been the first that was undertaken on account of religion. Would to God it had also been the last! Maximin, through one of those odd turns of mind which cannot be accounted for, not satisfied with persecuting the Christians in his own dominions, extended his furious zeal to a people who were not subjects of the empire. Christianity flourished among the Armenians: though we cannot say exactly when or how they first received it. The Roman emperor declared war against them, in order to force them to return to idolatry: but all he got by it was fatigue and disgrace to himself and his army. Terrified by the union of Constantine and Licinius, and judging that he must either destroy them, or perish himself, he desisted from a prosecution of this expedition.

The wrath of heaven not only avenged the Christians, but turned to their honour and advantage, by affording them a glorious opportunity of exercising their pious charity. Amidst the horrors of the pestilence and famine, they alone shewed a tenderness and compassion, burying those that died of the infection, and distributing bread to the famished poor. A behaviour by which they made even the Pagans themselves praise and bless the God whose worshippers fulfilled so well the duties of humanity.

Such was the situation of affairs with regard to the Christians, who began to be looked upon in a more favourable light, when their persecutor received from Constantine and Licinius the edict passed at Rome in their behalf; to comply with which, at least in part,
he

he published the order of which I before gave the substance. It was much against his will that he mitigated his rigour: and he looked upon the necessity which his colleagues laid him under in that respect, as a new injury done to him. He dissembled, however, his resentment; and secretly made preparations to attack Licinius, and fall upon him, if possible, when he should neither expect it, nor be prepared to receive him.

He was very near succeeding. Whilst Licinius was at Milan, for the ceremony of his marriage, Maximin put himself at the head of an army of seventy thousand men, which he had assembled in Bithynia, passed the Straights without opposition, took Byzantium after a siege of eleven days, forced Heraclea to submit, and was marching on, when Licinius met him. This prince, upon the first notice of the danger, had hastened with only a few men from Italy to Andrinople, from whence he gave immediate orders for collecting the neighbouring troops, and having got together thirty thousand men, he put himself at their head; less with a design to fight the enemy with such unequal forces, than barely to stop his progress.

Maximin was full of confidence. The number of his troops, and his first successes, elated his courage. But above all, he depended upon the predictions of his priests and astrologers, who promised him certain victory: and in the enthusiasm of his superstitious joy, he made a vow to Jupiter to extirpate Christianity, after he should have conquered Licinius. He even flattered himself that he should not have occasion to fight: hoping that his prodigality towards the soldiers, on one hand, and Licinius's more severe government of them, on the other, would bring his adversary's army over to him voluntarily. His projects did not end there: for he purposed, after destroying Licinius, to march against Constantine, to strip him, and to make himself master of the whole empire.

Maximin attacks Licinius, and carries the war into his dominions. *Euz. IX. 10. Lactant. 45-47.*

But Licinius was protected by heaven. Of this there can be no doubt, since he remained conqueror. Whether we ought to believe upon the credit of Lactantius, that an angel appeared to him in a dream, and dictated to him a form of prayer, which he remembered, and made all his officers and soldiers get by heart, and by repeating of which before the battle, he gained the day, is what I shall not pretend to determine. That so signal a favour should be granted to a Pagan prince, and especially to one whom we shall soon see become a cruel persecutor of Christianity would indeed be very wonderful.

He is conquered, and perishes soon after by a shocking death.

What is certain, is that the two armies engaged on the last day of April, in the plain called Serena, between Andrinople and Heraclea, and that Licinius, notwithstanding the inequality of his forces, gained a complete victory. The greatest part of Maximin's army perished: the rest abandoned him; and he himself, disguised in the habit of a slave to conceal his flight, did not think himself safe till he had left the sea between his conqueror and him, and was arrived at Nicomedia. Nor did he stay even there: but continuing his route towards the East, the first place he stopped at was in Cappadocia, where he assembled a fresh body of troops, with which he thought he might be able again to try his fortune.

Lactant. 48.

Licinius crossed over into Bithynia; but did not hurry himself to pursue a fugitive who could not escape him. He was still at Nicomedia on the thirteenth of June, when he published there the edict which he and Constantine had made at Milan, granting liberty of conscience to all the subjects of the empire, and to the Christians, in particular, several advantages. Dioclesian's first edict of persecution was published in the same city, about ten years and four months before.

Euzeb.

The peace of the church was now full and general. For Maximin, convinced that his priests and gods had deceived him, first vented his fury upon them, massacring

massacring those that were about him; and afterwards did justice to the Christians, by an edict greatly in their favour.

But his penance was as insincere as that of Galerius: nor was it more effectual to disarm the vengeance of a justly incensed deity. Upon the approach of Licinius, who was advancing to complete the ruin of his adversary, Maximin retired to Tarsus in Cilicia, leaving his best troops to guard the passes of mount Taurus. He had not the courage to put himself at the head of this body, which was his last resource: and when he learnt the news of its defeat, he gave himself up to despair, resolved upon death, and after eating and drinking as much as he could by way of bidding a last farewell to pleasure, he swallowed poison. The victuals with which he had loaded his stomach, hindered the venom from taking a speedy effect. Its operation became slow, and was attended with dreadful torments. For several days he felt a violent fire in his bowels, which preyed upon and actually consumed him, till he was quite dried up, and looked like a burnt carcase. That his punishment might have the nearer affinity to his crimes, his eyes dropped out of his head; and when blind, he thought he saw Jesus Christ ready to judge him. He begged for mercy, implored his forgiveness, and died amidst these dreadful torments of body and of mind, towards the month of August in the year of Christ 313.

The conqueror Licinius exterminated the family of this unhappy prince, and all that remained of the race of the persecutors. Maximin's wife was drowned in the Orontes: a death to which she had sentenced numbers of innocent and virtuous ladies. Her son, eight years of age, and her daughter, who was but seven, and was then betrothed to Candidianus the son of Galerius, were put to death. Candidianus himself, and Severianus the son of Severus, likewise lost their lives, upon a suspicion of their intending to assert their claims to the empire: and lastly, Prisca and Valeria, one the

Lactant.
49. & *Hu-*
sch.

Tillem.

His fami-
ly, and all
that rem-
ained of
the race of
the perse-
cutors, is
extermi-
nated by
Lac-
inius.
Lactant. 50.
& Euseb.
IX. 11.

widow, and the other the daughter of Dioclesian, after being hunted and pursued for fifteen months, during which they perpetually changed their retreat, to avoid falling into the hands of their implacable enemy, could not escape the vengeance of heaven, of which Licinius was only the instrument. They were discovered at Thessalonica, condemned, and publicly executed, and their bodies thrown into the sea.

We are not told what crime was imputed to them. Probably they were accused and convicted of corresponding with Candidianus and Severianus, in whom they might well repose more confidence than in Licinius, who had always used them ill. Their real crime before God, was their having had the weakness to renounce the truth after having known it, and to defile themselves with idolatrous sacrifices, contrary to the light of their own conscience. It does not appear that they ever atoned for this fall; but, on the contrary, there is great reason to believe that they professed the impieties of Paganism to their death.

Maximin had not even the poor advantage of being honoured after his death: a distinction which had been granted to the other persecuting princes. As he was succeeded by the person whose arms had conquered him, his memory was stigmatized by the most dishonouring decrees. He was declared a tyrant and a public enemy: his honours were destroyed, his monuments razed, his statues thrown down, and his pictures torn or defaced. Every kind of ignominy was heaped upon him: and he by so much the more deserved this treatment, as he had never shewn himself in the least worthy of his usurped grandeur.

Zosimus observes that the year of the third consulship of Constantine and Licinius, which was that of the defeat and death of Maximin, ought to have been distinguished by the celebration of secular games; an hundred and ten years having elapsed since those that were given by Septimius Severus. He takes no notice of those of the emperor Philip, of which he per-
haps

haps was ignorant. But, like a zealous idolater, he is very angry with Constantine for omitting that important ceremony, of such essential consequence, says he, to the happiness of the Roman empire. This is a strong testimony in favour of the piety of Constantine, who either abolished the most solemn festivals of the Pagans, or countenanced their being disused, and consequently dropped.

There now remained but two princes in the empire, Constantine and Licinius, who had hitherto been closely united, but whom difference of sentiments, temper, and interest, soon divided. Zosimus attests, that Constantine demanded of Licinius a new partition of the empire, after the death of Maximin: and I do not in this see any thing either difficult to believe, or unreasonable to be asked. As they were the only two remaining *Augusti*, their territories ought to be equal. But if Licinius added the countries which had obeyed Maximin, that is to say, Asia Minor, the east, and Egypt, to Illyricum taken in its full extent which I have already described more than once, his share was much greater than that of Constantine, who had only Italy, Africa, Gaul, Britain, and Spain. It would have been idle in Licinius to alledge the right of conquest: for besides that, Constantine might have claimed a share in the victory, as having secured the tranquillity of Licinius's operations, by defending the frontiers of the empire against the barbarians of the north; his right was fixed by the nature and constitution of the state. He and Licinius were not confederates, or allies, but colleagues. Their dominions were not parted or severed. Though there was not so great and frequent an intercourse or communication between them, as had subsisted between Dioclesian and Maximian, yet they were two heads of one and the same empire. Consequently all things ought to have been equal between them: and he that had the least or weakest share, was not only interested, but had a real right to demand such an augmentation as

should restore a perfect equilibrium between them. I cannot therefore see that Zosimus has the least sort of reason to accuse Constantine of injustice and perfidy on this occasion; unless there was some prior agreement between them, which that author does not explain.

Licinius was far from relishing Constantine's demand. The bare mention of diminishing his dominions affronted him highly: and as he was brave and experienced in the art of war, he was not at all alarmed at the necessity of having recourse to arms.

Such was, undoubtedly, the true cause of the war which broke out between Constantine and Licinius the very year after the death of Maximin. It is added, that Licinius favoured a conspiracy carried on in Italy against his colleague. If so, Constantine is still farther justified.

*Anon. Val-
lex. ap. Am-
mian.
Zor.*

The two emperors, each at the head of his army, met near Cibalis in Pannonia. This city lay between the Drave and the Save, not far from Sirmium. This position shews that Licinius had let his antagonist get the start of him, and bring the war into his country. He had a vigilant enemy in Constantine, whose activity was such, that whilst he undertook and conducted in person a difficult and dangerous war, he directed the holding of a council at Arles, for the affairs of the Donatists. But this last transaction does not belong to my plan, to which I therefore confine myself.

The two armies soon engaged, and the battle was sharp and obstinate. It lasted from morning till night: when at length Constantine's right wing, getting the better of its opponents, led the way to a complete victory. Licinius, conquered, and finding no resource, fled to Sirmium, and from thence, after breaking down the bridge which was in that city over the Save, to Andrinople, there to raise new forces in order to stop the progress of his enemy.

Constantine, master of the field of battle and of the camp of the vanquished, went to Sirmium, repaired the

the bridge which Licinius had broken, and immediately marched in pursuit of him. He crossed the upper Mœsia and Aurelian's Dacia, being received every where as conqueror, and arrived at Philippopolis in Thrace, where he was met by an ambassador from Licinius, with proposals for an amicable agreement. But he himself had rendered this impracticable, by a new and extraordinary step, the motive of which is not easy to be guessed, and which could not but incense Constantine to the highest degree. Licinius, after the battle of Cibalis, created a Cæsar, and his choice fell upon Valens, a man otherwise little known, of whom Constantine speaks with the utmost contempt in an answer which Peter Patricius has preserved, and who was probably destitute of recommendation, or at least had none by his birth.

The degrading of this rival was a preliminary on which Constantine insisted before he would listen to any terms; and on Licinius's refusing to agree to it, a second battle was fought near a place called Mardia, between Philippopolis and Andrinople.

Neither of the parties could claim the victory, nor could either of them be said to be vanquished, in this engagement: but their nearly equal losses facilitated an accommodation.

Constantine, however, gave the law. Valens was deposed, and even killed by order of Licinius, who had raised him in hopes of promoting his own interest, and who sacrificed him without the least difficulty the moment he found him hurtful to his views. A much more sensible mortification to him, was his being obliged to relinquish great part of what he possessed in Europe. By the treaty that was now concluded, he reserved to himself, on this side of the sea, only Thrace, the lower Mœsia, and the lesser Scythia towards the mouth of the Danube, and abandoned all the rest to Constantine, who by this means gained by the war a considerable increase of power, great part of Illyricum, Macedonia, and Greece.

This

This peace
last eight
years.

This peace, though concluded upon very unequal terms, had not the fate of most forced peaces, which generally are only a short interval spent in preparations for a new war. It lasted eight whole years, and consequently gave the Roman empire time to recover, in some degree, from the continual shocks and convulsions it had suffered ever since the death of Constantius Chlorus. The two emperors were sufficiently powerful to respect and fear each other, and they seemed to live in perfect harmony for a considerable time. Three years after the peace of Andrinople, that is to say, in the year of Christ 317, they mutually agreed to raise their sons to the dignity of Cæsars. Constantine had two; Crispus, born of his first wife Minervina, and who was then entering on the age of puberty; and Constantine, the eldest of his children by Fausta, and who seems to have been born in the preceding year, 316. Licinius had by Constantia a son, who, at the time we are speaking of, was but twenty months old. These three young princes, the two last of which were but infants in the cradle, were created Cæsars, and appointed consuls for the three following years: and the better to signalize the union of the two imperial families, Licinius took the consulship with Crispus Cæsar, and Constantine with the son of Licinius.

*Talem.
Const. art.
41.*

Licinius
persecutes
the Chris-
tians, first
under-
hand, but
afterwards
openly.
*Eus. Chron.
& de vit.
Const. I. 49
—54. & II.
1. 2.*

In the year 321 the seeds of discord began again to grow between the two emperors. This I judge from the alteration in Licinius's conduct with respect to the Christians. Till then, he had protected them; but in that year he drove them from his palace. A proof that he no longer courted or valued the friendship of Constantine, whose zeal for his religion, and affection for those that professed it, he well knew. But that very circumstance, indeed, was one of the motives which induced Licinius to suspect the Christians. He imagined that all his subjects of that persuasion were, in their hearts, attached to Constantine, that their prayers were for him, and that they wished to see him their master. Yet he could not accuse them of the
least

least seditious behaviour. History does not say that any one Christian conspired against Licinius, or refused to obey him in matters purely temporal. But he was determined to believe that they hated him; and in consequence of that belief he hated them, and would have declared open war against them, had he not been withheld by his fear of Constantine. Thus divided between two jarring sentiments, he took a middle course, and, not daring to break the law by which he himself had agreed, jointly with his colleague, to allow the Christians the free exercise of their religion, he resolved, without ordering a persecution, to harass and torment them in such a manner as should produce the same effect.

With this view he published a law, by which he prohibited all intercourse among the bishops, and forbade their visiting one another, and especially their holding assemblies and councils to deliberate upon the common affairs of their churches. "This, says Eusebius, was a well invented artifice to find a pretence to persecute us. Of two things, one could not but be the case. Either we must disobey this law, and thereby render ourselves liable to punishment; or, by submitting to it, we must have violated the laws of the church. For it is not possible that the weighty affairs of religion can be determined otherwise than by councils."

At the same time Licinius removed, as I said before, from about his person and palace, all such as professed Christianity. Old officers, probably eunuchs, or freed-men, whose long services had merited important posts, were not only driven away with ignominy, but stripped of their estates, which the prince confiscated to his own profit, and given as slaves to masters of his choosing, who made them suffer all the hardships of the meanest servitude.

To authorise the infamous calumnies that were published against the Christians, this emperor, though in fact abandoned to the most shocking debaucheries,
and

and guilty of innumerable adulteries, pretended an extraordinary zeal for purity of manners, and undertook to reform what wanted no reformation. By a second law, he forbade the Christian women to assemble in the same churches as the men, or to go to the same places of instruction; insisting that the bishops, instead of explaining themselves the doctrine and mysteries of their religion, should appoint women to catechise the women. This regulation was manifestly impracticable, and tended to deprive one half of the world of the most necessary of all knowledge. This law was therefore not more respected than the former: upon which Licinius, in the same spirit, made a third, ordering, for the convenience of the public, said he, that the Christians should hold their assemblies, not within the cities or inclosed places, but in the fields and in open air.

The non-observance of these ordinances furnished Licinius with the pretence he wanted, to throw off the mask, and vent his fury upon the Christians. He began with those that were employed in the garrisons of the cities, whom he commanded to sacrifice to idols, on pain of being cashiered. He afterwards attacked the bishops, not by a general and open persecution; but, without appearing in it himself, by stirring up against the most illustrious of them the governors of provinces, who, upon accusations as false as they were atrocious, used them cruelly, imprisoned them, and often put them to death, with the additional disgrace of having their bodies cut in pieces and thrown into the sea. The shepherds being thus destroyed, the flocks dispersed, and forests, caves, and deserts became again, as in Dioclesian's persecution, the asylum of the saints. It was chiefly in Pontus that these cruelties were exercised: and at the same time that the bishops were killed, the churches were either shut up, or demolished. To this time also belongs the glorious victory of the forty martyrs at Sebasta in Armenia.

It is proper to observe that the Christians were not the only people who had reason to complain of Licinius's government. He was the curse of all his subjects. Lust, rapine, cruelty, and every vice centered in him. Thence arose endless acts of oppression; dreadful violences committed against the best and most respectable of women, and horrid condemnations and proscriptions of the first men of the state: nay, so far did this barbarous prince forget all sentiments of humanity, as to punish even those who pitied the misfortunes of their fellow creatures: enacting, by an express law, severe penalties against such as should carry food to the prisoners, or procure them any kind of relief.

A prince of this disposition, who resolved the ruin of Christianity, was not likely to desist from his purpose. After having laboured at it for three years, he at length determined, towards the beginning of the year 323, to give it a final blow, by ordering a persecution like those of Dioclesian, or even more severe, when war broke out anew between him and Constantine.

It is difficult to say which of the two was the aggressor. The language and expression of Eusebius seem to imply that it was Constantine, who, after having repeatedly, but in vain, warned Licinius to spare his faithful subjects, at last resolved to vindicate the cause of the persecuted and oppressed servants of God. According to another writer of that time, Licinius first broke the pretended friendship of which he had so long affected to wear the appearance. He found fault with Constantine's having entered his territories, or at least approached too near to them, with an army, in order to repel an invasion of the Goths; complaining of it as an infraction of their treaties, and obstinately insisting on having satisfaction for it. This would have been a poor reason, if it had been the only one. Let us rather say, that the two princes were bent upon war; that the zeal of the one, the fears

The war breaks out anew between Constantine and Licinius.

Eus. de vit. Const. II. 3.

Anon. Vales; apud Amm.

fears of the other, and the policy of both, concurred to render the rupture inevitable; and that it is of little consequence to know which of them began that which they both desired equally.

We do not find that Licinius had been engaged in any war since the treaty of Andrinople. Constantine, during the same interval, was chiefly busied with pacific cares. In the year 315, he celebrated at Rome feasts for the tenth year of his reign; on which occasion Eusebius attests that this pious prince, leaving to the people their profane rejoicings, addressed his devotion and thanksgivings to the only living and true God. He also made a great many laws, of which we may have occasion to speak hereafter. But his arms had not remained quite idle, nor his troops without exercise. In the year 320, Crispus Cæsar, his son, gained a victory over the Franks. He himself, two years after, fought several times, and always with advantage, in Pannonia and Mœsia, against the Sarmatians, who had passed the Danube; and after obliging them to quit the Roman territories, he followed them over that river, and defeated them in their own country. I have spoken of his expedition against the Goths, which perhaps covered a greater design. What is certain, is, that in the beginning of the year 323, all his preparations were made for the war against Licinius.

*Naz.
Paneg.
Const. Aug.
400.*

As he knew the greatness and importance of the naval forces of his adversary, who had in his department Egypt and Phœnicia, countries always famous for their flourishing marine, he had taken care to be able to dispute the empire of the sea, by having a considerable fleet ready to oppose him. He collected what ships he had, and built so many new ones, that his fleet, when joined in the harbour of Piræa, where its general rendezvous was, amounted to two hundred ships of war, and two thousand transports. His land-forces, consisting of an hundred and twenty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, assembled near Thessalonia,

nica,

nica, where he himself was. So numerous and well-disciplined an army might easily have swelled the vanity of a less religious prince. But Constantine placed his chief confidence in the trophy of the cross, *Euseb. II.* which he ordered to be carried at their head; and ^{4, 5.} desired also to be accompanied in this war by holy ministers and bishops, whom he looked upon, says Eusebius, as the guardians of his soul.

Licinius, on the contrary, redoubled his zeal for idolatry. He multiplied the number of sacrifices, and consulted the priests of his false gods, diviners, oracles, and magicians. He made his quarrel a quarrel of religion: and having assembled the principal officers of his troops, in a wood, he declared, by a speech which Eusebius has recorded, that he meant to avenge the insulted gods of the empire, and that the issue of this war should determine whether they, or the God of Constantine, ought to be adored. He thought he might more safely give this kind of chal- ^{Zep.} lenge to Christianity, as his numbers were superior to those of his adversary. His fleet amounted to four hundred and fifty ships of war, and his land-army to an hundred and fifty thousand foot, and fourteen thousand horse. He stationed his fleet at the mouth of the Hellespont, and went himself to Andrinople at the head of his army.

He there met, or waited the coming of Constantine, who, always careful to make the enemy's country the seat of war, advanced from Thessalonica thither, with his army. Licinius was encamped on an eminence which covered Andrinople, having the Hebra before him, and keeping himself upon the defensive. Constantine longed to attack him: but the river was an obstacle, and the two armies remained in sight of each other for several days, without engaging. This inaction was far from suiting the fire and vivacity of Constantine, who to put an end to it, resolved to surprize and deceive the enemy.

The battle of Andrinople, in which Licinius is conquered.

He

He ordered wood to be cut, and cables to be prepared, as if he had intended to throw a bridge over the Hebra: and whilst Licinius's men were employed in trying to hinder the progress of this work, he, with a small detachment went higher up the river, to a place where he knew it to be fordable, passed over himself, and was soon after followed by his whole army. Licinius, thus unexpectedly attacked, and unable to retreat, was forced to fight.

His troops behaved but poorly. Disconcerted with shame and confusion at having suffered themselves to be thus surprised, their spirits drooped: whilst those of Constantine, highly elated, looked upon the success with which they had passed the river as a pledge of victory. The event answered their hopes. Licinius's army was routed, and entirely defeated, his camp was forced and taken, and he himself fled with all possible speed to Byzantium, leaving thirty-four thousand of his men dead upon the field of battle, and the rest dispersed in the neighbouring woods and mountains. The next day, and the following, all these vanquished fugitives submitted to the conqueror, and were kindly received.

Eur. II.
10.

Licinius's
fleet is de-
stroyed at
the mouth
of the Hel-
lespont.
Zoa. &
Anon.
Valer.

Constantine immediately pursued Licinius, blocked him up by land in Byzantium, and at the same time sent orders to his fleet, which was commanded by Crispus Cæsar, and had removed from Piræa to the ports of Macedonia, to go in quest of that of the enemy, and fight it. Crispus accordingly sailed to the mouth of the Hellespont, where Licinius's admiral, Abantus, then was. Both sides prepared for battle: and as the space was narrow, Constantine's commanders judged that eighty of their best ships would be as many as could engage without embarrassing the fight. Abantus, holding them in contempt, bore down upon them with two hundred ships, thinking easily to surround them. But the precipitation and disorder which generally attend presumption, and the difficulty of tack-ling about in a confined channel, turned against Li-
cinius's

cinus's people the advantage they thought to reap from their superior force. Their ships ran foul of one another, broke their oars, and were soon disabled from resisting the enemy, who advanced in good order, undisturbed in any of their operations. Several of Licinius's ships, perished, sinking with the troops on board them. The advantage was, however, not decisive on the other side, when night came on and separated the combatants, who retired, some to Elæus, a haven of Chersonesus, and others to the port of Ajax, towards Asia.

The next day Abantus, hoping to have his revenge, set sail with a north wind, in order to try another battle. Constantine's admirals remained in the road of Elæus, perhaps because they foresaw what was likely to happen. Towards noon, the wind turned from north to south, and blew a violent storm, which entirely destroyed Licinius's fleet. An hundred and thirty ships were wrecked, and five thousand soldiers drowned. Constantine's fleet, whose battle the winds had fought, having then no longer any obstacle in its way, sailed round towards Byzantium, to block up Licinius by sea, as he was already besieged by land.

Constantine had carried on the siege with vigour. He had erected several great works, and among the rest a platform, or terrace, as high as the walls of the city, with several wooden towers upon it, filled with archers and slingers, who annoyed the besieged in such manner, that none of them dared to appear upon the walls which he was now preparing to batter. In this extreme danger, Licinius, plainly seeing that he must inevitably be undone if he staid till the enemy's fleet arrived, took the only step he could take, and fled to Chalcedon with his best troops; not despairing of being still able to raise in Asia a sufficient force to try his fortune again. He likewise thought to encrease his strength by creating the grand master * of his household,

His flies from Byzantium to Chalcedon, and is conquered a second time near Chrysopolis.

Vict. ult. q.

* The title of this office was *magister officiorum*. By *officia* was understood all ministry relative to the service of the prince, not

household, M. Martinianus, Cæsar : and as soon as he had associated him to the sovereign power, he sent him to Lampsacus, to prevent or at least retard the passage of the enemy. He hoped by this to gain time to look about him, to recollect himself, and to raise forces enough to enable him to stand another battle. Nor was he quite mistaken in his plan : for we find that he was at the head of an hundred and thirty thousand men, when his adversary crossed the Streight.

Constantine had, however, not lost any time. The moment he knew of Licinius's retreat to Asia, he resolved to follow him. To that end he made all the necessary preparations, assembling his fleet, on board of which he embarked his army ; and quitting the siege of Byzantium, which was no longer of the same importance to him, he landed at the Sacred Promontory, situated at the entrance of the Euxine Sea, two hundred stadia, or twenty-four miles above Chalcedon. There he drew up his troops, and offered battle to the enemy.

*Euseb. de vit.
Const. II.
15.*

Eusebius tells us, that Licinius then proposed terms of accommodation ; and, which is still more difficult to believe, that Constantine listened to them. He does not say what the conditions of this agreement were to have been : and it certainly is not easy to guess what they could be between two princes, one of whom was in a situation to demand whatever he pleased, the other not yet so far reduced as to be forced to give up every thing. The same author adds, that Licinius had a treacherous intent, and that it was owing to him that the treaty broke off. I cannot help observing, that the whole of Eusebius's work upon the life of

not excepting even military ones. So that this officer, besides superintending what was done within the palace, had also the command of the several bodies of troops destined for the emperor's guard. His authority extended even over the troops of the frontiers, and those who commanded them. As we have no such post, we have not any title that answers to it.

of Constantine is a panegyric, and that no small care and attention is required to distinguish in it what may be relied upon as truth, from that which cannot. I see, for example, no reason to doubt what he says of Constantine's religious practice of having a tent erected, just without his camp, for a cross which was deposited there; or of his retiring thither, and spending a considerable time in prayer, before the beginning of a battle. But can any one believe, upon the word of Eusebius, that this prince, in whose life we shall soon find stains of the blackest dye, was favoured by heaven during his acts of devotion, even with prophetic revelations? It is pity that a writer, so valuable in other respects, has not joined to the many advantages he had for writing a good history, the essential merit of strict fidelity. The truth is, that his writings are of a piece with his life. Ambition and flattery ruled his actions, and also directed his pen.

However it may have been with regard to the pre-^{Zor.} tended negotiation between the two princes, certain it is that their quarrel was at last decided by arms. Licinius, finding that all Bithynia sided with Constantine and acknowledged his laws, recalled Martinianus from Lampsacus, and rather than perish without drawing a sword, chose to hazard a battle. The armies engaged near Chrysopolis, which was a sort of suburbs and the sea-arsenal of Chalcedon; ^{Socrat. l. 4.} and Licinius was totally defeated. Of a hundred and thirty thousand men which he had, a hundred thou-^{Zor.} sand were killed or taken prisoners. The rest dispersed; and he himself fled to Nicomedia, destitute of every resource but the very doubtful hope of moving his conqueror by submission and prayers.

He employed to that end the interest and sollicitations of his wife, the sister of Constantine; and only desired safety for his life, which was promised him, on condition that he should renounce all pretensions to the empire, and put himself in the power of his brother-in-law, now his lord. ^{He obtains his life, and is sent to Theſſalonica.} The agreement was executed.

executed. Constantine advanced towards Nicomedia, and Licinius went out to meet him, divested of every mark of the imperial dignity, called him lord and master, and begging mercy and forgiveness. Constantine repeated his former promise, and sent him to Thessalonica. He spared, with greater reason, the life of the young Licinius; but stripped him of the title and honours of Cæsar. As to the new Cæsar, Martinianus, he put him to death: and this act of rigour, which may be looked upon as necessary, was the only one he committed after his victory. The rest of the vanquished were treated with clemency, as is attested not only by Eusebius, but also by Aurelius Victor, who assures us that the conqueror received graciously, and protected all who had borne arms against him, and even continued them in the possession of their dignities and fortune.

Constantine's generosity contributed greatly to gain him the hearts of all. Byzantium and Chalcedon opened their gates to him immediately after the battle of Chrysopolis, and all the people of Asia and the East soon acknowledged him.

Happiness of the empire reunited under the sole government of Constantine. *Refn. Hist. Eccl. VIII. l. 5. & X. 9.* It must have been a great satisfaction to the Romans, to see the civil wars at last ended, and the whole empire happily re-united in peace under one monarch. I have already observed, that from the death of Constantius Chlorus to the fall of Maxentius, and afterwards to that of Maximin, that is to say, during full seven years, disorder, riot, and confusion, prevailed every where. The state was destroyed by forced partitions between princes either jealous of each other, or at open enmity: the necessary intercourse between the several parts of the empire was cut off: travellers found no safety either by land or by sea: continual wars, or preparations for war, the raising of troops, fabricating of arms, equipping of fleets, cruel taxes, horrid vexations, battles, murders of princes, followed by the ruin of their families and friends: these, and many others, were the dismal calamities which

which empire the suffered in that unhappy time. By the death of Maximin, there remained but two emperors, Constantine and Licinius, who seemed to be united: and the people began to breathe. But neither the apparent harmony between these princes, nor the public tranquillity, which was the fruit of it, was, or could be of long duration. Either open wars, or, which was almost equally fatal, perpetual heart-burnings and mistrusts, the necessary concomitants of an insidious peace, filled up the ten years during which they enjoyed the empire jointly; and nothing but the ruin of Licinius could at last establish a perfect calm. Constantine then, sole master of all the vast extent of territories which acknowledged the laws of Rome, made the whole world taste the sweets of a firm and solid peace. The people then forgot their past sufferings, and vied with each other which should be foremost to express their gratitude towards a prince born to make them happy. The Christians in particular had great cause to rejoice in the complete triumph of their holy religion, the exercise of which now took place throughout all the empire. Those of the west had enjoyed peace for some years. But we have seen with what rigour the Christians of the East were lately treated by Licinius, and how he renewed against them the violences and cruelties of Dioclesian and of Decius. Constantine did not content himself with barely putting an end to the persecution. He was desirous, as much as in him lay, to repair the mischief it had done: and to that end he published an edict which gave the faithful of the East cause to rejoice for their preceding humiliation.

This edict; which Eusebius has transmitted to us, contains the most favourable orders in behalf of the confessors of the name of Christ. The emperor begins with expressing a profound veneration for their virtue. "I know, says he, that they whose hopes are in heaven, and who have established those hopes upon solid foundations in the holy and eternal

*Joy of the
Christians
in particu-
lar, whose
religion
triumphs.*

*Eus. de vit.
Const. II.
33.*

HISTORY OF THE EMPERORS.

“ city, want not the favour of men ; and that they
“ enjoy a glory by so much greater, as they are raised
“ above all terrestrial weaknesses and affections.
“ But it is my duty, as well as interest, to protect
“ them ; and it would be shameful in a prince, who
“ professes himself the minister and servant of God,
“ not to bestow upon them all the honours and ad-
“ vantages that are in his power to grant, to make
“ them some amends for their long and grievous
“ sufferings under the enemies of the true religion.”

Accordingly he revokes all condemnations pronounced against the confessors, whether sentenced to banishment, confined to islands, sent to work in the mines, or subjected to painful and servile labour. He orders, that those who have been degraded from the military service on account of their professing Christianity, shall have it at their option either to be restored to their former posts, or to receive an honourable dismissal, with a provision for the remainder of their lives. He returns them their forfeited possessions, and restores them to all the rights and privileges of which they had been unjustly deprived.

As several had died by martyrdom, or by various accidents of human life, Constantine orders that their inheritances shall descend to their lawful heirs, or, in default of heirs, to the churches of the places where their estates or other effects are situated. The possessors of these estates, howsoever they may have acquired them, are commanded to give a just and true account of them, and to quit their possession, but without being obliged to repay past arrears, which might fall too heavy upon many. The exchequer is not treated more favourably in this respect than private persons. Several lands, gardens, buildings, and other things of value had been taken from the churches, and united to the imperial demesnes. The emperor's intention is, that all be restored, especially the places consecrated by the burial of the martyrs : and if any one has purchased from the treasury,

sure, or received as a gift any possessions of this kind, though he blames the greediness of such purchasers, he nevertheless promises to use them with mildness and equity.

By these means Christianity flourished universally, and the Christians were restored to their former possessions, whether the property of individuals, or that ⁴⁶ of their community in general. Encouraged and assisted by the prince, they repaired their churches, and built new ones, larger than the former, on account of the vast numbers of proselytes that were made by the freedom they now enjoyed of exercising their religion: and comparing this peaceable and happy state with the tyranny under which they had lately groaned, they thought they never could sufficiently praise in the first place God, the author of their deliverance, and next the man whom the divine mercy had been pleased to make use of for that glorious end.

I know not whether this great prosperity dazzled Constantine, and made him forget the moderation he had practised till then. But certain it is, that the lustre of his glory was soon after tarnished by actions which historical fidelity obliges us to relate.

When he conquered Licinius, he promised him that his life should be safe: but the very next year, at farthest, he put him to death, by ordering him to be strangled. Zosimus and Eutropius accuse him of perfidy in this affair, and St Jeron, in his Chronicle, has not scrupled to copy the words of this last. Socrates furnishes us with a defence in favour of Constantine. He says that Licinius, in his banishment, carried on intrigues with the barbarians in order to recover the throne. The thing is in itself not improbable: and the authority of Socrates is sufficient to counterbalance that of Zosimus and Eutropius. But oneugly circumstance still remains against Constantine, (for we are stating the evidence for and against him.) We may easily suppose that Constantine was influenced by a cruel and suspicious policy, when he ordered the

Tillem.

death of Licinius, if we consider, that after destroying the father, he killed the son, who was his own nephew, a young prince upon whom history does not throw the least shadow of blame, and who indeed is fully justified by his tender age, being but eleven years old when he was put to death. The young Licinius perished in the year of Christ 326, and thereby delivered the family of Constantine from its only remaining rival.

The fatal catastrophe of Licinius is an example which Lactantius would have added to his catalogue of the tragical deaths of the persecutors of Christianity, if he had brought his work so low down. The disasters of this unhappy prince did not end entirely even with his death; for his memory was branded by a law of Constantine, in which he is called an usurper, and his edicts are annulled.

Constantine puts to death his eldest son Crispus Cesar, and his wife Fausta.

Zoa. Philostorg. li. 4. Eutrop. Vict. ulcrque.

The conqueror might, doubtless, have shewn more generosity towards an enemy who had been his brother-in-law and his colleague. But he was an enemy, from whom he himself might have expected the same treatment if it had been his fate to be conquered. Be it so.—It can, however, not excuse, what is in itself absolutely inexcusable, the cruelties which Constantine exercised upon his own family, in putting to death his eldest son and his wife, without taking time, though the lives of persons who ought to have been so dear to him were at stake, either to examine the accusations against them, or to let the first transport of his wrath subside.

In the year of Christ 326, Constantine had four sons; Crispus, by his first wife Minervina; Constantine, Constantius, and Constans, by his second marriage with Fausta the daughter of Maximian Hercules. Of these four princes, the three eldest were Cæsars. Crispus and Constantine had been decorated with that title both at the same time, in the year of Christ 317. Constantius had received the same honour in 323. Constans did not attain to it till long after.

So

So numerous and flourishing a family ought to have been the happiness and support of the prince who was its head and father. But the difference of mothers, and the uncertainty of the succession to the throne, so long exposed to be the prey of the first invader, filled the house of Constantine with mistrusts, jealousies, and all the crimes that follow those fatal passions when heightened by expectations of vast interest.

Crispus was inferior to his brothers, in that his mother was not a woman of great birth: but in every other respect he was evidently their superior. He was sixteen years older than the eldest of Fausta's sons, and had given remarkable proofs of his valour, not only in the wars against the Franks, but also in that which ruined Licinius, and re-united the whole empire under the power of Constantine. His character was amiable, and promised great things; and his education had been directed with uncommon care by the famous Lactantius, the greatest master of his age. Eusebius and the orator Nazarius praise him, *Euseb. Chr.* and history does not charge him with any one fault, at least that is proved.

His merit was the very thing that ruined him. Fausta, whose eldest son was then but ten years old, looked upon Crispus, not as a brother, but as a dangerous rival to her children: and in consequence of this she resolved to ruin him with his father, by throwing upon him the most odious suspicions. She accused him of having endeavoured to corrupt her, in order to open his way to the throne by incest. Fausta might still be young enough to give some sort of colour to this accusation, which Constantine received with an unpardonable credulity. He was then at Rome, to which city he had been carried by the desire of celebrating in his capital the twentieth year of his reign. He banished his unhappy son to Pola in Istria, and soon after caused him to be put to death there either by the sword, or by poison. *Ann. More. l. XIV.*

This

This first act of cruelty brought on a second. Helena, the mother of Constantine, was extremely afflicted at the violent and unjust death of her grandson. She inquired into the cause of it, detected Fausta's wickedness, and informed the emperor of the truth of the affair. This discovery gave room to watch Fausta's conduct: and it was found, that whilst she affected such bitter zeal against the pretended incestuous proposal of Crispus, she was in fact guilty of adultery with the meanest officers of the palace. Constantine, again unable to moderate his rage, carried his vengeance to the utmost length. Fausta was, by his order, put into a hot-bath, and suffocated by the steam. Such was the end of this princess, the daughter, wife, and sister of emperors, and the mother of three princes who attained to the empire. But the family from which she sprung was as much defiled with crimes as it was distinguished by grandeurs; and in the detestable intrigue by which she deserved death, we plainly see the daughter of Maximian Hercules, and the sister of Maxentius.

So tragical a scene could not happen in the imperial family, without involving numbers in the same ruin. Accordingly Eutropius says that it cost the lives of several of Constantine's friends: and a severe distich was then handed about, taxing the prince with luxury and cruelty, to this effect: " * Why should we wish for the golden age of Saturn? That which we live in is of pearls; but such as Nero used." We are sorry to find in the life of the first Christian emperor actions so contrary not only to the holiness of Christianity, but even to the laws of human virtue. Such is the imperfection of our nature, that religion does not reform those who content themselves with embracing only its outward forms and practices, without taking its spirit. Constantine's attachment to Christianity seems to have depended greatly upon the temporal prosperities with which

* Saturni aurea secla quis requirat?

Sunt hæc gemmea, sed Nerouiani.

Sid. Apoll. V. Ep. 8.

which God had been pleased to favour him. Of this we have strong proofs in his speeches and letters, recorded by Eusebius, where he often insists, and lays a great stress upon the visible punishment of those princes who had been persecutors; and where few traces can be found of the inward virtues which constitute the essence of our holy religion. God forbid, however, that I should pretend to judge a prince to whose piety every Christian is indebted, and whose offences the sacred waters of baptism, which, as I observed before, he received towards the end of his life, are sufficiently efficacious to have washed away.

There is even room to think that Constantine did penance for the most inexcusable of his crimes, the death of his son. A modern Greek, but who quotes more ancient authorities, says that Constantine, reproaching himself with his injustice towards an innocent son, fasted, prayed, and wept; and made a public acknowledgment of his fault, by erecting to him a statue with this inscription: "Such was my innocent and unfortunate son." I see nothing in all this but what may have been very true; and the punishment of Fausta proves beyond dispute, that the death of Crispus was a subject of bitter grief to Constantine. Eusebius's silence, the reason of which may easily be guessed, does not at all disprove what Codinus says: and as to the other cotemporary writers, either they are not exact, or they have been too much curtailed.

Codin. Orig. C. P.

The fabulous tale advanced by Zosimus, and refuted many ages ago by Sozomen, does not deserve our notice. That writer, whose envenomed pen is always dipt in gall when he speaks of Constantine and of Christianity, says that this prince, conscious of the greatness of his crimes, applied to the Pagan priests in order to make atonement for them; and that upon their declaring that they knew of no means in their religion by which it was possible for him to

False advanced by Zosimus in regard to the motive of Constantine's conversion. *Zos. l. II. Sozom. l. 5.*

expiate

expiate such offences, he had recourse to the Christians, who were more tractable; and this, according to that historian, was the origin of Constantine's conversion to Christianity. Every part of this story is false. Paganism allowed of, and promised expiation, for the most atrocious crimes, as the fabulous history of the heathens proves by many examples. But an absolute evidence of the falsity of Zosimus's calumnious invention, is that Constantine was a Christian fourteen years before Crispus was put to death. So gross a blunder is worthy of a writer who confounds the Tanais with the Danube, and makes Maximian Hercules die at Tarsus in Cilicia.

Constantine incenses the inhabitants of Rome by the contempt he shews for the superstitions of Paganism. Zos.

What may in some small measure have contributed to make Zosimus mistake the date of Constantine's Christianity, is that this prince gave a remarkable proof of his zeal against the practices of idolatry, during his stay at Rome in the year 326. In a solemn feast which he then celebrated, perhaps on account of its being the twentieth year of his reign, the troops of the emperor's guard, should, according to an ancient custom of the Pagans, have gone up to the capitol in great pomp, there to offer sacrifices to Jupiter. Constantine not only abstained from those impious superstitions, but openly ridiculed them, and, to use Zosimus's own words, trampled them under his feet. This drew upon him the hatred of the senate and people of Rome, who were bigotted to their old errors. They murmured against the emperor, and loaded him with odious epithets. He was informed of it, and thereupon took a dislike to Rome, to which he had no attachment able to counterbalance his now just dissatisfaction and resentment.

He takes a dislike to Rome, and resolves to fix his residence elsewhere.

Constantine was born at Naissus in * Mœsia, and spent the greatest part of his youth at the court of Dioclesian in the East. It was in Britain that his father's army proclaimed him emperor: and almost at the same time Italy was invaded by Maxentius. He therefore

* Dardania, to which Naissus properly belonged, was part of Mœsia.

therefore probably saw Rome for the first time, when he entered it in triumph as conqueror of that tyrant. He then made some stay there; but never fixed his residence in that city: and from that time, down to the twentieth year of his reign, we always find him, by the dates of his laws, and by other historical monuments, both in war and in peace, either at Milan, at Arles, or in Illyricum; and if he did sometimes visit Rome, it was only for a moment, just to shew himself. He therein followed the example of his last predecessors, who had looked upon their capital with an eye of indifference. It is therefore not to be wondered at, if the obstinate attachment of the Romans to their idolatrous practices weaned Constantine entirely from a city which he was otherwise not fond of, and determined him to seek a residence where he should no longer behold the shocking exercise of an impure worship: and as he had a taste for magnificence, he purposed nothing less than building a second Rome, equal to the first in beauty and magnitude, or at least not much inferior to it.

Whether this design was consistent with sound policy, is a point which I shall not undertake to determine. The Roman empire already contained in itself the seeds of great divisions: which surely could not be lessened by giving it two capitals. Another inconvenience, then too distant to be foreseen, but which afterwards proved to be of very great consequence, concerns the ecclesiastical government. The bishops of new Rome could not brook being subjected to those of the ancient city. Thence arose contests, quarrels, and ruptures, which, though patched up for a time, ended at last in a deplorable schism between the Greek and the Latin churches.

This was a misfortune which Constantine never thought of. Full of his idea, which he believed would even be of service to Christianity, he began to build in the plain between ancient Ilium and the sea, on the very spot where the Greeks had fixed their camp

He begins to build near Ilium: but soon prefers Byzantium.
Zer. *

Sozom. II. camp when they besieged Troy. We are not told
 3. what were his reasons for chusing this place. Besides
 Rom. Hist. the beauty of the climate, and the advantages of the
 Vol. XIV. situation, one may, perhaps not unreasonably, be
 allowed to conjecture, that looking upon the country
 of the Trojans as the cradle of the Roman nation, he
 intended to execute a plan formed long before by Julius
 Cæsar, and which Augustus is likewise thought * to
 have adopted. A more personal motive might also
 weigh with Constantine. He drew his paternal ori-
 gin from Dardania in Europe, where his grandfather
 Eutropius had held the first rank, and where he
 himself was born. Now the Dardanians of Europe
 may pass for a colony of those of Phrygia; and, as
 we observed before, some fabricators of genealogies
 endeavoured to derive the pedigree of Claudius II.
 the first author of the rise of the reigning family,
 from the ancient Dardanus. Upon this supposition,
 Constantine, by building near Ilium, raised a monu-
 ment which re-united the origin of his family and that
 of Rome, and revived the ancient claims of kindred
 between the emperor and the nation. Whoever con-
 siders how much the generality of princes and great
 men are susceptible of such chimæras as these, will, per-
 haps, not think my conjecture altogether improbable.

This plan, however, was not carried into execution.
 The foundations were laid, the walls raised, and some
 of the gates of the intended city already built, when
 Constantine left the work imperfect, Byzantium justly
 appearing to him a more proper place. He says, in
 one of the laws of the code, that he acted on this oc-
 casion by the order of God. But this vague expres-
 sion, susceptible of several meanings, cannot induce
 us to believe, upon the faith of Sozomen, that God
 warned him in a dream to prefer Byzantium. The
 Greeks, posterior to the founding of Constantinople,
 were passionately fond of magnifying and extolling
 the

Cod. Theod.
 lib. XIII.
 tit. V. l. 7.

* It is very probable that Horace had this in view when he wrote his Third Ode, Book III. *Justum & tenacem, &c.*

the splendour of that city, and endeavoured to enhance its glory, by making it the object of miracles. In this spirit, Philostorgus tells us, that whilst Constantine himself was marking out the boundaries of the city, some of those who attended him, thinking he took in too great a space, asked him what compass he intended to inclose; and that Constantine answered, "As much as shall be directed by him that goes before me." As if an angel had guided him in that operation. But laying aside all fables, the situation of Byzantium, the finest perhaps of any in the world, both for convenience and for pleasure, was a very sufficient motive to determine Constantine.

This city, as every one knows, occupies the entrance of the channel through which the Euxine Sea empties itself into the Propontis. Consequently it stands near three seas, and is equally well situated to receive the products of Asia and those of Europe. Its harbour, the circuit of which, according to Procopius, is forty stadia, or five thousand paces, opens to the east, and is so well sheltered from all other winds, that ships ride there in perfect ease and safety, except when a storm comes from that quarter. Procopius, however, does not make even that exception: but launching out into a kind of enthusiasm, which rather diminishes the weight of his testimony, he asserts that the bason which forms the harbour is always serene and calm. The boisterous waves, says he, respect their barrier at the entrance of the port, and, as if awed by the presence of the city, go no farther. Even if the sea runs high beyond the bar, and the angry winds exert their greatest power, as soon as a ship, continues he, has entered the haven, it proceeds forward without being steered, and without the least danger. The bason is every where a safe port: it is every where deep enough for any ships, and they can lie so close to the shore, that while their sterns are afloat, their prows rest upon the land: as if the two elements disputed the glory of serving the queen of cities.

But

But setting aside the exaggerated embellishments, with which this writer has decorated his description, the port of Constantinople, as formed by nature, is certainly a most noble one: and this great advantage is what chiefly gave rise to the story of the ancients concerning the founders of Byzantium. Upon their consulting the oracle of Apollo, says the fable, where they should settle; they were told to build over against a city of blind people: meaning the Chalcedonians, who were so called, because being the first possessors of those countries, and at liberty to chuse their place of habitation, they had pitched upon the worst. For there is no comparison between the situation of Chalcedon in Asia, and that of Byzantium in Europe.

Byzantium was always a considerable city, and is frequently mentioned in the Grecian and Roman histories. We have spoken of the siege which it sustained against Severus, and Constantine himself besieged it in the war against Licinius. It therefore was a place of consequence, though not of the first order: the assistance of a great prince was still requisite to enable it to enjoy all the advantages of its happy situation.

The founda-
tion of
Constanti-
nople.
*Zos. &
Sozom. II.
3.*

Constantine enlarged its circuit. The ancient Byzantium occupied only the point of the promontory next the channel, where the sultan's seraglio now stands. Consequently it stood entirely upon the Euxine Sea. Constantine extended its walls fifteen stadia farther, to the other sea, thereby inclosing the whole neck of the isthmus. This space also was enlarged by his successors. Buildings were erected even in the sea, upon piles; and Constantinople, increasing rapidly, soon became what it now is, one of the largest cities in the world.

At the same time that Constantine raised his new walls, he likewise built within them, erecting among other edifices a magnificent palace for himself, a fine square surrounded with porticos, a circus or hippodrome for chariot-races, fountains, and all other buildings necessary either to adorn or be of service to a capital.

He

He also built fine dwelling-houses in different parts of the city, and made presents of them to the lords of his court, to induce them to settle there with their families. He used every means to draw inhabitants to his favourite city, lavishing privileges, largesses, and daily distributions of corn, oil, and meat. Eighty thousand bushels of corn, brought from Alexandria, were distributed every day: for Constantine employed the Alexandrian fleet in victualling new Rome, leaving to old Rome only that of Africa. He had the peopling of this infant city so much at heart, that he not only bestowed prerogatives and favours on those who settled in it; but even enacted, by a very rigorous law, that neither the inhabitants of Asia properly so called, nor those of Pontus, should be able to leave any kind of lands to their heirs, if they had not a house in Constantinople. This severe order remained in force an hundred years; at the end of which it was repealed by the younger Theodosius, the city then no longer wanting any such support.

Among the buildings that were to adorn the new city, Constantine's piety could not suffer him to forget those which are devoted to the purposes of religion. He converted the temples of the idols, of which he found several in old Byzantium, into churches of the true God: he enlarged the church of Peace *, or of St Irene, which subsisted before, but was small and homely; and he entirely rebuilt that of the Apostles, with extraordinary magnificence. He surrounded it with porticos, under which he chose his place of sepulture, in order, says Eusebius, to partake, even after his death, of the prayers that should be addressed to the holy propagators of the gospel, for whom he had always had a singular veneration. He likewise raised several other sacred buildings.

The middle of the

* Irene is a Greek word, *ειρήνη* which signifies *peace*. It is also the name of an illustrious martyr who suffered death at Thessalonica in the second year of Dioclesian's persecution. The text of our author does not determine clearly which of these two is meant.

Socrat. II.
13.
Tikem.

Cod. Theod.
Nov. tit.
12 p. 7.

Sacred
buildings.
Constanti-
nople an
intirely
Christian
city.

Socrat. I.
16.

Sozom. II.
3.

Eus. d. vii.
Const. III.
48, 49, 54.
& IV. 56,
59, 60

the ceiling of the finest room in his palace was enriched with jewels set in the form of a cross, which he looked upon as his protection and safeguard : and the same sign of our redemption shone in several parts of the city. In other places were fountains embellished with representations of the good shepherd, of Daniel in the lions den, and of other subjects taken from holy writ. In short, Constantinople became an entirely Christian city : and if all its inhabitants did not immediately renounce their old superstitions, every vestige of idolatry was at least banished from it. No images of false gods were worshipped in the temples, no altars reeked with blood, no victims were burnt with fire, nor were there any Pagan festivals. Constantinople was never defiled with those unhallowed rites, except during the short time that Julian reigned.

The care which Constantine thus took to purge his new city from every symptom of idolatry, strengthens what we have already observed, after Zosimus, concerning the principal motive which made this religious prince take a dislike to Rome.

He even made the vain and frivolous objects of the superstitious veneration of the Pagans serve to adorn the triumph of Christianity. He removed to Constantinople several of the statues of their false deities, of which he changed both the form and use. Zosimus, like a zealous Pagan, laments a Cybele disfigured by order of the prince ; images of Castor and Pollux taken from their temple, which was destroyed, and placed by way of ornament in the Hippodrome ; and the tripods of the Delphic oracle. Eusebius speaks of a Pythian Apollo, and an Apollo Sminthius, exposed in Constantinople, not to worship, but to the ridicule of the people. These were the things which made it be said of Constantine, that he robbed all the cities of the empire to adorn his own : and it is pretty singular that St. Jerom should have used this very expression in his Chronicle.

Constantine intended to render his new city equal in all respects to ancient Rome: and to that end he added to its real advantages, those which arise from the ideas annexed to distinctions and prerogatives of honour. He granted to the inhabitants of Constantinople the same exemptions and immunities as were enjoyed by those of Rome: instead of the laws by which Byzantium had been governed, as a Greek city, he substituted the Roman civil law, and ordered that all affairs should be judged by it: the general police of the city, its magistracies, and tribunals, were regulated after the same manner as in Rome: and lastly, Constantinople had a senate, which its founder invested with the same titles and honours as that of Rome, but which, however, never attained to the same degree of splendour. In latter times, when the partition of the Roman territories into an Eastern and a Western empire was thoroughly settled, the consulship was also divided between the two imperial cities: Rome furnished one consul, and Constantinople the other.

The raising of Constantinople to the point of grandeur which I have been speaking of in this short description, was the work of many years, and of several princes. But all that could be done at the time of building it, was executed with great dispatch. The foundations of the wall which was to inclose the city on the side next the land, were not laid till late in the year 328, and the solemn dedication of the city was performed on Monday the 11th of May, 330. Constantine, like most other princes, was willing to enjoy. But he could not force the laws of nature. His buildings, too hastily run up, wanted solidity: and the church of the Apostles stood in need of being repaired in less than twenty years after it was finished.

The ceremony of the dedication was both religious and civil. Eusebius says that Constantine, by the churches which he built in Constantinople, at the same time that he honoured the memory of the martyrs, consecrated

Constantine intends to make it equal to Rome. The senate of Constantinople. *Tillem. Const. art. 67:*

Dedication of the city.

Zor. l. II. Tillem. art. 64.

Euseb. de vit. Const. III. 49.

consecrated his city to the God of martyrs. This was solemnly accomplished in the festival of its dedication. The public rejoicings came afterwards; when the prince gave games in the circus, and distributed provisions to the people. The anniversary of this great day was ordered to be celebrated for ever, both in the church by a particular service, and in the city by chariot-races and a suspension of all proceedings at law.

Tillem. art.
67.

It was doubtless during the solemnity of the dedication of the city, that Constantine changed its old name of Byzantium, and gave it his own, calling it *the City of Constantine*, *Κωνσταντίνου πόλις*, from whence we have made *Constantinople*. He likewise wished to have it called the *New or Second Rome*, and made to that end an express law, which was engraved on a pillar of stone erected in one of the public squares, near his own equestrian statue.

Sorrat. I.
16.

Thus far I have traced the steps by which Constantine rose, through his virtues and the protection of heaven, to the highest pitch of human power. This prince was not only a warrior; but he also possessed every quality becoming his sublime rank. He was a wise legislator: zealous for the propagation of Christianity, and ardently desirous to abolish idolatry. In these last lights I shall now endeavour to describe him.

SECT. II.

Constantine's laws against the corrupt practices of the judges and other officers. In relation to the duty of judges. Against the rapaciousness of lawyers. For the maintenance of the order of justice and of the laws. Against the rigour of testamentary dispositions. Severe laws for the punishment of crimes. Against defamatory libels. Against informers. Against extortion. To prevent the too rigorous treatment of such as were indebted to the Exchequer. To lessen the taxes, and to render them more equal. To mitigate the rigour of confiscations. For the more humane treatment of prisoners. All prisoners set at liberty on account of a public rejoicing. Law against rash accusers in cases of high treason. To restrict usury, and abolish a sort of contract tending to strip the debtor. To protect husbandry. Laws in favour of minors, widows, and other helpless persons. Humane attention in favour of slaves. Law to prevent the murder of children, whose parents are not able to maintain them. Laws in favour of liberty. Laws for maintaining purity of manners. Laws concerning the soldiery. He weakens the authority of the office of praetorian prefect. The frontiers left defenceless, if we believe Zosimus. Constantine's taste for the arts and sciences. Laws in favour of those who professed them. Constantine's Christian piety. He gloried in the public profession of Christianity. He abolishes crucifixion. He forbids branding criminals upon the forehead. He builds a magnificent church over the holy sepulchre, which the piety of his mother Helena had discovered. The cross found. Churches built by St Helena at Bethlehem and upon the mount of Olives. Charity and humility of St Helena. Her death. She was a prudent and intelligent princess. Honour paid to her memory. A church built by Constantine's order at Mambre. His respect for the episcopacy. Protection granted by him to the church. He loads the ecclesiastics with privileges and favours. Law ordering the celebration of Sunday. Law exempting celibacy from the penalties

it was subject to according to the old law. Law forbidding combats of gladiators. Constantine's great caution with respect to the prevailing superstitions of the times. He however undertook and advanced considerably the ruin of idolatry. Destruction of the temples of Heliopolis, Aphacus, and Ægas in Cilicia. A great number of idolaters undeceived. The pillar for measuring the Nile removed from the temple of Serapis into the Christian church at Alexandria. The happy and rapid increase of Christianity. The conversion of the Iberians. Constantine's letter to Sapor, in behalf of the Christians of Persia. Sapor's elder brother, Hormisdas, a fugitive from his own country, fled to Constantine, and was a Christian. Constantine's personal conduct regulated by piety. His forgiveness of injuries. His aversion to all immoderate praise. His remonstrance to a greedy courtier. He was too good natured. He ought to be looked upon as a great prince. Injustice of Julian the apostate's reproaches against him. Homage paid to Constantine's greatness by strangers and barbarians. The rebellion of Calocerus, speedily quelled. Rejoicings on account of the thirtieth year of Constantine's reign. He dies, full of glory. His memory has always been blessed. Writers who flourished under his reign. Constantine himself. Eusebius of Casarea. Lactantius. The writers of the Byzantine history. Eumenius and Nazarius, orators. Optatianus, panegyrist. Commodianus and Juvenecus. Constantine's aversion to the philosophers of his time. Sopater put to death. Conclusion of this work.

Constantine's laws against the corrupt practices of the judges and other officers,

IN undertaking to shew Constantine's wisdom as a legislator, I do not mean to accumulate here all the laws which he published during a reign of upwards of thirty years, and of which many enter into details fitter for the province of jurisprudence than of history. I shall take only what is most general, relative to the great ends of government, and the common good of society.

The love of justice, and zeal against the oppressors
of

of the people, are the first qualities of a sovereign who knows his duty. I doubt whether any prince ever expressed his sentiments in this respect more emphatically than Constantine did in a law of the year 325, addressed to all the subjects of the empire. “* If Cod. Theod. l. IX. tit. 1. leg. 4. any one, says he, of what rank or condition so-
 “ever, is confident that he can prove plainly and
 “manifestly any injustice done to him by those who
 “exercise authority in my name, whether they be
 “judges, counts, ministers, or officers of my palace,
 “let him apply to me personally: I will hear him
 “myself, I will take cognizance of his cause; and
 “if I find his allegations true, I will avenge myself
 “on the man who shall have deceived me by a false
 “appearance of integrity; and, on the contrary, in-
 “crease the wealth and honours of him, who shall
 “have discovered and proved the crime. So may
 “the supreme Being ever favour and protect me, and
 “keep the republic safe and flourishing.”

Such was the prince's intention, attested even by oath, in regard to the first officers of the state, who were accountable to none but him. As to the inferior ministers of justice, who were often guilty of equally great misdemeanors, and that with less caution or fear of shame, Constantine orders their superiors to check and stop them; and in case of negligence on the part of the magistrate, he directs the parties aggrieved, to have recourse to his supreme authority. The words of the law are very remarkable, and threaten the utmost rigour. “Let the officers be- Cod. Theod. lib. I. tit. 7. leg. 1.
 “longing to the courts of justice cease their rapines:
 “let

* Si quis est, cujuscumque loci, ordinis, dignitatis, qui se in quemcumque judicem, comitum amicorum, vel palatinorum meorum, aliquid veraciter, & manifeste probare posse confidit, quod non integre atque juste gessisse videatur, intrepidus & securus accedat, interpellet me: ipse audiam omnia, ipse cognoscam; & si fuerit comprobatum, ipse me vindicabo . . . de eo qui me usque ad hoc tempus simulata integritate deceperit: illum autem qui hoc prodiderit & comprobaverit, & dignitatibus & rebus augebo. Ita mihi summa Divinitas semper propitia sit, & me incolumem præstet ut cupio, felicissima & florente republica.

" let them cease from this moment, or death shall be
 " their reward. Let them not require any thing from
 " the pleaders for either public or private audiences
 " of the magistrate. Access to the judge ought to
 " be equally free to the rich and the poor. Let the
 " greediness of those who expedite the acts, be con-
 " fined within the bounds of a moderate recompence.
 " If any mal-practices be committed in either of these
 " respects, let the persons injured have recourse first
 " to the head of the tribunal. If he neglects to apply
 " the proper remedy, we permit all men to lay their
 " complaints before the commander of the province,
 " or the prætorian prefect, in order that we ourselves,
 " being informed of the crime by one or other of
 " them, may order death to be inflicted upon the
 " offender."

In relation
 to the duty
 of judges.
Lib. II. tit.
18. leg. 1.

The administration of justice requires care and vi-
 gilance. Constantine knew it, and nothing is finer
 than the laws which he prescribed to the judges in re-
 gard to the exercise of their functions. He requires
 them to be armed with unwearied patience; to hear
 both sides with strict attention; to give them time
 to explain themselves; and to interrogate them him-
 self, in order to be more fully informed. But he does
 not the less insist upon quick dispatch, which was by
 so much the more necessary then, as the Roman law
 limited an absolutely fixed time, within which all in-
 structions relative to any suit were to be given in, and
 after which none were allowed to be produced, but
 judgment was given by fore closure. If this delay
 happened through the fault of the party concerned,
 he could blame none but himself; but if it was ow-
 ing to the judge, Constantine orders the sufferer to
 be indemnified out of the possessions or estate of that
 judge.

Tit. 6. leg.
2.

Against
 the rapa-
 ciousness
 of lawyers.

I have mentioned several times, in the course of
 this history, efforts made to curb the greediness of
 the advocates, who, strictly, were not allowed to re-
 ceive any thing at all from their clients. The exe-
 cution of this injunction was difficult, and perhaps
 impracticable

impracticable in its full rigour. Accordingly, Constantine did not pretend to revive it; but he thunders *Tit. 10. leg. 1.* against the infamous bargains of those advocates, who, examining not the right, but the wealth of those that wanted their assistance, obliged their clients to make over to them by strong deeds the best and fairest part of what they were worth, either in land, cattle, or slaves. The emperor declares such advocates as shall make this odious traffic of their talents, unworthy to be admitted into the company of honest men, and he excludes them from the bar.

We see by these regulations how attentive Constantine was to maintain the order of justice, and the observance of the laws. He respected this double object to so great a degree, as not to suffer that even the rescripts of the princes should be able to invade it. This he declares solemnly in two constitutions; For the maintenance of the order of justice and of the laws, *Lib. I. tit. 1, leg. 1-* by one of which he orders that these rescripts, in whatever manner obtained, shall have no force when they are contrary to the laws; because the judges ought rather to conform to the public and general laws: by the other, he forbids the admitting of rescripts in things already judged, and orders that *Lib. IV. tit. 16, leg. 1.* the person who has obtained them shall not be so much as heard.

To render affairs as simple as possible, and obviate chicanery, Constantine began to loosen the irksome fetters of the old forms of law, which were all so very strict, that a mistake of a single syllable rendered an act invalid. This prince exempted testators from that extreme rigour, by ordering that the last wills of dying persons should be executed, even though expressed in the ordinary terms of common language. Against the rigour of testamentary dispositions. *Eus. de vit. Const. IV. 26.* His successors entered into his spirit; in consequence of which, stated forms were abolished by the authority of Constantius, and still more expressly by the younger Theodosius. *Cod. Justin. lib. 11. tit. 58.*

Rigid in punishing all heinous crimes, Constantine renewed the old punishment of paracides, which had been abolished by a law of Pompey: and in cases of Severe laws for the punishment of crimes, violent

violent invasion or forcible usurpation of the possessions of another, he insisted that the punishment should neither be eluded nor deferred on account of the rank or quality of the offenders. He ordered by an express law, that the senators, who should be guilty of such crimes in any of the provinces, should be tried and punished upon the spot by the ordinary judges of the place, without any regard to the privilege granted to their dignity, of being judged only by the governor of Rome.

Caed.
Theod. lib.
IX. tit. 17.
leg. 1. & tit.
1. leg. 1.

Against
defamatory
libels.
Tit. 34.
leg. 1—4.

His decrees against defamatory libels are very rigorous. Not satisfied with declaring, that those works of darkness shall not hurt the reputation of those they attack, he orders them to be burnt, and their authors, if discovered, to be forced by the magistrates to prove what they have advanced, under pain of being treated as calumniators if they fail therein: and even if their proofs are sufficient, that does not exempt them from the punishment due to their malignity and audaciousness.

Against
informers.
Lib. X. tit.
10. leg. 1—
3.

I have already spoken of Constantine's laws against informers. These noxious wretches had two principal points in view. Sometimes they accused persons; at other times their informations turned upon estates or effects belonging to the Exchequer, and unjustly possessed, as they pretended, by private persons. They coloured their vexations with the pretence of love of the public good, or zeal for the prince's interest; whilst their real motive was the prospect of gain, and hopes of an oftentimes bloody plunder. The emperor's detestation of these odious robbers was equal to that in which every citizen held them. He calls them execrable monsters, monsters to be abhorred as one of the greatest banes of human life; and orders that, whenever they accuse any one, and are not able to prove their allegations, the judge shall condemn them to have their tongue cut out, and afterwards to be put to death. As to the claiming of possessions alienated from the prince's demesnes without a law-

ful title, he directs those affairs to be prosecuted by the solicitors of the treasury, who are not only enjoined not to hear informers, but to punish them.

By this last article Constantine's intention seems to have been, that the revenues of the treasury should neither be neglected by those who were appointed to take care of them, nor be exacted with rigour and injustice. In another place he threatens the solicitors of the treasury with punishment, if they do not perform their functions diligently: but at the same time he charges them strictly not to torment his subjects with groundless or unjust suits, and bids the injured parties complain to him, if that should happen, with full confidence of having ample justice done them.

Against
extortion.
Tit. 15. leg.

Lib. VIII.
tit. 10.
leg. 1.

To secure his people in the undisturbed possession of their property, was one of the chief objects of his care, to which he sacrificed even his own interest. It was in this spirit that, when he celebrated the tenth year of his accession to the throne, he published a constitution by which he confirmed the *bona fide* possessors of lands formerly belonging to the imperial demesnes in the full and quiet enjoyment of what they held, whether by gift of the princes, or by any other title: and four years after, he forbid reviving any, even lawful, claims and pretensions of the treasury against private persons, if the time limited for prosecuting those demands had elapsed; and to abolish them entirely, he ordered all deeds and writings concerning them to be burnt. He thought it so essentially incumbent on him to protect his subjects against all extortion, that he may be said to have carried his severity against those who were guilty of it even too far. For if any one of his intendants was convicted of that crime, he condemned him to be burnt alive, by an express law, in which he assigns a remarkable reason for this severity. "They* that belong to us, says he, are more obliged than other men to observe our ordinances,

Lib. X.
tit. 1. leg.
3.

* Gravior poena constituenda est in hos qui nostri juris sunt
et nostra debent custodire mandata.

"nances, and consequently are more guilty when they fail therein."

It is in levying the taxes of a state that there generally is too much room for imposition and extortion. We find Constantine, by several laws, extremely attentive to hinder the farmers of the revenues, and their clerks, from exacting of the people more than was due, and to punish all offenders of that kind.

*Lib. XI.
tit. 1. leg. 3.
& tit. 7.
leg. 1.*

To prevent the too rigorous treatment of such as were indebted to the Exchequer.

*Tit. 7.
leg. 3.*

The insolence of the judges, as he himself calls it, had introduced imprisonment, whipping, and other corporal punishments, which they inflicted upon those who did not pay regularly the taxes they were assessed at. Constantine condemns and forbids all such violences. "Prisons, says he, are made for criminals; if any one obstinately refuses to contribute towards the necessities of the state, he may be put under the guard of a soldier: his effects shall answer for what he owes; but his person shall be exempted from all bad treatment: and we hope that this indulgence will induce our subjects to be so much the more ready to help us to bear the public burdens."

This law destroys one of the calumnies advanced by Zosimus, who accuses Constantine of having used the severest and most cruel means, not excepting even racks and tortures, to raise a tax famous in history under the name of *Chrysargyrum*: an impost which was levied every four years upon all traders. Zosimus has likewise followed his inclination to revile Constantine, when he makes him the inventor of this tax, the antiquity of which may be traced beyond the reign of Alexander Severus. Constantine was more disposed to ease his people, than to burden them. Great numbers of his laws breathe a spirit of indulgence, of which I shall add some farther examples to those I have already given.

*Samprid.
Al. Sec.
c. 32.*

To lessen the taxes, and render them more equal.

By a regulation, which was to last for ever, he at once abated a fourth part of the land tax: and as this assessment was levied according to a register in which many complained that they were over-rated,

he ordered a new mensuration to be made in favour of the plaintiffs, to bring things nearer to an equality. Eu. de vit. Const. 2, 3.

He moderated the effect of confiscation pronounced against criminals. We have in the Theodosian code a law of this prince, which declares the particular fortune of the wives of persons condemned, together with whatever may have been given to, or settled upon them before the prosecution commenced, not subject to forfeiture. He extends the same favour to their emancipated children: and if they have others, not emancipated, the emperor orders an account to be sent him of the number and pretensions of these last, in order, doubtless, to procure them some mitigation of the misfortune intailed upon them by the offence of their fathers. To mitigate the rigour of confiscations. Cod. Theod. Lib. XIX. tit. 42. l. 3. 1.

Constantine's humanity was likewise manifested by a law relating to prisoners detained in custody on account of any crime laid to their charge. He orders their trial to be brought on with all due speed, because death in a prison is too hard a fate for an innocent man to suffer, and too mild a one for a real criminal. He forbids shutting them up in dungeons, so as to deprive them of the sight of the sun, or the enjoyment of light, before they are tried and condemned; as he also does loading them with bolts and chains either so heavy, or so closely fastened, as to torment them, or gall their flesh. A loose chain is sufficient to secure the person of the prisoner, without putting him to much pain. Lastly, the same law denounces punishments against jailors who treat their prisoners with cruelty. For the more humane treatment of prisoners. Lib. IX. tit. 3. l. 1.

Such was Constantine's love of mildness, that upon an occasion of public rejoicing, commiseration conquered even his resolution to maintain the strictness of the laws. His son * Crispus and his mother Helena All prisoners set at liberty on account of a public rejoicing. Tit. 3. l. 1.

* With regard to the event which occasioned the public rejoicings alluded to in this law, I follow the interpretation of J. Godfrey, which, though it admits of some difficulties, seems to be the most probable conjecture that can be formed

Helena being to come to Rome, great preparations were made for their reception: and to increase the public joy, the emperor ordered all prisoners to be set at liberty, except murderers, poisoners, and adulterers.

Laws against rash accusers in cases of high-treason.

Tit. 5. leg. 1.

He does not, as we see, except from this act of grace, even persons charged with high-treason. This kind of accusation, which had occasioned so much injustice and cruelty under former emperors, did not seem to Constantine an object for which no rigour was too great. His intention undoubtedly was, and ought to be, that this crime should be punished when it was proved: but such were his confidence and exalted sentiments, that he rendered the prosecution of it difficult and dangerous to those that undertook it. As in this case the accused were put to the rack, of whatever rank or dignity they might be, Constantine, by a new law, subjects the accusers themselves to the same punishment, if they do not bring sufficient proofs: and as to slaves and freed-men offering to impeach or turn evidence against their masters or patrons, he orders them to be put to death without being heard.

To restrict usury, and abolish a sort of contracts tending to strip the debtor.

lib. II. tit. 33. leg. 1.

& lib. III. tit. 2. leg. 1.

1.

The condition of debtors was very hard according to the Roman laws, as the reader may have seen in several parts of the history of the republic: and the rich who lent, were not satisfied even with the advantages granted them by law. They not only exacted monstrously usurious interest, but had introduced a sort of contract, by which the borrower mortgaged the whole or part of his real estate, as a security for the money he received, with this rigorous clause, that if he did not pay it within the stipulated time, the mortgaged estate should become the property of the creditor. Constantine corrected this double abuse, as far as the circumstances of things permitted. He undoubtedly thought it would be in vain to attempt absolutely to suppress that degree of usury which had always been authorised by the laws of the state: but he reduced it to the old standard, which

fixed

fixed the interest of money lent at twelve per cent. In regard to the mortgaging of land for security of the debt, he abolished entirely those iniquitous contracts, which tended to make a few moneyed men masters of every real estate: and ordered, that notwithstanding the expiration of the fatal term, the debtor should always have a right of redemption upon tendering payment of the sum he had received.

This regulation, at the same time that it eased individuals, was also calculated for the welfare of the state, which cannot but be hurt by too unequal a distribution of the wealth of its citizens. The public good requires, that the lower class of men be not entirely stripped. On them depend all the labours the most necessary to society: and they cannot perform them, if they are reduced to misery. In this respect, none deserved greater care than those whose occupation is to cultivate the earth. Accordingly Constantine expresses in several of his laws, an uncommon attention to prevent any interruption of their work. He forbids seizing, even for the imperial dues, either the oxen that draw the plough, or the slaves that drive them. He likewise forbids those who travel by public authority, to take those oxen for the use of their carriages; and he also exempts all husbandmen from the task of mending the high roads, and other such like labours, during the times of sowing and reaping, in which he enjoins every one to respect occupations so useful to mankind.

All those whose situation or circumstances entitle them to favour, according to the principles of natural equity, experience Constantine's benevolent care in the laws of which he is the author. Thus, by a new regulation, he increases the resources and means of defence of minors against the frauds of their trustees and guardians. By another law he orders that minors, widows, and infirm people, who have law suits, shall not be obliged to plead in person before the prince, but shall, if they chuse it, have their causes judged upon

To protect
husbandry.

Lib. II. tit.
30. leg. 1.
& VIII. 5.
I. & XI.
16. 4.

Laws in fa-
vour of mi-
nors, and
other help-
less per-
sons.
Cod. Theod.
II. 16. 1.
& Cod.
Just. V.
37. 22.
Cod. Theod.
I. 10. 2.

upon

upon the spot; or, on the other hand, be at liberty to lay them before the throne, if they fear the power of their adverse parties in the provinces where they live. When new taxes are to be imposed, he orders the detail of the assessment to be made in each city, and not by the principal citizens, but by the magistrates of the province, lest the power of the rich should lay the heaviest share of the burden upon the poor.

Humane attention in favour of slaves. II. 25. 1.

Even the slaves seemed to Constantine objects not beneath his care. In the partition of lands, which necessarily occasioned a partition of slaves, he forbids separating husbands from their wives, or fathers and mothers from their children: and if this humane attention be neglected or overlooked, he orders the public officer to remedy it, by putting together in the same habitation those whom the sacred ties of nature have united.

Law to prevent the murder of children, whose parents are not able to maintain them. XI. 27. 1.

A law of great importance, because it relates to an infinitely tender concern, is that by which he secures the lives of the children of the poor, and saves their parents the commission of a crime. It is known that the Roman laws gave fathers an absolute power of life and death over their children: and this power was often unmercifully exercised upon new born infants, whose fathers were so barbarous as to murder them, because they were not able to maintain them. Constantine, to prevent these horrid cruelties, and at the same time preserve citizens to the state, orders the prætorian præfect, as soon as a child is brought to him which the father cannot provide for, instantly to lend his assistance, because the wants attending the first moments after the birth of an infant admit of no delay; to furnish it immediately with food and all other necessaries: and to defray this expence, which charity and sound policy recommend with equal force, he renders not only the imperial treasury, but even his own particular revenues liable.

Constantine

Constantine signalizes also in several laws, his zeal to protect the liberty of the citizens of his empire. He not only restores to the enjoyment of that precious right, those who had lost it under the tyranny of Maxentius; (some may perhaps think his own interest had as great a share in this, as equity;) but by posterior laws he procures to those who have been unjustly reduced to servitude, all imaginable facility to recover the liberty they were born to; not allowing prescription, even of sixty years, to be pleaded in any case of this kind.

Laws in favour of liberty.
V. 6. 1.
IV. 8. 1.
& 2.

Cod. Just.
VII. 22.

This prince, who respected and personally observed the rules of chastity, could not but shew, in the laws which he passed, his zeal for this virtue, nor do otherwise than exert his authority to prevent the contrary abuses. We have already observed, that in his act of grace granted in the year of Christ 322, to all criminals, he excepts adulterers, whom, in his law, he ranks with murderers and poisoners.

Laws for maintaining purity of manners.

He increased the penalty before decreed against rapes; ordering the most rigorous punishments to be inflicted not only on the ravisher, but also on the woman, if she had given her consent: and even supposing that consent not to be fully proved, yet, judging it extremely difficult for her to be absolutely innocent, he deprives her of her paternal and maternal inheritance. He extends his severity even to the confidants acquainted with the design, to slaves aiding or assisting in the execution of it, and to the parents themselves if negligent to sue for justice. Only he varies the punishment according to the degree of guilt, and the quality of the persons. He renewed and increased the ancient and salutary rigour of the decree of the senate enacted under the emperor Claudius against women who abandoned themselves to slaves. He made it * perpetual banishment and forfeiture

Cod. Theod.
LX. 24. 1.

IV. 9. 1.

* I have not used the word *deportation*, which is the proper term, but less known than that of *perpetual banishment*. There is, however, a difference between these two punishments. By *deportation*

forfeiture of effects and estate for a guardian to debauch his ward. He strictly forbid all married men to keep concubines. He undertook to abolish the crime against nature, often tolerated by the wisest of his predecessors: and if he could not succeed so far as absolutely to root it out, he at least checked it greatly by the violence of the punishment directed in that case. His vigilance extended to every thing that can interest modesty. He ordered that men and women prisoners should not be confined together, but be kept in separate and distinct places. He forbid forcing women, for debt, even though due to the Exchequer, from their houses, which are a sanctuary where the modesty of their sex takes shelter: and he condemned to death the judges who should order such violence to be committed.

In all these different laws, so full of wisdom, equity, and zeal for justice and purity of manners, it is easy to perceive an impression of the spirit of Christianity, which Constantine professed when he made them. Other laws of the same prince relate more immediately to religion; and of these I shall give the reader some account, after taking notice of those concerning the soldiery, and men of letters.

It is well known how much the affection of the troops was necessary to the Roman emperors, whose power, entirely military, was supported by arms, more than by the laws. It is remarkable, that in the great number of civil wars which Constantine was forced either to oppose or undertake, no sedition, no revolt happened in his armies, except that which his father-in-law Maximian Hercules stirred up in his absence, and which was pacified

tation the criminal was confined to an island: whereas *banishment* left the person condemned at liberty to go where he pleased out of the country from which he was banished. But both punishments were alike in this essential point, that they were the most rigorous of their kind, and implied alike forfeiture of estate, and privation of all the rights of a citizen.

Cod. Just.
XXV. 26.
Willelm.
Const. art.
46.

Cod. Theos.
IX. 3. 3.

I. 10. 1.

Laws concerning
the soldiery.

Italified the moment he re-appeared. He owed the tranquillity he enjoyed in this respect, to his great qualities, which commanded the esteem and admiration of his officers and soldiers, and to his behaviour towards them, properly tempered with indulgence and resolution. We see by several laws of the Theodosian code, that he was extremely careful to preserve, and even to enlarge the privileges of the veterans, to secure them settlements, and to grant them several favours and immunities, whether they applied to agriculture or commerce. But we do not find in any of them the least indication of that mean complaisance or servile flattery practised by some of his predecessors, who, after rendering themselves odious to the people by a tyrannical government, put their whole trust in the soldiery.

The sons of the veterans enjoyed the same privileges as their fathers, provided they followed the same profession. They often wanted to retain the prerogatives of their conditions, without being subjected to the military duties. Constantine, in several laws, is careful to prevent an abuse, which, by increasing the number of privileged persons, tended to oppress the people. He orders that the sons of veterans, who have attained their sixteenth year without entering into the army, shall be taxed like other men, and share the public burdens with their fellow citizens.

This prince, in another law, takes from the officers of the army, an advantage which they procured themselves contrary to the standing regulation, and which was burdensome to the provinces. Instead of receiving their subsistence in kind, they demanded it in money: from whence a double inconvenience arose. It was necessary to lay a pecuniary tax upon the people: and the provisions being spoilt by remaining too long in store-houses, what had been already furnished was required a second time. Constantine absolutely forbids paying the officers their subsistence in money; and orders what they leave in
the

the magazines, to be sold, and the produce to be paid into the Exchequer.

FIG. 12. 1. We may judge of the severity with which the prince maintained the military discipline in his army by a law concerning the giving the furloughs to the soldiers that guarded the frontiers of the empire. This law sentences to death the officer who shall have granted the furlough, in case the barbarians attempt any incursion during the soldier's absence; and to perpetual banishment, even if every thing remains perfectly quiet.

He weakens the authority of the office of prætorian præfect.

He made several alterations in the army, which I shall not undertake to particularize, because they are connected with the history of later times than my present plan extends to. But I cannot help taking notice of his care to weaken the authority of the office of prætorian præfect, which had been so often fatal to the emperors.

Zon. l. II.

The prætorian præfects were, as I have often observed upon other occasions, the sovereign's lieutenants in civil as well as military affairs, and their being so near the throne was a strong temptation to them to step from the second rank to the first, which at the same time their office greatly facilitated the means of doing. Constantine had recourse to two expedients to lessen the influence of these formidable officers. He increased their number, and diminished the extent of their power.

Originally, there was but one prætorian præfect. Afterwards, it became a custom frequently to create two, and we have seen Commodus appoint three. But this was a singularity, not followed. Constantine increased their number to four: and whereas anciently these officers, even when there were several of them, exercised the authority of their office in common throughout the whole empire, without any particular division or partition of their power, this prince assigned them four different departments or diocesses: Gaul, under which was comprised Spain and Britain; Italy,

Italy, with Africa and the intermediate islands; Illyricum, taken in its full extent, which we have explained more than once; and the East, which comprehended Asia minor, Syria, and Egypt. This arrangement was a novelty: but in establishing it Constantine had at least the advantage of being able to authorise what he did by the sanction of what others had done before. Under Dioclesian, the empire had been governed by four princes, each of which had his prætorian præfect: and we see, even in the time of Treb. Tr. Tyr. 19, Valerian, a Carus præfect of Illyricum and Gaul, and consequently attached to a particular department.

Constantine dismembered still farther an office which he justly suspected, by divesting it of all power over the troops, and leaving it only the general care of the administration of justice and the finances. By this change he entirely altered its nature. It was quite military in its first institution, and he rendered it purely civil. To supply the want of these officers in the command of the armies, he created masters of the militia, who had no authority in civil affairs. By this means the plenitude of power centered in the sovereign only, and there were no longer any officers who represented him completely. Zosimus blames this alteration severely, as contrary to the welfare of the service in the maintenance of discipline and the operations of war. But the examples of so many rebellions, so many emperors dethroned, seem sufficiently to justify the precautions which Constantine thought himself obliged to take.

The same writer reproaches him with having drawn the troops from the castles that guarded the frontiers in order to quarter them in the cities where there was no occasion for them. If the fact was averred, it would perhaps be difficult to find a good excuse for it. But Zosimus shews such envenomed hatred against this prince, whom he cannot forgive the destruction of idolatry, that he deserves little credit when he speaks ill of him.

Constantine's taste for the arts and sciences.
Vict. Epit. Eus. de vit. Const.

17. 55.

32.

Tillem. Const. art. 95.

Nazar. Paneg. Const. Aug.

Euseb. Chron. Auson. Prof. 16.

Constantine, like all great princes of every age and country, loved and favoured letters. He himself cultivated them, and took delight, says an author of those times, in reading, writing, and meditating. Eusebius has preserved several monuments of the good sense and learning of this prince, letters, ordinances, speeches, all upon religious subjects, or matters relative thereto. According to the testimony of that writer, Constantine drew up his most important edicts and letters himself. He composed his own harangues, which he wrote in Latin, the language he was most accustomed to, and his interpreters translated them into Greek. Knowing, by his own experience, what advantages a prince receives from the finer parts of knowledge, he took great care to inculcate them in the minds of his children. He gave them an education becoming their birth and the high rank to which they were destined. He chose them the most excellent masters of all kinds, and was himself their first master. He instructed them in Christian piety, in the science of government, and in all the military exercises. He taught them early the pleasure of doing good, by employing their tender hands, as soon as they could write, to sign orders for gratuities and rewards. To this rich fund he was desirous to add the embellishments of literature and eloquence. We know but two of the masters to whom he intrusted the instruction of their infancy, and their names do honour to Constantine's discernment. Lactantius, the greatest genius of his age, was preceptor to Crispus Cæsar; and Æmilius Arborius, a celebrated professor of rhetoric at Toulouse, was sent for to Constantinople to give lessons to * one of the three princes, the sons of Fausta.

From

* Ausonius does not specify which of these three princes it was that Arborius instructed in eloquence, but only calls him by the vague appellation of Cæsar. This obliges me to use an equally undetermined expression.

From this account of Constantine's personal taste for the sciences and fine arts, we may conclude how ready he was to favour and protect them as a legislator. He lavished immunities and privileges upon physicians, grammarians, and professors of the other branches of literature. By different laws he exempts them and their estates from all public charge or office in the cities they inhabit, but permits them to enjoy all titular honours. He excuses them from military service, and from having soldiers quartered upon them: and he extends all these exemptions to their wives and children. He forbids vexing them by odious litigations; and if any one commences an iniquitous suit against them, or abuses them in any manner whatever, he orders the unjust aggressor to be condemned in a fine of an hundred thousand sesterces, for which he makes the magistrates themselves answerable, if they neglect to levy it. Such is the protection which he thinks due to men of letters, * that they may be the better able to pursue their studies, and communicate their knowledge to others.

Architecture is in itself an art well worthy of the esteem and bounty of a sovereign. But the building of several sacred basilics, and particularly the founding of Constantinople, rendered architects singularly valuable to Constantine. This, doubtless, was the motive of one of his laws, by which he invites young men of genius and learning to study architecture, and the experienced in that art to teach it publicly; granting to the former an exemption from all burdensome offices, for themselves and their parents, and assigning to the latter a suitable salary.

It now remains that we speak of Constantine's Christian piety, of which we have already given some instances, as opportunities for so doing have offered. But the object is sufficiently important to deserve a separate and somewhat extensive article.

* Quò faciliùs liberalibus studiis & memoratis artibus multos instituant.

Laws in favour of those who professed them. *Coel. Theod. XIII. 3. 1-3.*

XIII. 4. 1.

Constantine's Christian piety.

He gloried in the public profession of Christianity. *Eus. de vit. Cons. III. 2. & 3. & IV. 15. & Sozom. 1. 8. Tillem. Const. art. 26.* I shall observe in the first place, that he was not one of those who are ashamed of Christ and his cross. On the contrary, he gloried in them, and professed loudly the faith he had in his heart. He declared it by his words, his actions, and numbers of monuments. His effigy was carved at the entrance of his palace, with the cross over his head, the infernal dragon, stabbed through, under his feet: and in general, in whatever manner he was represented, whether in statuary or painting, he desired it might always be in the attitude of one that prays, with his hands stretched out, and his eyes raised towards heaven. His medals, many of which still remain, confirm the testimony of history in this respect.

He abolished crucifixion. *Aurel. Vict. & Sozom.* His respect for the cross of our Saviour made him abolish crucifixion, a death which the Greeks and Romans had at all times inflicted upon criminals, particularly slaves. He would not suffer the instrument of our salvation to be dishonoured by any use, not only profane, but capable of making men look upon it with horror. He thought it indecent and irreligious, that the cross should be used for the punishment of the vilest offenders, whilst he himself erected it as a trophy, and esteemed it the noblest ornament of his diadem and military standards. The text of this law, so worthy of the piety of the first Christian emperor, has not been preserved. But the fact is asserted by a Pagan writer, and the practice of all the princes and nations who profess Christianity, is agreeable to it. The same religious sentiment induced Constantine likewise to forbid breaking the legs of criminals, a punishment often annexed to that of the cross, as appears from the example of the two thieves crucified with Christ.

He forbade branding criminals upon the forehead. *Cod. Theod. l. v. 40. 2.* He thought it incumbent on him likewise, from a principle of religion, to enforce the * respect due to the

* Quo facies, quæ ad similitudinem pulchritudinis cœlestis est figurata, minime maculetur.

the ray of divine beauty imprinted on the face of man by the hand of the Creator. It was customary to brand upon the forehead, with a red hot iron, those that were condemned either to the mines, or to be confined with the gladiators, in order that if they attempted to run away, they might be known again by their indelible mark. Constantine abolished this custom by a law which we have, and acknowledged for his so doing the reason I have assigned. But he doubtless added to it in his own mind another motive, less obvious to his subjects, most of whom were Pagans. He would not suffer that part of the body to be subjected to ignominy, on which the Christians have always received the seal of the cross.

I have already said with what distinction Constantine shewed his veneration for the cross, from the time of his seeing the symbol of it in the sky, and of his being in consequence thereof converted to the Christian faith. But when that sacred pledge of the redemption of mankind was afterwards discovered in reality, through the piety of the emperor's mother Helena, he displayed all his magnificence to honour the mysteries of the humiliation of the Saviour.

He had resolved to raise a temple to Jesus Christ upon mount Calvary; and Helena, to second that pious design, went to Jerusalem, and undertook to discover the place of the crucifixion, the cross upon which Christ suffered death, and the cave in which he was buried. This search was not easy, because Adrian, near two hundred years before, as I have elsewhere related, taking a pleasure in hiding and profaning the places consecrated by the last mysteries of the Saviour, had buried under great heaps of earth the spot where the cave was, not far from that of the crucifixion, and built upon this platform, which was paved with stone, a temple to Venus, and raised, over the sepulchre, a statue to Jupiter. It was therefore necessary to pull down and remove all this edifice

He builds a magnificent church over the holy sepulchre discovered through the piety of his mother Helena. The cross found. *Bus. de vit Const. III. 25—43. Socrat. I. 17. Sozom. II. 1, 2.*

the

Theodor. I.
16—18.

Paulin. Ep.
ad Sev.

the fruit of impiety; to clear away the mass of stones on which it rested; and then to dig very deep, to find the former surface. After removing a vast quantity of earth, and all the rubbish of the demolished buildings, the sacred grot in which the body of our Lord had rested, and from whence it had risen triumphant, was at last discovered; and upon digging a little deeper, three crosses were found. The church of Rome relates the miracles (for no event is more highly celebrated by her votaries) by which God distinguished the cross of his son from those of the two thieves crucified with him *. The cure of a dying woman, and the resurrection of a dead body, effected by the touch of one of the three crosses, while the two others were applied in vain, manifested, say the Romanists, that on which the salvation of mankind was accomplished. The pious empress, add they, who had presided at the whole work, transported with joy when she found herself in possession of a treasure which she preferred to all the riches of the empire, cut the sacred cross into two pieces, the largest of which she inclosed in a shrine of silver, and left with Macarius bishop of Jerusalem, and sent the other to her son as a present of inestimable value.

The holy sepulchre being thus discovered, Constantine prepared to execute his resolution, and to that end gave orders for building a basilic worthy if possible, of the sanctity of the places, and of his magnificence. He wrote to the great officers of the province, commanding them to collect the most precious materials, and the best workmen that could be had: after which he appointed, to superintend the whole, Macarius of Jerusalem, his letter to whom

on

* M. Crevier observes here, that Eusebius does not make any express mention of the finding of the cross, and that his silence in this respect has made some bold men question the truth of the fact. These he refers, for an answer to their objections, to M. de Tillemont's Hist. Eccl. Tom. VII. not. 2. sur Sainte Helene, and more particularly to M. Duguet's Explic. de la Pass. Tom. X. ch. 14. art. 2.

on this occasion, full of the spirit of religion and faith, is still extant.

The emperor begins with expressing to that bishop his admiration of the economy of providence, which had kept hidden and buried under ground, for near two centuries, the sacred monuments of the sufferings and resurrection of the Saviour, and produced them at a time when the reign of the demon was drawing towards an end. "My first and only wish, continues he, has always been, that as the truth is daily manifested more and more by new miracles, so our souls may burn with a new zeal for the divine law, and express more and more real holiness by a perfect purity of manners, and the concert of an unanimous charity." He then explains his intentions concerning the temple he had resolved to build, and declares his design of making it the most magnificent of any in the whole world; to which end he orders Macarius to chuse the finest and most perfect materials.

The effect answered his desire. A vast and noble basilic was raised, incrusted with marble, and shining with gold. Its extent comprised both the holy sepulchre, which was adorned and embellished with singular art, and the place of crucifixion. For this reason we find it called by the several names of the Martyrdom, the church of Calvary, the Anastasia, or church of the Resurrection, and the church of the Cross.

The building of such a temple was attended with an expence which could suit none but the emperor. His mother was likewise desirous to shew her piety by monuments proportioned to her situation, but not less religious. She destroyed at Bethlehem the temple of Adonis, by which Adrian had profaned the place where Christ was born, and raised instead of it a church to the incarnate Son of God. She built another upon the mount of Olives, on the spot where our Saviour ended his abode on earth by his glorious

ascension.

*Tillem.
Hist. Eccl.
T. VII.
Sainte Helene, art. 5.*

*Churches
built by
Saint Helena at
Bethlehem, and
upon the
mount of
Olives.*

ascension. In both these works she was assisted by the liberalities of her son; but she had the first share in the design and execution of them.

Charity
and humi-
lity of
Saint He-
lena.
Eus. III.
43—47.
Socr. Soc.
Theod. ubi
supra.

In these works Helena paid to Christ the homage of an empress. But she knew full well that these pious magnificences, though perfectly agreeable to the spirit of religion, are nevertheless not its most essential part; and that good works towards the living temples of the God of mercy, are infinitely more pleasing in his sight, than any material temples erected to his glory. She relieved the poor, orphans, and widows, by repeated acts of noble charity. She had a particular affection for the virgins consecrated to God: and it is said, that having one day assembled all those of Jerusalem, she gave them an entertainment, at which she waited on them herself. She loved simplicity; and in the common prayers of the faithful, she mixed with the other women, without taking any particular or distinguished place. She visited the principal churches of the east, and left wherever she went, proofs of her Christian and religious liberality. She was able to indulge her pious charity in these respects, because the emperor her son, confiding in her prudence, gave her leave to draw upon the imperial treasury for whatever sums she pleased.

Her death.
Tillem.
Hist.
Ecel.
T. VII.
St. Helena.

She did not long survive the journey to Jerusalem, which the ardour of her zeal made her undertake, notwithstanding her weight of years: for she was very old when she visited the holy places, since she died soon after at the age of eighty.

Her life was constantly happy, at least after the elevation of her son to the throne of the Cæsars. She saw that only son re-unite under his power the whole extent of the Roman dominion, and three grandsons seemed to promise her, that the empire would be perpetuated in her posterity. Add to this, perfect health, and an unimpaired vigour of mind, preserved even in her old age. So many prosperities were not to her, as they too often prove, a means

of

of seduction, but, on the contrary, an inexhaustible fund of grateful acknowledgements and piety towards God. She had been long engaged in the superstitions of idolatry, and it was by the conversion of her son, that God thought proper to bring her to Christianity. She embraced it with a sincere heart and an enlightened mind: and full of merit before God and men, she died in the arms of her son, who, in her last moments, paid her, as he had always done before, every duty of filial piety. His tenderness and respect for so worthy a mother, is one of the finest parts of this prince's life.

Helena was estimable for her wise and prudent conduct. This appears from the authority she always preserved over her son; and still more particularly by the care she took to prevent the rise of Constantine's brothers. They were three, Julius Constantius, Dalmatius, and Annibalianus,¹ and had over their elder brother, as I have elsewhere observed, the advantage of nobility on the side of their mother, who was the daughter-in-law of Maximian Hercules: besides which, there was no example of sons of emperors remaining in a private station. They had indeed no actual right to the empire, because it was elective: and the minority in which their father left them when he died, together with the inconvenience of dividing the territories of Constantius Chlorus, which scarcely amounted to a fourth part of the Roman empire, were sufficient reasons for transmitting the whole of that emperor's inheritance to Constantine alone, who was in a condition to defend it against the greediness and injustice of Galerius. It does not appear that Helena could have any share in this last arrangement, as she was hardly at the court of Constantius Chlorus, who had divorced her. But she maintained it by her prudent precautions. Fearing lest the young princes, either of their own accord, or by the advice of evil counsellors, might attempt

things

She was a prudent and intelligent princess.

things contrary to their duty and to the tranquillity of the state, she kept them always at a distance from the court and from employments, sometimes at Toulouse, at other times in some other city, and last of all at Corinth, where she fixed their abode. Julian the apostate, son of Julius Constantius, calls this conduct the cunning artifice of a step-mother. M. de Tillemont sees in it only a prudent policy, supposing, as the fact really was, that the sons of the emperors had no sort of hereditary right to the dominions of their fathers, any otherwise than if they were acknowledged by, and had the suffrages of, the senate and the armies. After the death of Helena, Constantine raised his brother and their children in dignity. He decorated two of them with the consulship*. He revived, in favour of Dalmatius, the title of censor, which had been laid aside since Valerian, and of which no farther mention is made after Dalmatius. He created for Julius Constantius the dignity of *Patrician*, which was only a mere title of honour, but gave rank of precedency before the prætorian prefect, and immediately after the consuls. He instituted in favour of the same Julius Constantius and of Annibalianus, the title of *most noble*, which authorised them to wear a purple robe embroidered with gold. And lastly, his brother Dalmatius dying before him, and leaving two sons, Dalmatius and Annibalianus, Constantine gave these two nephews a share in his inheritance. He made the elder of them Cæsar, assigning him for his department Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, then called Achaia; and named the other king of Pontus, Cappadocia, and the lesser Armenia. The event shewed that Helena's severity was more advantageous even to these princes themselves, than Constantine's indulgence. By raising them, he gave umbrage to his sons, who, were no sooner masters of the empire by the death

Anon.
Prof. 16.
Julian ap.
lib. or VII.
p. 217.
Tillem.
Const.
art. 85.

* See the principal events of the reign of Constantine.

of their father, then they massacred their uncles and cousins*.

History does not say where Helena died, though it tells us where she was buried. Constantine sent her body to Rome, to be deposited in the tomb of the emperors. He expressed an ardent desire to preserve her name, and transmit it to future ages. He erected the town of Drepanum in Bithynia, where she seems to have been born, into a city, and changed its old name into that of Helenopolis. The church of Rome has ranked this pious princess among the saints, and celebrates her festival by an express service. M. de Tillemont places her death under the year 328; and in 326, her journey to Jerusalem, and consequently the discovery of the holy sepulchre, and of the cross of our Saviour.

Besides the basilic of the resurrection at Jerusalem, and the churches of his new city of Constantinople, the pious emperor built several others, at Nicomedia, Antioch, and elsewhere. But that of Mambré deserves a particular attention, on account of the singularity of the circumstances attending it. The valley of Mambré is famous in the book of Genesis for Abraham's long sojourning there, and for the apparition of the angels which foretold him a son. As the name of Abraham was held in high veneration throughout all the east, his having dwelt in this place drew to it a great concourse not only of Jews and Christians, but also of Gentiles: and these last, thinking to honour him, had profaned it, by an altar consecrated to their false gods, and by idolatrous sacrifices which they offered up there. Constantine was informed of this disorder by his mother-in-law Eutropia, the widow of Maximian Hercules, who becoming a Christian, and travelling in Palestine out

Honour
paid to her
memory.
Tillem.
Hist. Eccl.
T. VII. §
Const. art.
43.

A church
built by
Constantine's order
at Mambré.
Euseb. de
vit. Const.
III. 50—
53. Sacr. I.
18. Zozom.
II. 4.

* Though Zosimus names only Constantius, the second son of Constantine, as the author of this horrid massacre, it is highly probable that his brothers, who were not better than him, and who had the same interest, were not innocent,

of devotion for the holy places, had been greatly offended by what he saw practised at Mambré. Constantine was not less displeas'd at the profanation of so respectable a place. He wrote about it to Macarius of Jerusalem, and Eusebius of Casarea, complaining to them of their indifference for an object so interesting to religion, and ordering them to build a Christian church at Mambré; which was accordingly done.

Constantine's warm and affectionate zeal for the worship of God, made him, by a natural consequence, honour those who were consecrated to that holy ministry. He called the bishops his brothers: he made them dine with him: instead of despising the plain, and often poor, appearance which some of them still made, that very circumstance rendered them more respectable in his eyes: those among them who had suffered torments in the late persecutions, and who bore upon their bodies the glorious marks of the confession of the name of Christ, were singularly objects of his veneration: he kissed the scars of their holy wounds, which he looked upon as sources of blessings. This is related particularly of St. Paphnucius, bishop in Thebais, whose right eye had been put out in Maximin's persecution.

Nothing could be more prudent nor more respectful in behalf of the episcopacy, than the use which this prince made of several memorials presented to him by bishops against some of their brethren. At the opening of the council of Nice, certain prelates, secret abettors of the impiety of Arius, finding that their doctrine was going to be condemned by that holy assembly, endeavoured to breed disturbances and confusion in it by personal quarrels and accusations, of which they wanted the emperor to be judge. Constantine received their memorials, tied them all up together, and threw them into the fire, without reading them: after which, going into the council, he exhorted the fathers assembled to peace and

*His respect
for the
episcopacy.*

*Euseb. I.
42.*

*Tillem. I.
11.*

Socr. I. 11.

*Socr. I. 9.
Sozom. I.
17.
Theod. I.
11.*

and

and concord, declaring that it belonged to God, and not to a mortal man, to judge them ; and added, that the faults of bishops, if they did commit any, ought not to be made public, lest their example should be laid hold of by ignorant people, as a sanction for them to sin : that for his part, if he was witness to any scandal given by a bishop, he would cover it with his cloke, to hide the knowledge of it, if possible, from all the world.

To these marks of deference and respect for religion and its ministers, Constantine joined a real protection, of which the Christian church had then but too much need, not only against foreign enemies, but also on account of her own intestine divisions. These feuds did not indeed shake the steadiness of her faith : but they gave her extreme uneasiness. " It is truly deplorable, said the emperor, that they who ought mutually to cherish and promote a brotherly love and charity, should make a shameful and even impious war upon each other, and by their scandalous animosities furnish unbelievers with an opportunity to laugh at, and insult them." This was his reflection upon the schism of the Donatists, to extinguish which, he convened two councils, one at Rome in the year 312, the other, more numerous, at Arles, in 314, at a time when the war against Licinius seemed alone an object sufficient to engross all his attention.

The heresy of Arius raised still more violent storms, to appease which Constantine assembled the council of Nice, where he acted in a manner perfectly becoming the functions of what he stiled himself on that occasion, an *Out-Bishop*. Thoroughly satisfied that it was his duty to render his power subservient to the glory of Him from whom he had received it, and at the same time keep within due bounds, he assisted personally at the council, protected the liberty of its debates, saw its decrees executed, and remained inviolably attached to them all his life. Happy ! had he been

His protection of the church.

Euseb. Hist. Eccl. X. 5.

Euseb. de vit. Const. l. V. 2

been

been able to guard as well against the flatteries of the Arian bishops, as against their errors. Misled by his easiness of temper and openness of heart, he fell into their snares; and, through a strange inconsistency of conduct, gave his confidence to men, whose design was to destroy the faith which he professed, and became the persecutor of those who held that very faith.

I only point out these principal facts, the consequences of which extend far beyond the limits I have prescribed to myself in this work: nor do I extract from them any thing more than just what is necessary, in order to give a proper idea of Constantine's conduct in regard to the affairs of the church.

He heaps favours and privileges upon the clergy.

He loaded the clergy with privileges and favours. He exempted them from all those civil offices which, as I have observed elsewhere, were so burdensome; and assigned as his reason for so doing, “* That he would not have their attention be taken off from the divine rights to which they were devoted.”

Ens. Hist.
Eecl. X. 7.
Cod. Theod.
XVI. 2. 2.
Ens. de vit.
Const. IV.
16.
Theod. I.
2.

His liberalities to them were not only temporary, but also stable and perpetual: for he gave them lands; besides ordering that all the churches should receive yearly a certain quantity of corn and other provisions, which must have been very great, since even the third of it, to which it was reduced when Theodoret wrote, is represented by that writer as a considerable object.

Cod. Theod.
XVI. 1. 4.
XI. 1. 1.

He permitted and rendered valid, by an express law, testamentary donations in favour of the churches; upon all whose possessions he bestowed an immunity, which has been several times attacked by his successors, less zealous, perhaps, than him, or more struck with the bad consequences it might be of to the state.

Constantine, thinking he could never do sufficient honour to the episcopacy, invested the bishops even with

* Ne a divinis obsequiis avocentur.

with a part of the civil power, and made them in a manner magistrates. In this spirit he published three laws, two of which yet remain, one addressed to Protogenes bishop of Sardis, the other to the great Osius of Corduba, empowering all bishops to attest and authorise the freeing of slaves, in their churches, and in their presence, without the assistance of the civil magistrate; and ordaining that the slave so freed should be intitled to his full and entire liberty, which implied the quality of Roman citizen, as effectually as if his manumission had been performed in the most solemn and usual manner.

He also constituted the bishops judges in all suits at law, which the parties concerned should chuse to lay before them, rather than before the secular courts; Sozom. l. 9 ordering that their decisions should be final, without appeal, in the same manner as if they emanated from the emperor himself, and commanding the magistrates and their officers to see them duly executed.

This is what Sozomen says: and this alone would be a great deal, even if we were to seek no farther than his account. But if we recur to the text of the law itself, as it stands at the end of the Theodosian code, we shall be astonished to see that the historian has not said all. This law permits either of the litigating parties to compel the other to submit the suit to the bishop's determination, in whatever state the affair may be, even though going to be heard before the ordinary court. It likewise orders, that a bishop shall be believed in justice upon his sole testimony, and forbids hearing any witness that may offer to contradict him: an unheard of, and unprecedented privilege. James Godfrey, struck with these and some other difficulties, suspects the authenticity of this law, and deems it a forgery. M. de Tillemont believes and maintains it to be true. It is not my business to enter into that discussion. But if this law was given by Constantine in the manner we have it, he must indeed have had a most ardent zeal, to which the event

Col. Theod.
XVI. 12.

event has not answered, and of which it has been necessary to restrain the effects.

Law ordaining the celebration of Sunday.
Cod. Justin. III. 12. 3.

Cod. Theod. II. 8. 1.

Constantine expressed his piety by other laws, which are laudable in all respects, and quite unexceptionable. Such is that by which he ordered the celebration of the Sunday throughout the whole empire, forbidding any public or private business to be transacted on that day, any manual labour to be done, or the courts of justice to sit. From this general prohibition he excepted only the necessary work of the husbandman in seed-time and harvest: and by another law, enacted soon after this, he added a new exception in favour of emancipations, manumissions, and other similar acts of spontaneous benevolence. It is remarkable that, in both these laws, Constantine does not use the term of the Lord's day, but that of Sunday. This last denomination was authorised by custom; and besides, as these laws were directed to all without distinction, as well Pagans as Christians, it was necessary to speak so as to be understood by all.

Law exempting celibacy from the penalties it was subject to by the old law.
Eus. de vit. Const. IV. 26. & Sozom. I. 9.

Cod. Theod. VIII. 16. 1.

He also exempted celibacy from the penalties to which it had been subjected by former princes, who had considered it only as an hindrance to the increase of their subjects, and, judging by the manners of their times, an encouragement to licentiousness, rather than a means of practising virtue. Constantine knew the principles which actuated those among the Christians who refrained from marriage; and being himself a constant lover and strict observer of chastity, he would not suffer the heroism of this virtue, perfect continence, to deprive such as devoted themselves to it, of the advantages which the laws granted to other citizens. He therefore enacted, that the unmarried should be relieved from the rigour of the old law, and be capable of inheriting whatever might be left them by will. At the same time he continued, or at least did not rescind, the privileges formerly granted to the fathers of several children.

The

The salutary instructions of Christianity made him likewise see the cruelty of those inhuman sports, the combats of gladiators, which indeed had before shocked the wiser part of the Pagans. “* How shameful is it, cries Seneca, that man, whose life ought to be deemed sacred, should be murdered for the amusement of his fellow creatures!” Marcus Aurelius had, in some measure, mitigated the barbarity of those cruel pleasures. But it was reserved to the religion of the Saviour of mankind to abolish diversions so contrary to humanity. Constantine first had the glory of prohibiting them, and of ordering that such criminals as it was customary to condemn to be gladiators, should for the future be sent to the mines. All his power was, however, not great enough to destroy at once so deep-rooted an evil. The combats of gladiators subsisted eighty years after him, till at length Honorius suppressed them entirely.

Constantine, though full of zeal for whatever interested the holy religion which he professed, kept however certain measures in regard to prejudices of too old a standing to be easily rooted out, and avoided spoiling by indiscretion, what it was necessary to conduct with care and mildness. I have already observed the name of Sunday retained in the law by which he ordered the celebration of the Lord’s day. He used the same caution in the two laws mentioned afterwards. The true motive of that which he enacted in favour of celibacy, was doubtless his respect for the virtue of continence. He honoured singularly those who, to use Eusebius’s expression had devoted themselves to the divine philosophy, that is to say, those who embraced the solitary life, the first engagement of which was the renouncing of marriage. He revered the virgins consecrated to God, as living temples of Him for whom alone they reserved all the sentiments of

Law for-
bidding
combats of
gladiators.

Cod. Theod.
XV. 12. 1.

Constantine’s wari-
ness, which
he carries
too far, in
regard to
the pre-
vailing su-
perstitions.

Eus. de vit.
Const. IV.
18.

* Homo, sacra res, homini jam per lusum & jocum occiditur.
Sen. pist. 95.

of the heart. Of this, however, the law does not make any mention, and Constantine seems to have had no other view in it, than to rectify a prevailing injustice. The case is the same with respect to the law tending to abolish gladiators. "Bloody sights," says the emperor, do not suit with the happy tranquillity of our times." This is a good reason to give to all : but all would not have been capable of entering into those which emanate from the gentleness of Christianity.

Constantine carried his prudent reserve still farther, contenting himself with prescribing bounds to certain abuses which he could not hope absolutely to destroy. *Cod. Theod.* III. 16. 1. This we have already seen with respect to usury. His caution was the same in regard to divorces, which have never been forbidden but by the law of Christianity. To have attempted to subject men, without any previous preparation, to so severe an ordinance, which had alarmed even the apostles when their divine master proposed it, would have been an undertaking capable of revolting the minds of all. But the licentiousness of divorces among the Romans was become insufferable for many ages past. Seneca had long complained * that the women reckoned their years, not by the consuls, but by the number of their husbands. This indecent multiplication of husbands differed little from debauchery : it disturbed the happiness of families, and clogged inheritances with a thousand difficulties. The remedying of this evil could therefore not fail to be approved. Constantine did it, by diminishing the number of cases in which a divorce should be allowed, and increasing the penalty against unjust and needless separations. By that means he prepared things for a more thorough reformation, entirely regulated upon the strict precepts of the gospel.

Perhaps

* Numquid jam ulla repudio erubescit, postquam illustres quædam ac nobiles femine, non consulum numero, sed maritum, annos suos computant. *Sen. de Benef.* III. 16.

Perhaps he carried his condescension for the Pagans too far, in not abolishing with regard to himself the use of the terms *eternity*, *adoration*, and others of the same kind, which the pride of the idolatrous princes, and the mean and impious flattery of their courtiers, had introduced. It cannot be doubted but that this profane language displeased him, and he did not use it himself. But he suffered those whose prejudices it suited, to continue to address him in their accustomed stile, instead of shewing, as his piety should have induced him to do, an horror for all such expressions, which he might thereby have proscribed. His successors were still less scrupulous upon this head.

If Constantine tolerated these Pagan expressions, it certainly was not through want of zeal against idolatry. He gave it some mortal wounds; he endeavoured to destroy it; and if he left part of the work to be finished by those who should come after him, it was because so great a change in the world could not be brought about in a short time.

He tried the gentle means of exhortation. We have an edict of his, drawn up by himself, by which he invites all his subjects to renounce their old superstitions, and embrace the true faith, which God had manifested in so signal a manner, by visibly punishing the persecutors of Christianity, and exalting the prince who declared himself its protector. However, he leaves them liberty of conscience, and forbids all compulsion; though he wishes ardently that all may embrace the true religion. "Let every one, says he, follow what he thinks the truth, without pretending to rule others. Let him that is enlightened, endeavour, if possible, to render himself useful to his neighbour, by imparting to him the same light: if he cannot succeed therein, let him not, for that reason, disturb the other's peace." This edict seems to have been made soon after the ruin of Licinius, and the reduction of the whole empire under

the obedience of Constantine. This prince constantly practised the maxim he prescribed to others. He undoubtedly protected the Christians against the violence which the Pagans, in places where they still were strongest, sometimes threatened them with, in order to compel them to partake of their profane ceremonies. But I do not find that he ever employed force, to make any Pagan embrace Christianity.

God. Theod. JX. 16. 1. 2. & XVI. 10. 1. With regard to the exercise of the superstitions of idolatry, its sacrifices, divinations, &c. Constantine did not treat them with the same indulgence as the persons who were deluded by them. He began with forbidding any act of this kind to be done in private: but without suppressing the public worship, or any of the ceremonies that were performed openly in the temples. This appears from three laws, dated in the year 319 and 321.

Eus. II. 44. He afterwards went farther, forbidding all those to whom he entrusted any part of his authority, ever to celebrate sacrifices. The Christians were put in office, as much as he possibly could: but as necessity forced him to employ idolaters also, it was under the express condition that they should abstain from sacrificing: and this prohibition extended even to the prætorian prefects.

It cannot be doubted but that, encouraged by his first success, and acquiring more and more authority in proportion to the duration of his reign and his increase of prosperity, he forbid in general the sacrifices of the Pagans. The testimony of Eusebius, confirmed by that of several others, is positive in this respect: and Constans, the son of Constantine, who *45* says the same thing in one of his laws, establishes the certainty of this fact beyond dispute. On the other hand, it is not less certain that the sacrifices and other ceremonies of idolatry subsisted at Rome long after this: and Libanus declaring what he had seen, attests, that the temples of the Pagans were stripped by Constantine, but not shut up; that this prince

God. Theod. XVI. 10. 2.

Liban. de Templ.

prince

prince did not make any alteration in the practice of the old religion of the state; and that, its magnificence excepted, the public worship was performed as usual in the temples.

This seeming contradiction may be reconciled. Constantine prohibited the sacrifices of the Pagans: but he did not insist on the strict execution of his laws, which rather expressed his desire of what should be, than a firm resolution to be obeyed. He stripped the temples of their statues, and hindered setting up new ones: he took away their riches, but let the buildings subsist; and he tolerated the exercise of the established worship, because the fear of troubles and popular seditions did not permit him to struggle against the obstinacy of those who were hardened in their blindness. He refrained, however, scrupulously, from every act that might seem to authorise idolatry, and forbid setting up his images in any place consecrated to false gods. He even destroyed some famous temples: but they were chiefly those in which debauchery, joining impiety, animated his zeal with a double motive, and left the defenders of Paganism not even a shadow of excuse, if they still retained any sentiment of honour and reason.

Such were the temples of Heliopolis and Aphacus in Phœnicia. The inhabitants of Heliopolis worshipped Venus, and their morals were worthy of the worship they paid to the goddess of impudicity. An absolute community of all their women and wives among themselves, and the prostitution of their daughters to strangers who went thither, were a part of their religion, and the law of their country. Constantine destroyed the temple, which he looked upon as the source of these abominations: and instead of the impure worship which he abolished, he established that of Christianity, by building a church in this city, and sending it a bishop and other clergy, whose examples and instructions might win to virtue a multitude brought up in the school of vice. But

*Eus. de vit.
Const. IV.
16.*

*Destruction of the
temples of
Heliopolis
Aphacus,
and Egas,
in Cilicia.
Eus. de vit.
Const. III.
38.
Soerat. I.
19.*

an inveterate corruption is not easily rooted out. It resisted Constantine's efforts; and, under the reign of Julian the apostate, carried the people of this wicked city to horrid excesses of cruelty and infamy against the Christian virgins.

Euseb. III. 55. Soerat. Sozom. II. 5. In Aphacus, the disorder reigned with still greater impudence than at Heliopolis. The situation of the place, upon mount Libanus, far from the commerce and view of men, favoured debauchery, and banished all reserve. Venus was worshipped there under the title of Urania, or the Celestial, a name given her on account of certain balls of light which appeared from time to time in the air, and seemed afterwards to fall into, and be extinguished in, the river Adonis, which ran hard by. To this pretended prodigy, which consisted of nothing more than the now well known exhalations of the earth, Zosimus adds another, more capable of astonishing. He says that near the temple was a lake, into which were cast the offerings made to the goddess in gold, silver, or precious stuffs; and that these offerings, though of gold, swam upon the surface, if the goddess did not like them. In this account, plainly exaggerated, and doubtless charged with false circumstances, it is easy to distinguish a natural property of a water like that of the lake Asphaltites, whose specific weight sustains things that would sink in common water. These uncommon circumstances, heightened and embellished by the industry of the priests who made their profit of them, imposed upon the vulgar. But the Christians, though little acquainted then with natural philosophy, knew what to think of all that was alledged in support of idolatry and depravation of morals. Constantine, without heeding these pretended miracles, destroyed entirely the temple and its worship.

Eus. III. 56. Soer. Sozom. The wise part of the Pagans themselves blushed at the dissoluteness that was practised in the temples of Heliopolis and Aphacus. But they boasted triumphantly of the miraculous cures which Esculapius performed

performed in his temple at *Ægas* in *Cilicia*. We have taken notice of them, speaking of *Apollonius* of *Tayana's* stay there. *Constantine* had therefore reason to look upon the temple of *Ægas*, accredited by a thousand fabulous stories, as one of the demon's most dangerous snares, and the firmest support of idolatry in all the neighbouring countries. He pulled it down, and laid it level with the ground, so that not the least trace of it remained: and *Esculapius*, as *Eusebius* observes pleasantly enough, was this time struck with a thunder-bolt more formidable than that of *Jupiter*, which, though it took away his life, had not hindered him from preserving the rank and glory of a demi-god.

These demolitions of famous temples, and the removing of a great number of the most revered idols, were extremely serviceable to the propagation of Christianity, by undeceiving the people with respect to the false ideas they had formed to themselves of the power and nature of their gods. They were astonished to find that those statues, so fine in appearance, and in which they believed a divine virtue resided, contained within nothing but bones of dead men, dried skulls, rags, hay, straw, and other filth. The before inaccessible sanctuaries, from whence the oracles were delivered, presented to those who now went in and searched them, neither god, nor genius, nor any supernatural thing. By this means the worshippers of idols, convinced by their own eyes of the impotency and futility of all they had before feared and revered, could no longer avoid condemning their superstitions, and those of their fathers, and came in crowds to be enrolled in the holy society which had shewed them their error.

The temple of *Serapis* still subsisted in *Egypt*. *Constantine*, probably, thought it would not be prudent to attack that magnificent monument, the favourite object of the religion of *Alexandria*, and of all *Egypt*. The honour of destroying it was reserved for

Theodosius

Great numbers of idolaters undeceived. *Eus. III. 57.*

The measure of the Nile removed from the temple of *Serapis* in

to the
Christian
church at
Alexan-
dria.
Eus. IV.
25.
Socrat. I.
19.
Sozom. I. 6.

Theodosius. Constantine, however, made a breach in the worship of Serapis, and gave the Alexandrians a lesson similar to those which the people of the other provinces received by the ruin of their temples. The most horrid infamies were practised in the temple of Serapis, under the name of religious ceremonies. Constantine abolished them. Besides this, the pillar, by which the height of the Nile was measured when its waters overflowed, was kept in that same temple. He caused this pillar to be removed into the Christian church at Alexandria. All Egypt thereupon immediately concluded, that Serapis would avenge himself; that the Nile would not overflow; and that the country would consequently be struck with barrenness. The event shewed them that their fears were vain. In this very year, and in those that followed, the Nile rose to the height necessary to fertilize the land; and the Egyptians had thereby a proof, that the benefits they received from the overflowing of their river were owing, not to Serapis, but to the providence of the living God.

Happy and
rapid in-
crease of
Christiani-
ty.
Eus. IV.
38, 39.
Sozom. I. 5.

Conversions became frequent, and Christianity multiplied exceedingly, under a prince who made his whole glory consist in protecting and extending it. Not only great numbers of individuals, but whole cities, seized with an holy transport of zeal, voluntarily pulled down their idols, destroyed their profane temples, and erected churches for the worship of the true God. Majuma, a sea-port of Gaza in Palestine, shone with distinguished ardour in this happy change; and Constantine rewarded it, by making it a city, instead of a poor town that it was before, and giving it the name of his sister Constantia. Eusebius names also the city of Constantina in Phœnicia, the inhabitants of which embraced Christianity with one accord, and with a consent as free as it was unanimous: and he assures us, that the same thing happened to several other cities in all the provinces. Rome, attached to her old maxims, and
unwilling

unwilling to forsake the gods to which she had ascribed her fortune and grandeur during so many ages, was, of all the cities of the empire, that in which idolatry flourished longest, and with the greatest splendour.

Constantine's ardour for the propagation of Christianity was not confined to the limits of his empire, great as that was. The nations which, without being subject to his laws, respected his power and grandeur, touched his Christian, and in some measure Apostolical charity; and he took every opportunity to invite them to renounce their superstitions, and embrace the religion of Christ. He had the satisfaction to see his desires accomplished in regard to the Iberians, who dwelt between the Euxine and the Caspian seas. The conversion of this people, of which M. de Tillemont has recorded the edifying history, was not the fruit of the emperor's zeal. God, to this end, made use of the ministry of a captive. But as the converted nation stood in need of ministers of the gospel, to complete the work happily begun, Constantine, to whom the king of the country applied for such persons, rejoiced in being able to put the finishing hand to the pious conquest; and took care to chuse for this mission a bishop full of the spirit of God, and holy ecclesiastics, whose lessons and examples confirmed the Iberians in the faith which the captive had planted among them. Christianity is still the prevailing religion of that country; but more altered and disfigured now by the corrupt morals of the people, than even by their errors and schism.

Constantine looked upon himself as the universal protector of all the followers of the true faith, wherever they were. Sapor, king of the Persians, had sent him an embassy, to request his friendship. The Roman emperor knowing that there were many Christians in the territories of that prince, and that they laboured there under a hard oppression, took this opportunity to write to him in their favour. He begins his letter, which Eusebius and Theodoret have

The conversion of the Iberians.
Eus. I. 2.

Tillemont. Const. art. 89.

Constantine's letter to Sapor in favour of the Christians of Persia.
Eus. IV. 8—13. Theod. I. 24, 25.

have preserved, with setting forth in a pompous stile the advantages of Christianity over every other religion. He observes that the Roman emperors, who persecuted the Christians, were all of them punished for it by an unhappy end; instancing, among others, Valerian in particular, whose example was recent in the memory of the Persians: and he concludes with recommending the Christians to Sapor's goodness, in such manner, as neither to hurt the delicacy of a powerful sovereign jealous of his authority, nor to hint at the least reproach on account of the hard treatment they suffered in his dominions, or even to seem to know that they were ill-treated there. "I am delighted, says he, to hear that the farthest parts of Persia reckon among their ornaments a great number of Christian inhabitants. I wish that they may share the prosperity of your reign. By protecting them, you will render the God, who is the father and master of the universe, propitious to you. I put them under your mighty safeguard, and implore your piety in their behalf. Love them in a manner answerable to the equity and mildness of your government. In so doing, you will procure good to yourself, and the most grateful acknowledgments from me." This truly Christian and affectionate letter had perhaps its effect at that time. But afterwards, war breaking out between the Romans and the Persians, Sapor's hatred against the Christians knew no bounds, and they were persecuted in his empire with redoubled fury. This war, and the persecution it occasioned, belong to the reign of Constantius: for death prevented Constantine, when he was preparing to march against Sapor.

Mormisdas, the elder brother of Sapor, a fugitive from his own country, succeeded

The brother of this king of Persia had profited more than the monarch himself by the light of Christianity, which spread more and more: but he was brought to it by his misfortunes. He was the grandson of Narses, whose defeat by Galerius we mentioned before. Narses died in the year of Christ

302, and was succeeded by his son Hormisdas II. fathered with
 ther of the Hormisdas here spoken of, and of Sapor. Constantine, and Christian.
 Hormisdas II. died in 309, and the throne belonged Tillem. art. 51.
 of right to this Hormisdas his eldest son, and not to
 Sapor, who was not then born. But the young Zor. l. II. Agath. l. IV.
 prince had irritated the grandees of the empire by a
 haughty carriage, a harsh behaviour, and atrocious
 menaces. They revenged themselves on him for it,
 and instead of proclaiming him king after the death
 of his father, they seized his person, loaded him
 with chains, shut him up in a castle, and, upon a
 prediction of the magi that the child of which the
 queen was then pregnant would be a prince, they
 placed the crown upon the belly of the mother, and
 declared, that they acknowledged for their king the
 son then within her. The promise of the magi
 chanced to be fulfilled, and Sapor was born a king Zor.
 crowned. Hormisdas languished several years in fet-
 ters, from which he was at last delivered by the in-
 genious zeal of his wife, who found means to convey
 a file to him in the belly of a fish. At the same
 time she gave a grand entertainment to his guard,
 who, having plenty of the best of wines, got drunk,
 whilst Hormisdas, filing off his chains, made his
 escape, and fled to his relation and friend the king of Zonar.
 Armenia, from whence he repaired to Constantine to-
 wards the year 323, and always remained faithfully
 attached to him and his sons who succeeded him.
 Sapor and his ministers, looking upon his flight as a
 lucky event which freed them from a dangerous rival,
 never demanded his return, but on the contrary sent
 him his wife with a retinue becoming her rank. As
 Christianity was then greatly spread in Persia, Hor-
 misdas might learn something of it there, especially
 in his confinement. What is certain, is that he lived
 as a Christian, and a bold and resolute one, among
 the Romans. Julian's apostacy did not shake his
 faith, and he recommended himself to the prayers
 of those who suffered under that emperor for the

name of Christ. Constantine loved and cherished a proselyte of this importance: he loaded him with honours and riches; and Constantius made excellent use of him in the war against Sapor.

Constantine's personal conduct regulated by piety.

What I have said is sufficient to prove the ardour and sincerity of Constantine's zeal for the glory and splendour of the holy religion he had embraced. This would have been little, and he would have done service to others and not to himself, if he had confined his piety to these publicly shining acts of devotion, and not regulated his personal conduct by the maxims of the gospel which triumphed through his means.

Euseb. de vit. Const. IV. 17.

Eusebius attests that this prince, in the midst of the infinite cares of so great an empire, was a strict observer of the duties of religion. He had established a kind of church in his palace, where lectures were read upon the Holy Scriptures, and divine service was performed: at which the emperor assisted with all his court, to whom he set the example. Besides the public exercises of piety, he set apart stated times of every day to meditate alone before God upon the truths of salvation, to pray to him, and implore his divine assistance. To prayer he added fasting, as well at times when the church did not ordain it, as upon any particular emergencies or dangers which increased his fervour. In his hours of retirement he composed discourses upon religion, which he afterwards pronounced by way of exhortations to those about him.

22.

II. 14.

IV. 29.

These discourses were sermons, in which he shewed the absurdities of Polytheism, and set forth the economy of the real mystery of Christ. He also treated of the precepts of natural religion, providence, and the rewards and punishment of a future life. He entered into the details of morality, and spoke strongly against the inordinate desire of accumulating riches, against injustice and rapine, vices too common in all courts. We may readily suppose that a prince, who took the trouble of pronouncing discourses of his own composing, could not fail to have a numerous audience

audience. Crowds constantly attended him, and frequently interrupted him by their commendations and applause, which he rejected, bidding them reserve their praises for the immortal king of Heaven. But he would have been glad if those who heard him, and whose vices he sometimes painted in strong and lively colours, had profited by his instructions, so as to amend their lives: and of this he found but little. It is beyond comparison easier to praise that which is good, than to practise it. We have one of Constantine's discourses, which Eusebius has placed at the end of that emperor's life, as a proof and example of what he had therein advanced. This discourse turns nearly upon the subjects we have mentioned, except that it contains but little morality.

So pious a prince could not but feel his perpetual need of the assistance of heaven, to obtain which he had great confidence in the prayers of the bishops and saints. He wrote himself, and made his children write upon this subject to St Antony, who, buried in the deserts of Thebais, and separated from the commerce of mankind which he had fled from, neither was, nor could be estimable, but in the eyes of virtue. The holy solitary received with great indifference this mark of his sovereign's regard, and doubted whether he should answer it, till his disciples represented to him the danger of indisposing princes zealous for the honour of the Christian name. He then wrote an answer: but his letter, instead of compliments and praises, contained nothing but counsels. After congratulating them on their happiness in adoring Christ, he exhorted them to look upon the present as very little, and to direct their attention chiefly to the judgment to come; deeply imprinting in their hearts this truth, that Christ is the only one to whom power is given for ever in heaven and on earth. He then recommended to them mildness and goodness towards men, the care of justice, and love of the poor. Constantine received with joy this plain and
Christian

11

*Athan. de
vit.
Anton. 81.*

Christian letter, which prescribed to him what he had long gloried in practising.

*Euseb. de
vit. Const.
II. 4. & 12.
& IV. 56.
& Sozom.
I. 8.*

Even war did not interrupt Constantine's exercises of piety, a kind of portable chapel being always carried with him in his campaigns, into which he retired frequently to pray with the bishops who accompanied him. He established the same custom among the legions, each of which he ordered to have its oratory, with the necessary number of priests and deacons. These chapels were for the use of the Christian soldiers. But even the Pagans in Constantine's armies bore the cross upon their arms, as I observed before, and were subjected to the observance of the Sunday. They were assembled in a plain, and there recited a prayer which the emperor had drawn up for them, and made them learn by heart, and which contained an invocation of the only true God, sole arbiter of events, sole author of success and victory. The unity of God and his providence are doctrines so agreeable to reason, that it is not necessary to be a Christian to profess them : and this first step was capable of conducting those who took it to a fuller knowledge of the truth.

Constantine's alms to all sorts of persons in distress, were immense. This is frequently attested by Eusebius, who has also transmitted to us an authentic monument thereof, by inserting in the tenth book of his ecclesiastical history a letter from Constantine to Cæcilian bishop of Carthage, by which that prelate is authorised to demand of the receiver-general of the imperial revenues in Africa three millions of * sesterces (upwards of sixteen thousand pounds of our money), to be distributed to the ministers of the catholic churches of his see, according to the state drawn up by Osius : and if this sum was not sufficient,

* The word *folles* used in the original, was equivalent to *sestertium*, the great sesterce of the ancient times, as is proved by Gronovius de Pec. Vet. I. IV. c. 16. Consequently three thousand *folles* were three thousand great sesterces, or three millions of small.

cient, the emperor orders him to demand what farther assistance he should think necessary. Constantine was generous by inclination, so much as to want being checked, rather than spurred, in the exercise of liberality. Of this we have, according to Eusebius, Euseb. de vit. Const. IV. 4. an extraordinary proof in his manner of acting in relation to such law-suits as he himself judged in person. He indemnified, at his own expence, the party he was obliged to condemn, by making him a present in money or land. His reason was, that he would not have any one, who appeared before him, depart dissatisfied. This sentiment was, undoubtedly, the result of great goodness of heart; and laudable, if the person cast really believed his cause just. But if only interest and obstinacy, as is too frequently the case, either first stirred up, or afterwards maintained the suit, the sovereign's liberality then became an incitement to cupidity.

Besides being magnificent in his gifts, he bestowed His forgiveness of injuries. Eus. II. 4. another kind of favour, of which princes are sometimes more sparing than of any other thing: he forgave injuries. In a sedition, which probably happened at Alexandria, the mutinous populace carried their rage so far, as to insult the statues of the emperor. Constantine was informed of this riot, and to aggravate the crime of the seditious, told that they Chrys. Hom. 20. ad Pop. Ant. had not respected even the face of their prince, which bore the marks of the stones they had thrown at it. Constantine smiled, put his hand up to his face, stroked it gently, and answered, "I do not feel any hurt." This magnanimous reply certainly deserves the highest commendation: and it was with great propriety that St Flavian instanced it to Theodosius, when he implored his clemency in favour of the inhabitants of Antioch. Constantine acted consistently with it. Pitying the phrenzy of those who had been guilty of this disrespect, he contented himself with taking measures to prevent the like disorders for the future.

Liban. Or.
14. p. 393.

It seems to have been a rule with him to look upon these transitory commotions of an imprudent multitude, who never consider the consequences of what they do, as things rather to be laughed at than punished. The people of Rome, who, as I have observed elsewhere, did not like him, rose against him with insolent cries: for so the original author terms them. Constantine had then with him two of his brothers, whom he asked how they would advise him to behave on that occasion. One of them proposed sending troops to chastise the mutineers, and offered himself to command them: the other, on the contrary, thought it would be better to seem not to know what deserved only contempt. Constantine preferred this last opinion, and, if we believe Libanius, from whom we have the account, promoted in dignity the giver of this mild counsel, whilst he left the other in his former station. History does not take the least notice of this difference of behaviour in Constantine with respect to his brothers: but the fact itself is sufficient to prove his forbearance of injuries.

His aversion to all immoderate praise.
Eus. II.
48.

On the other hand he rejected with indignation all immoderate praise. After he had built the temple of the Resurrection at Jerusalem, a bishop dared, I use Eusebius's expression, to tell him to his face, that he looked upon him as happy, in that he possessed the sovereign power in this life, and would reign in the next with the Son of God, whose mysteries he honoured with such magnificence. "Never, answered Constantine, severely rebuking this flattering bishop speak to me again in this stile: but rather pray for me, that I may be found worthy in this life and the next, to be called the servant of God."

Constantine's remonstrance to a greedy courtier.
Eus. IV.
30.

He was not, as we see, intoxicated with his grandeur. That he used frequently to say, perhaps even before he professed Christianity, was a gift of fortune: adding, that the important and difficult part was how to behave like a good and wise prince. These sentiments were doubtless strengthened and perfected

perfected in with the help of the light of the gospel: and there is reason to think he often meditated upon the vanity and emptiness of all human enjoyments, if we judge by the lesson he gave to one of his courtiers, who was always heaping up riches. "How far, said he to him, will our greedy desires carry us? Shall we never be able to keep them within bounds?" Then tracing upon the ground, with a lance he chanced to have in his hand, the form and size of a human body, and resuming his discourse; "What think you?" said he. "If you had amassed all the wealth of the universe, and was master of the whole earth, is it not true that you will soon occupy no more than the little space I have now marked out; even supposing that to be allowed you?"

It would have been happy for Constantine's subjects, if, instead of thus barely remonstrating to greedy and unjust men, he had exerted his authority actually to stop their iniquitous proceedings. We have seen what zeal he testifies in some of his laws against the mal-practices of corrupt magistrates, and how earnestly he exhorts the oppressed to lay their complaints before him. But that was all he did. Naturally easy and good natured he knew not how to punish those he intrusted with the highest offices: the consequence of which was, that they being equally indulgent towards their subalterns, as vicious as themselves, the provinces were plundered under a prince who loved equity and the laws.

All extremes are wrong. Even gentleness, so estimable in a sovereign, becomes a source of misfortunes to the people, if it be carried too far. Another excellent quality in Constantine proved a snare for himself, and occasioned great evils. His strong attachment to his religion gave an opening to hypocrites, who, putting on the appearance of Christianity, because they knew that was the way to please and make their court to the prince, gained his confidence

and with it the liberty of doing and daring whatever they thought proper, without fearing the consequences.

Eusebius, who makes this observation, is himself a proof and example of it. Ambitious, and ever anxious to preserve his credit at court, though he favoured Arianism in his heart, he affected an outside shew of orthodoxy, and thereby not only maintained himself in favour, but abused the prince's credulity so far, as to prejudice and incense him against the true defenders of the faith of Nice, and particularly against the great St Athanasius, who was oppressed, deposed, and banished.

Theod. I.
19, 20, 21.

There was something still more surprising in Constantine's blindness with respect to Eusebius of Nicomedia. That prelate ought to have been odious to him on all accounts. He had sided with Licinius against him: he had expressed the utmost reluctance to sign the decree of the council of Nice touching the consubstantiality of the Word; and had continued, after the separation of the council, to keep up his former connections, with the avowed abettors of the heresy of Arius; evidently shewing his design to raise up that fallen party, and to render its condemnation useless. For these crimes the emperor banished him, and in a letter addressed to the faithful of Nicomedia he sets forth his causes of grievous complaint against their bishop, and protests, that if any one dares to speak to him in favour of that wretch, he will incur his indignation. Yet at the end of three years, he recalled him from exile, and restored him to his see: after which, guided by his counsels, he persecuted the orthodox prelates, expelled St Eustatius of Antioch, and, as I have just said, St Athanasius of Alexandria: and lastly, when dying, he received the sacrament of baptism from the hands of that prelate, an enemy to God and to the church.

Let us pity the weakness of human nature; let us pity the fate of sovereigns, whom even their good qual-

ities

lities often expose to treachery and deceit. I do not find any thing more applicable to this very subject, than what an illustrious author has written concerning David's being deceived by the artifices of a villain, and committing in consequence thereof, an injustice against the son of Jonathas, which he never made full amends for even when the truth was known.

Explic. des Livres des Rois. T. II p. 431.

“ We must not hope, says this pious and wise writer, that even the best of princes should always be so much upon their guard as never to be deceived by calumny: because a readiness to believe false reports flatters the two greatest foibles of grandeur, indolence and pride. We must not even expect that after having discovered the calumny, they should repair entirely the injury it has induced them to do: because they are often less touched with the desire of being just, than solicitous to conceal the shame of having been imposed on. But we ought to be equitable enough to pardon them this abuse of their power, in consideration of the great advantages which society receives in other respects from their authority, and out of compassion for the common frailty of our nature, easily misled by the temptations which are inseparable from grandeur.”

It would therefore be unjust to conclude from the faults we observe in Constantine's government, that we ought to refuse him our esteem. Notwithstanding his faults, he was a great prince, conqueror of all the enemies he was obliged to oppose, whether Romans or foreigners, zealous for virtue, the protector of religion, loving mankind, and serving God with a sincere and faithful heart. His piety is what drew upon him the contempt and hatred of his nephew Julian. That apostate prince could not forgive his having made Christianity the prevailing religion of the empire, and brought idolatry almost to ruin. Thence that indecent eagerness to decry a prince to whom he was so nearly related, to paint him in the falsest colours, to represent him as given up to

He ought to be looked upon as a great prince. Injustice of Julian the apostate's reproaches against him.

Jul. Cas.

effeminacy, and drowned in idle pleasures. The building of a great city, magnificent temples raised in honour of God and of Jesus Christ, wise laws enacted, a watchful vigilance to prevent dissention and schisms in the church; these are the monuments of Constantine's repose. If he wore the diadem, if he adorned it with pearls and precious stones, other emperors had set him the example; and without pretending to excuse that mark of luxury, doubtless unbecoming, I am not afraid to say, that he merited full indulgence for that foible by all the great things he did.

Vict. Epit.

Est. de vit.

Const. IV.

5, 6

Anon.

Vales. ap.

Amian.

Even the glory of arms helped to crown the splendour of his latter years. In 332 he warred with success against the Goths, who had before experienced his power and vigour. But that first lesson not having tamed them, upon their renewing their hostilities he sent against them, at the time I speak of, his eldest son, who conquered them in several battles, in which, and by famine and misery, they lost near an hundred thousand men. Constantine improved his advantages like a wise and moderate prince. Having humbled the pride of the Goths by force and terror, he did not refuse to enter into a negotiation with them: and as that nation was composed of different people, some of which had not embarked in the war, he followed, in treating with them all, different plans, according to their different situations. He imposed the hardest conditions on those he had been obliged to conquer; requiring of them hostages, and among others the son of their king Ariaric. The rest were invited and induced to acknowledge the majesty of the empire under the name of friends and allies. The fruits of this victory and of the peace which followed it, were great both for the conqueror and the conquered. Constantine shook off the shameful tribute which his predecessors had paid to these barbarians, and secured the frontier on the side of the Danube. The Goths by a more intimate commerce with the Romans,

Romans, began to soften their savage manners, and to become men.

The Sarmatians likewise exercised Constantine's arms at the same time. It was for them that he undertook the war against the Goths; during which they, ungrateful for this service, dared to make incursions upon the lands of the Romans. But soon and easily conquered, they returned to their duty.

Two years after this a singular event forced them to return again to the territories of the empire, no longer to ravage, but to seek shelter in them. The war having broke out anew between them and the Goths, they were beaten, and had recourse to a remedy which proved worse than the disease. They armed their slaves, who, being most numerous, and having the power in their own hands, drove their masters out of their country. The Sarmatians, to the number of three hundred thousand, men, women, and children, took refuge in the states of Constantine, and implored his goodness. The emperor heard their prayer. He inrolled in his troops such of them as were able to serve, and secured subsistence to the rest, by giving them lands to cultivate in Thrace, the lesser Scythia, Macedonia, and even in Italy.

Constantine was so far from being effeminated, and retained his disposition for war so well to the very last, that at the age of upwards of three score he was preparing to march at the head of his armies against the Persians, when he was seized with the illness of which he died. We therefore can ascribe to nothing but malice, the reproach of effeminacy with which Julian has endeavoured to sully his uncle's glory.

Constantine's greatness merited him the respect, not only of his subjects, but of all the barbarous nations around his empire, on the north, the east, and the south. Eusebius saw, as he himself tells us, the imperial palace crowded with embassies from all these distant countries: a noble sight, and highly glorious

Homage paid to Constantine's greatness by strangers and barbarians. *Euseb. IV. 7. § 50.*

for the prince thus courted by Germans, Goths, Sarmatians, Indians, Ethiopians, and Blymmyes, as different from each other in their make, features, and complexion, as in their dress and ornaments, but all filled with sentiments of the greatest admiration and respect. Constantine's palace was a kind of epitome of the universe. These ambassadors, according to the difference of their several countries and climates, brought him variety of presents, crowns of gold, diadems enriched with precious stones, rich stuffs, young slaves, horses, uncommon animals, and all sorts of arms. He received these presents graciously, and made them in return others of much greater value.

Some of these foreigners, struck with the splendour of his court, charmed with his easy and affable behaviour, and above all conceiving more and more esteem for his virtue in proportion as they became better acquainted with him, forgot their own country, and attached themselves to him. They had no cause to repent this step. Constantine not only loaded them with riches, but promoted to the first dignities of the empire those among them who distinguished themselves by their merit. Julian, always unjust in regard to this prince, blames him for raising barbarians to the consulship: a thing which he himself did; with this difference, that Nevita, whom he made consul, a barbarian in manners and behaviour as well as by birth, was not in any respect comparable to those whom Constantine promoted.

Ammianus.
l. XXX.

The rebellion of Calocerus soon quelled.
Aurel. Vict.

I have already observed, that the good government of this wise prince, and respect for his great qualities, kept the troops in submission during his whole reign. Nor do we see any usurpers rise up against him, as under the preceding and following emperors, if we except a certain Calocerus, to whom history gives no other title than that of master or superintendant of the camels, and who was rash enough to aim at being emperor. He in fact possessed himself of the island of Cyprus, but was soon conquered, taken, and

put

put to death. M. de Tillemont suspects, that this Tillem. Const. art. 75. may have been the person who is elsewhere called Philumenus, of whom we know nothing further, than that St. Athanasius was falsely accused of having furnished him with money for a rebellion.

Constantine enjoyed an uninterrupted prosperity; Feasts for the thirtieth year of Constantine's reign. Ens. IV. 40. one remarkable circumstance of which is the duration of his reign. Reckoning from the time of his first proclamation in Britain, immediately after the death of his father, he enjoyed the honours of the supreme rank upwards of thirty years; a term which none of his predecessors had attained to since Augustus. He celebrated his thirtieth year at Constantinople with great magnificence, and Eusebius pronounced on that occasion a panegyric of the prince, which has reached our days.

Two years after, he died in peace at the castle of Achyron, not far from Nicomedia; and as his life was surrounded with glory, so his memory has been blessed by all posterity. He proposed for his models the best princes that had governed the empire, Constantius Chlorus his father, Claudius II. his great uncle, Titus Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius; to whom he was certainly equal in many respects, but superior by the precious and inestimable advantage of Christian piety, which all of them had either seen in a wrong light, or even persecuted. He dies, full of glory. His memory has always been blessed. Aurel. Vict. Lam. prid. Hellog. 2.

At the head of the writers who flourished under the reign of Constantine, he himself must be placed. We have of his composing, besides several letters, a discourse addressed to the assembly of the saints, in which there is learning, zeal, and a strong testimony of his faith. Writers who flourished under his reign. Constantine himself.

Eusebius of Cæsarea was without dispute the hero of the literature of that age. He combined the sacred and profane erudition. He is the father of ecclesiastical history, and we owe to him the most valuable remains we now have of the earliest antiquities of the Christian church. His extensive genius Eusebius of Cæsarea.

embraced various branches, history, dissertations, polemical works, and oratory. But it must be owned, that eloquence was not his talent. His long periods, his embarrassed stile, his metaphors frequently not natural, and often heaped one upon another, would certainly be bad models for those who aim at being orators. As to his person, I have already had occasion to observe more than once, that he was far less estimable as a bishop, than as a writer. His ambition, his mean flatteries, his faith at least suspicious in regard to the essential article of the consubstantiality of the Word, his connection with the professed Arians, his espousing their cause against the defenders of the faith of Nice; all this gives us room to deplore the fate of a man, who instead of being a shining ornament to Christianity and the episcopacy, chose rather to lose the fruit of all his salutary knowledge, by giving himself up to worldly pursuits.

Lactantius.

Lactantius wrote and died in the reign of Constantine. His works, consecrated to the defence of the Christian religion, are precious to the church, though they contain some slight errors. His Latin is pure and elegant: and upon comparing him with his cotemporaries Capitolinus and Lampridius, one is astonished at their difference of stile. He died poor: a circumstance which does no honour to the emperor, whose son he had instructed, unless we suppose that the fatal catastrophe of the unfortunate Crispus occasioned also the disgrace of his preceptor.

The writers of the Byzantine history.

To Lampridius and Capitolinus, whom I have just named, must be added Spartian, all authors of the Byzantine history, who dedicated to Constantine some of the lives of the emperors of which that collection is composed. The other authors, who finished it, lived also about the same time.

Eumenius and Nazarius.

The Latin eloquence under this reign was treated better than history, as may be seen by the extracts we have taken from the orators Eumenius and Nazarius.

Porphyrius Optatianus wrote an eulogy upon ^{Optatian, a} Constantine in Latin verse: and if it be true that ^{pansyrist.} he was rewarded for it, we may add his example to ^{Tillem.} that of Cherilus, well paid by Alexander for very ^{Const. art.} bad lines. ^{61.}

Commodianus and Juvencus are Christian poets, ^{Commodi-} the last of whom turned the gospel history into ^{anus and} metre. ^{Juvencus.}

The philosophers of those times, all Pagans and ^{Constan-} strenuous defenders of idolatry, were not treated fa- ^{tine's aver-} vourably by a prince full of zeal for Christianity. ^{sion to the} We have a letter of Constantine, in which Porphyry ^{philoso-} and his writings are cited with horror, and the em- ^{phers.} peror thinks he cannot brand the Arians with a more ^{Socr. l. 9.} ignominious name than that of Porphyrians.

Iamblichus was the disciple of Porphyry, and mas- ^{Sopater} ter of Sopater. This last is a considerable person- ^{put to} age in the history of Constantine, if we admit the ^{death.} accounts of the Pagan authors. It was to him, say ^{Tillem-} they, that this prince first applied to know how he ^{Const. art.} might expiate the murder of his son. But we have re- ^{71.} futed that fable, which is destroyed by actual proofs. What seems to be true, is that Constantine put Sop- ater to death. His motive for so doing is badly ex- plained. We are told on one hand, that this philo- sopher went to Constantinople to oppose the ruin of idolatry, which the emperor was endeavouring to ef- fect; and on the other, that this same emperor gave him such free access to his person, that Sopater's high favour excited the jealousy of the courtiers, and par- ticularly of the prætorian prefect Ablavius, whose influence was very great. Every reader must see how badly these two parts of this account agree. It is added, that the people of Constantinople grew riotous on account of a scarcity of corn, and ascrib- ed the famine they began to suffer, to the magical practices of Sopater; and that Constantine, in con- sequence of this, delivered up his favourite to the fury of the multitude, who, animated by Ablavius, tore

tore the philosopher to pieces. What superstition, or what weakness is here imputed to Constantine? Others have written, that this prince put Sopater to death, in order to prove his aversion to Paganism: as if that had not been evidently manifested before by the whole tenor of his conduct. If I may be allowed to hazard a conjecture, it seems to me much more probable that the philosopher, who patronized idolatry, endeavoured to take advantage of the popular commotion occasioned by the scarcity of corn, to carry the riot and confusion to the utmost extremity; and that he was punished for his sedition.

Conclusion
of this
work.

I am now arrived, with the help of God, at the end of the career I purposed filling; and I could not finish my work at an epoch dearer to a Christian heart, than the elevation of Christianity to the throne, and the destruction of idolatry. The deplorable heresies and schisms, which rent the church in the greatest splendour of her temporal prosperity, are melancholy objects, and such as I dare not venture to engage in. Not but that they offer a fine field to a writer; variety of events, examples of virtue and magnanimous courage in the defenders of orthodoxy, a happy conclusion, and at last, according to the divine promises, the triumph of truth over error and falsehood. But I should not be able to treat that great subject, without exceeding the bounds I have all along prescribed myself. I must rest satisfied with having shewn my zeal to serve the public, and give, in imitation of my respectable master, lessons of virtue. It is to virtue that I have consecrated my pen: it is her alone that I have endeavoured to render amiable, as well by the pictures I have drawn of her, as by the odious contrast of the vices I have been too often obliged to paint. May my labour be useful to men, and agreeable to him who ought to be the only end of all our undertakings!

GENERAL INDEX

TO

M. CREVIER'S HISTORY

OF THE

ROMAN EMPERORS.

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- Patus* accuses Barrhus and Pallas of crimes against the state, IV. 30. he is banished, *ibid.*
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- Vipsanius Gallus*, dies prætor, II. 140
- Vipstanius Messala*. See *Messala*.
- Viridius Geminus*, an experienced officer, easily puts an end to the disturbances in Pontus, V. 338
- Virgil* probably not consulted by Octavius concerning his abdication, I. 8. dedicates his last eclogue to Gallus, whose friend he was, 52. verses of his on the death of Marcellus, 73. Cato praised by him, 86. he celebrates the restoration of the Roman standards by Phraates, 96. his death, 209. makes Augustus, Mæcenas, and a half brother, his executors, 110. Caligula envied Virgil's reputation, III. 50. Silius Italicus's great veneration for Virgil, VII. 86. Alexander Severus used to call him the Plato of the poets, VIII. 305. lines of Virgil cited on remarkable occasions, VIII. 64. 111. IX. 353
- Virginus Rufus*, commander of the legion on the Upper Rhine, though he will not support Nero, marches however against Vindex, IV. 336. he besieges Besancon, which had declared for Vindex, *ibid.* his troops defeat the Gauls, 337. his army offers him the empire, which he refuses, *ibid.* he refuses to join Galba, 338. is an example of moderation not to be matched in history, *ibid.* he persists in referring the choice of an emperor to the senate, V. 5. and waits on Galba, *ibid.* the ill will of his enemies procures him a safe retreat, 6. Otho gives him a share in the consulship, 77. Otho's army presses him to accept of the empire, but in vain, 169. the mutinous soldiers demand his death, 186. Nerva makes him a third time consul, VII. 14. his character, and death, *ibid.*
- Virginus Flaccus*, a man of distinguished learning, is banished by Nero, IV. 252
- Virile*, or *Manly Robe*. The taking the virile robe was attended with great ceremony, I. 242
- Visellius Varro*, commander of the army on the Lower Rhine at the time of the revolt of Sarcovir, II. 215
- Visellius Varro (L.)*, consul, accuses Silius, II. 316. the law

- Visellia* took its name from him, I. 39
- Vistilia*, a lady of quality, enters her name in the list of courtisans, II. 154
- Vistula*, a river, the boundary of Germany, I. 153, 169
- Vulian*, prætorian prefect, killed, VIII. 374
- Vitellia*. The generosity of that lady, II. 210
- Vitellius (P.)*, intendant under Augustus, V. 91
- Vitellius (P.)*, son of the former, and one of Germanicus's generals, in great danger of being drowned with two legions, II. 95, 171. claims the honour of prosecuting Piso, 185, 188. is rewarded with a priesthood, 195. being accused as an accomplice with Sejanus, he dies of grief, 359
- Vitellius*, brother of the former, made governor of Syria by Tiberius, II. 392. threatens Mesopotamia with an invasion, 394. places Tiridates on the throne of Parthia, 395. concludes a treaty with Artabanus, king of Parthia, III. 20. deposes Pilate, 22. his mean flattery of Caligula, 54. the administration of the empire left to Vitellius during Claudius's absence in Britain, 194. is a third time consul, and censor with Claudius, 204. his abject flattery of Messalina and the freedmen, *ibid.* his horrid treachery towards Valerius Asiaticus, 210. saw his two sons made consuls, 228. his conduct in the accusation of Messalina, 245. he joins with Agrippina, and ruins Silanus, 252. obtains an act empowering Claudius to marry Agrippina, 256. protected by Agrippina, 267. his death, 268
- Vitellius (A.)*, son of the former, consul, III. 129. his mean behaviour in the senate, IV. 140. he is despised by Galba as a glutton, and therefore sent to command the army on the Lower Rhine, V. 28. a sedition, to which he owed his elevation to the empire, 31. though some companies of a German legion had declared Vitellius emperor, they shewed fidelity to Galba, 52. he puts to death all who appeared to be concerned in the murder of Galba, 65. the news of his revolt reaches Rome, and causes great grief there, 73. he sends spies to Rome, 88. origin of his family, 90. his character, vices, and way of life, 91. he poisons his own son, 93. he arrives in Germany, 94. is received by the legions there with infinite joy, 96. is proclaimed emperor by the German armies, 102. and joined by the armies bordering upon Germany, 105. he and Otho lay snares for each other, 114. comparison between him and Otho, 140. *See the contents of his reign in Book XIV. Vol. V.*
- Vitellius (L.)* brother of the former, consul, III. 229. proposes giving Claudius the name of father of the senate, 236. Otho carries him with him in the army against his brother, 118. he gives his brother a sumptuous entertainment, 179. accuses Junius Blesus of treason, 280. commanded the troops that went to attack Terracina, 296. Terracina taken and sacked by him, 318. his death, 331
- Vivia*, mother of Fusius Geminus, sentenced to execution for bewailing the death of her son. II. 373
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- Vivianus Annius*, son-in-law to Corbulo, is sent as an hostage to Tiridates's camp, IV. 196. accompanies Tiridates to Rome, 199
- Ulia* (the), the ancient eastern mouth of the Rhine, I. 195
- Ulpia Trajana*, a name substituted by Trajan instead of Zarmisegethusa, the ancient capital of the Dacians, VII. 98
- Ulpian*, the disciple of Papinian, VIII. 167. is taken from Alexander Severus by Heliogabalus, and banished, 266. is recalled by Alexander Severus, and made prætorian prefect, 282. confidence of that prince, in him, 294. he is murdered by the prætorians, 312—314. particulars concerning him, *ib.* he was an enemy to the Christians, 314. See also 346.
- Ulpianus*. See Trajan.
- Ulpianus Marcellus* commands the legions in Britain. His temper severe, and even harsh, VII. 382
- Ulpianus Julianus* appointed prefect of the prætorian guards by Macrinus, VIII. 220. is defeated and killed by the rebels, and his head brought to Macrinus, 230—234
- Ulpianus Crinitus*, a rich consular, adopts Aurelian, IX. 52. See also 138.
- Umbonius Silo* bids defiance to Claudius's freed-man, III. 199
- Vocontians*, a people of Gaul, whose principal cities were Vaison, Luc, and Die, V. 111
- Vocula* (*Dillius*), a brave and resolute officer, sent to the relief of the camp of Vetera, V. 353. he remains at the head of the enterprize, 356. his power over the soldiers, 358. he is attacked by Civilis, but gets the better of him, 362. he gains a second victory, and obliges the Batavians to raise the siege of Vetera, 364. loses the fruits of his victory, 365. is in danger of his life, and escapes in disguise, 367. the leaders of the revolt endeavour to deceive and surprise him, VI. 38. being betrayed by Classicus and Tutor, he retires to Nuys, 39. the legions corrupted by Classicus, kill Volcula, 40, 42
- Volaginius*, a common soldier, kills Scribonianus Camillus, and is rewarded for it by Claudius, III. 168. V. 215
- Volandum*, a place in Armenia, stormed by Corbulo, IV. 61
- Volesus Messala*, proconsul of Asia, condemned by Augustus for his cruelties, II. 241
- Vologeses*, son of Vonones, king of Parthia, III. 280. makes his brother Tiridates king of Armenia, 286. is obliged to withdraw his troops from Armenia, IV. 53. he delivers the heads of the illustrious family of the Arsacidæ to the Romans, 54. Vologeses, unwilling that his brother should be obliged to the Romans for the crown of Armenia, begins a war with them, 57. he is hindered from assisting Tiridates by a revolt of the Hyrcanians, 60. assists his brother Tiridates against the Romans, 175. concludes a peace with Corbulo, 177. the ambassadors he sent to Rome returning without success, he renews the war, 179. his artful management of the war against Pactus, 182. he defeats a part of the Roman army, 183. and forces Pactus to conclude a shameful treaty, 185. he was willing to triumph, but with

- with decency, 187. his treaty with Corbulo. 190. he sends an embassy to Rome, 191. which returns without success, 192. he sends an embassy to Corbulo, 194. is visited by Tiridates, 198. his children attend Tiridates to Rome, 199. his letter to Nero, 300. he sends ambassadors to Vespasian at Alexandria, VI. 29, 39. and desires his assistance against the Alans, 79, 251
- Vologeses*, king of the Parthians, makes war upon the Romans, and is obliged to conclude a disadvantageous peace, VII. 244, 262—267
- Vologeses*, king of the Parthians, maintains a war against Severus, VIII. 106. his death, 194
- Vologeses*, king of Armenia, a wise and moderate prince, VIII. 107, 108
- Vologeses*, probably king of Armenia under Adrian, VII. 186
- Volterra*, in Tuscany, the native place of the poet Persius, IV. 168
- Volusian*, son of the emperor Gallus, is consul with his father, and killed with him, IX. 25, 26, 27, 28
- Volusius (L.)* a senator, dies immensely rich at the age of ninety-three, IV. 35, 148
- Volusius (Q.)* one of the commissaries appointed to tax the Gauls, IV. 137
- Volusius Proculus*, one of the murderers of Agrippina, betrays Epicharis, who had informed him of the conspiracy against Nero, IV. 228
- Volusius (C.)* a soldier, the first that entered the enemy's camp, V. 269
- Vonones*, eldest of the family of Phraates, is given by Augustus for king to the Parthians, who desired him, II. 134. is soon despised by them, 135. driven out of Parthia, and made king of Armenia, but is at length obliged to retire into Syria, 161. Germanicus transfers him to Pompeiopolis in Cilicia, 163. he is killed by Remmius, 164
- Vonones*, king of Parthia, father of Vologeses, III. 280
- Votienus Montanus*, a native of Narbonne, accused of high-treason, and banished, II. 277
- Vows* offered up every year, on the third of January, for the prosperity of the emperors, III. 76. Thrasea accused of neglecting this ceremony, IV. 279. remarkable clause added to these vows by Trajan, VII. 53. See also VIII. 8.
- Uranus* assumes the purple under Alexander Severus, VIII. 320
- Urgulania*, the favourite of Livia, prosecuted by L. Piso, II. 125. sends a dagger to her grandson Plautius, accused and guilty of murdering his wife, 263
- Ursia*, Vespasian's mother, of an honourable family in Ursia, V. 203
- Ursus*, a man of learning and rank, dissuades Domitian from killing his empress, VI. 415
- Usipians*, a people of Germany, I. 183. attacked by Drusus, 194. memorable adventure of a cohort of Usipians, VI. 379
- Usury* not known among the Germans, I. 182. law against it by Claudius, III. 219. permitted by the Roman laws, VII. 201. moderated by Constantine, X. 122
- Vulcatius Moschus*, banished from Rome, becomes a citizen of Marseille, II. 281
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Vulcatius Tertullitus, a senator, accused as an accomplice with Silanus, escapes punishment, IV. 265
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Waag, a river in the territory of the Suevi, III. 299
Wall (a) built with great art and diligence by the Jews besieged in Masada, VI. 259. Adrian's wall in Britain, VII. 180. Antonius's wall, 226. Severus's wall, VIII. 139
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Watch (a), or *Patrole*, appointed by Augustus at Rome, to prevent fires and disturbances, I. 220. commander of the watch, *ibid.*
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Wight (the isle of) subdued by Vespasian, III. 197
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Xanthicus, the name of a month, answering to our April, VI. 222, 262

Xenophon, physician to Claudius, III. 323. poisons that emperor, 329

Xerxes imitated by Caligula, III. 61

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York, a city in Britain, where Severus died, VIII. 144. and afterwards Constantius Chlorus, IX. 360

Yvrée, formerly *Eporodia*, a city in Italy, I. 56. declares for Vitellius, V. 114

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Zabdat, Zenobia's general, gains a great victory over the Egyptians, IX. 150. is conquered in Syria by Aurelian, 154. his stratagem to gain admittance into Antioch, from whence he flies with Zenobia, 154, 155

Zabdyene, a province upon the Tigris, ceded by the Persians to the Romans, IX. 321

- Zachary*, son of Baruch, declared innocent by his judges, is put to death by the zealots, VI. 172
- Zaithus*, the place where Gordian the Third died, and where the soldiers erected a monument to him, VIII. 422
- Zamolxis*, legislator of the Dacians, honoured by them as a god, VI. 335
- Zarmenochegas*, an Indian philosopher, burns himself in Augustus's presence, I. 100
- Zarmisegethusa*, the capital of Dacia, becomes a Roman colony by the name of *Ulpia Trajana*, VII. 98
- Zealots*. A name taken by the factious at Jerusalem, who make themselves masters of the temple, VI. 162. in an engagement with the people, they are forced into the second court of the temple, 165. they call the Idumæans to their assistance, 167. and introduce them into the city, 169. cruelties exercised by them and the Idumæans, 174. Simon, son of Gioras, deprives them of the possession of the city, 190
- Zenas*, sent by Maxentius into Africa against the usurper Alexander, gains the victory over him, X. 45
- Zeno* appointed king of Armenia by Germanicus, II. 161. See *Artaxias*.
- Zeno*, a man of learning, banished by Tiberius for a word which offended that prince, II. 371
- Zenobia*, wife of Rhadamistus, and daughter of Mithridates, III. 281. her singular adventure, 286
- Zenobia*, wife of Odenatus, IX. 80. she seems to have been concerned in the murder of Odenatus, 93. she conquers Heraclian, Gallienus's general, 95. Aurelian undertakes the war against her, 147. history of this queen, 147—151. she goes to Antioch, 154. her cavalry is defeated by Aurelian, *ibid.* she flies from Antioch to Emesa, 155. is conquered near that city, shuts herself up in Palmyra, 156. Aurelian besieges her in Palmyra, 158. letters from that emperor to Zenobia, 159. Zenobia's resolute answer, 160. Zenobia, attempting to fly to the Parthians, is taken, 161. Aurelian grants her her life, 162. she is led in triumph, 173. but in other respects treated humanely, *ibid.* St Athanasius thought her a Jewess by religion, 174
- Zenodorus*, a petty prince, at enmity with Herod, to whom his dominions are given by Augustus, I. 97
- Zenodorus*, a statuary, made the Colossus representing Nero, IV. 210
- Zeugma*, on the Euphrates, III. 277. Titus receives Volageses's ambassadors there, VI. 251
- Zosimus*, a writer full of venom against Christianity, VIII. 419. fable advanced by him concerning the motive of Constantine's conversion, X. 103. one of his calumnies against Constantine refuted, 120
- Zoticus Aurelius* rivals Hierocles in the favour of Heliogabalus, VIII. 256
- Zuerin*, a city in the Lower Hungary, not far from the place where Trajan built his bridge over the Danube, VII. 95
- Zuiderzee* (the), I. 195. Germanicus crosses the lake now called the *Zuiderzee*, II. 56

List of the Consuls from the beginning of the Reign of

AUGUSTUS

Down to the end of that of

CONSTANTINE.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS List includes only the consuls in ordinary, that is to say, those who began the year, and by whose names the Romans dated their time. The substituted consuls, who came afterwards during the course of the year, are but little known, or noticed in history; though they had, like the others, the title and rank of consulars after the expiration of their magistracy. Hence it comes, first, that several persons are stiled consulars in the body of this work, whose names do not appear in our list: and secondly, that consuls will be found here, marked as such for the second or third time, whose preceding consulships are not mentioned, because they were not consuls in ordinary, but only substituted.

C. JULIUS Cæsar Octavianus V.	A. R. 723.
Sex. Apuleius,	Bef. C. 29.
C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus VI.	A. R. 724.
M. Agrippa II.	Bef. C. 28.
C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus VII.	A. R. 725.
M. Agrippa III.	Bef. C. 27.

AUGUSTUS, EMPEROR.

Imp. C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus Augustus VIII.	A. R. 726.
T. Statilius Taurus II.	Bef. C. 26.
Imp. C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus Augustus IX.	A. R. 727.
M. Junius Silanus,	Bef. C. 25.
Imp. C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus Augustus X.	A. R. 728.
C. Norbanus Flaccus,	Bef. C. 24.
Imp. C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus Augustus XI.	A. R. 729.
A. Terentius Varro,	Bef. C. 23.

And after the abdication, or death, of this last,

CN. CALPURNIUS PISO.

M. Claudius

M. Claudius Marcellus Æserpinus.	A. R. 730.
L. Arruntius.	Bef. C. 22.
M. Lollius.	A. R. 731.
Q. Æmilius Lepidus.	Bef. C. 21.
M. Apuleius.	A. R. 732.
P. Silius Nerva.	Bef. C. 20.
C. Sentius Saturninus.	A. R. 733.
Q. Lucretius.	Bef. C. 19.
P. Cornelius Lentulus.	A. R. 734.
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.	Bef. C. 18.
C. Furnius.	A. R. 735.
C. Junius Silanus.	Bef. C. 17.
L. Domitius Ahenobarbus.	A. R. 736.
P. Cornelius Scipio.	Bef. C. 16.
M. Livius Drusus Libo.	A. R. 737.
C. Calpurnius Piso.	Bef. C. 15.
M. Licinius Crassus.	A. R. 738.
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Augur.	Bef. C. 14.
Ti. Claudius Nero.	A. R. 739.
P. Quintilius Varus.	Bef. C. 13.
M. Valerius Messala Barbatus.	A. R. 740.
P. Sulpicius Quirinius.	Bef. C. 12.
Q. Ælius Tubero.	A. R. 741.
Paulus Fabius Maximus.	Bef. C. 11.
Julius Antonius.	A. R. 742.
Q. Fabius Maximus.	Bef. C. 10.
Nero Claudius Drusus.	A. R. 743.
T. Quintius Crispinus.	Bef. C. 9.
C. A. inius Gallus.	A. R. 744.
C. Marcius Censorinus.	Bef. C. 8.
Ti. Claudius Nero II.	A. R. 745.
Cn. Calpurnius Piso.	Bef. C. 7.
D. Lælius Balbus.	A. R. 746.
Cn. Antistius Vetus.	Bef. C. 6.
Imp. C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus Augustus XII.	A. R. 747.
L. Cornelius Sulla.	Bef. C. 5.
C. Calvisius Sabinus.	A. R. 748.
L. Passienus Rufus.	Bef. C. 4.
L. Cornelius Lentulus.	A. R. 749.
M. Valerius Messallinus.	Bef. C. 3.
Imp. C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus Augustus XIII.	A. R. 750.
C. Caninius Gallus.	Bef. C. 2.
Cossus Cornelius Lentulus.	A. R. 751.
L. Calpurnius Piso.	Bef. C. 1.
C. Julius Cæsar.	A. R. 752.
L. Æmilius Paulus.	A. C. 1.
P. Vinnius.	A. R. 753.
P. Alfenus Varus.	A. C. 2.
L. Atilius Lantia.	A. R. 754.
M. Servilius.	A. C. 3.

Sex. Ælius Catus,	A. R. 755.
C. Sentius Saturninus,	A. C. 4.
Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus,	A. R. 756.
L. Valerius Messala Volusus,	A. C. 5.
M. Æmilius Lepidus,	A. R. 757.
L. Arruntius,	A. C. 6.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus,	A. R. 758.
A. Licinius Nerva Silianus,	A. C. 7.
M. Furius Camillus,	A. R. 759.
Sex. Nonius Quintilianus,	A. C. 8.
Q. Sulpicius Camerinus,	A. R. 760.
C. Poppæus Sabinus,	A. C. 9.
P. Cornelius Dolabella,	A. R. 761.
C. Junius Silanus,	A. C. 10.
M. Æmilius Lepidus,	A. R. 762.
T. Statilius Taurus,	A. C. 11.
Germanicus Cæsar,	A. R. 763.
C. Fonteius Capito,	A. C. 12.
L. Manutius Plancus,	A. R. 764.
C. Silanus,	A. C. 13.
Sex. Pompeius,	A. R. 765.
Sex. Apuleius,	A. C. 14.

TIBERIUS, EMPEROR.

Drusus Cæsar,	A. R. 766.
C. Norbanus Flaccus,	A. C. 15.
T. Statilius Sisenna Taurus,	A. R. 767.
L. Scribonius Libo,	A. C. 16.
Cælius Rufus,	A. R. 768.
L. Pomponius Flaccus,	A. C. 17.
Tiberius Cæsar Augustus III.	A. R. 769.
Germanicus Cæsar II.	A. C. 18.
M. Junius Silanus,	A. R. 770.
L. Norbanus Balbus Flaccus,	A. C. 19.
M. Valerius Messala,	A. R. 771.
M. Aurelius Cotta,	A. C. 20.
Tiberius Cæsar Augustus IV.	A. R. 772.
Drusus Cæsar II.	A. C. 21.
C. Sulpicius Galba,	A. R. 773.
D. Haterius Agrippa,	A. C. 22.
C. Asinius,	A. R. 774.
C. Antistius,	A. C. 23.
Ser. Cornelius Cethegus,	A. R. 775.
L. Visellius Varro,	A. C. 24.
Cossus Cornelius Lentulus,	A. R. 776.
M. Asinius Agrippa,	A. C. 25.
Cn. Lentulus Gætulicus,	A. R. 777.
C. Calvisius,	A. C. 26.
M. Licinius, Crassus,	A. R. 778.
L. Calpurnius Piso,	A. C. 27.
Ap. Junius Silanus,	A. R. 779.
P. Silanus Nerva,	A. C. 28.
C. Rubellius	

C. Rubellius Geminus,	A. R. 780.
C. Fufius Geminus,	A. C. 29.
M. Vinicius,	A. R. 781.
L. Cassius Longinus,	A. C. 30.
Tiberius Cæsar Augustus, V.	A. R. 782.
L. Ælius Sejanus,	A. C. 31.
Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus,	A. R. 783.
M. Furius Camillus Scribonianus,	A. C. 32.
Ser. Sulpicius Galba,	A. R. 784.
L. Cornelius Sulla,	A. C. 33.
Paulus Fabius Persicus,	A. R. 785.
L. Vitellius,	A. C. 34.
C. Cestius Gallus,	A. R. 786.
M. Servilius Rufus,	A. C. 35.
Q. Plautius,	A. R. 787.
Sex. Papinius,	A. C. 36.
Cn. Acronius Proculus,	A. R. 788.
C. Pontius Nigrinus.	A. C. 37.

CALIGULA, EMPEROR.

M. Aquilius Julianus,	A. R. 789.
P. Nonius Asprenas,	A. C. 38.
Caius Augustus II.	A. R. 790.
L. Apronius Cæsius,	A. C. 39.
Caius Augustus III.	A. R. 791.
	A. C. 40.
Caius Augustus IV.	A. R. 792.
Cn. Sentius Saturninus,	A. C. 41.

CLAUDIUS, EMPEROR.

Ti. Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus II.	A. R. 793.
Cæcina Largus,	A. C. 42.
Ti. Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus III.	A. R. 794.
L. Vitellius II.	A. C. 43.
L. Quintius Crispinus II.	A. R. 795.
M. Statilius Taurus,	A. C. 44.
M. Vinicius II.	A. R. 796.
T. Statilius Taurus Corvinus,	A. C. 45.
Valerius Asiaticus II.	A. R. 797.
M. Junius Silanus,	A. C. 46.
Ti. Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus IV.	A. R. 798.
L. Vitellius III.	A. C. 47.
A. Vitellius,	A. R. 799.
L. Vipstanius,	A. C. 48.
C. Pompeius Longinus Gallus,	A. R. 800.
Q. Veranius,	A. C. 49.
C. Antistius Vetus,	A. R. 801.
M. Sullius Rufus,	A. C. 50.

Ti. Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus V.	A. R. 802.
Ser. Cornelius Orfitus,	A. C. 51.
Faustus Cornelius Sulla,	A. R. 803.
L. Salvius Otho Titianus,	A. C. 52.
D. Junius Silanus,	A. R. 804.
Q. Haterius,	A. C. 53.
M. Asinius Marcellus,	A. R. 805.
M. Acilius Aviola,	A. C. 54.

NERO, EMPEROR.

Nero Claudius Cæsar Augustus,	A. R. 806.
L. Antistius Verus,	A. C. 55.
Q. Volusius Saturninus,	A. R. 807.
P. Cornelius Scipio,	A. C. 56.
Nero Claudius Cæsar Augustus II.	A. R. 808.
L. Calpurnius Piso,	A. C. 57.
Nero Claudius Cæsar Augustus III.	A. R. 809.
Valerius Messala,	A. C. 58.
C. Vipstanus Apronianus,	A. R. 810.
C. Fonteius Capito,	A. C. 59.
Nero Claudius Cæsar Augustus IV.	A. R. 811.
Cossus Cornelius Lentulus,	A. C. 60.
C. Cæsonius Pætus,	A. R. 812.
P. Petronius Turpilianus,	A. C. 61.
P. Marius,	A. R. 813.
L. Asinius Gallus,	A. C. 62.
C. Memmius Regulus,	A. R. 814.
L. Virginus Rufus,	A. C. 63.
C. Lecanius Bassus,	A. R. 815.
M. Licinius Crassus Frugi,	A. C. 64.
P. Silius Nerva,	A. R. 816.
M. Vestinus Atticus,	A. C. 65.
C. Suetonius Paulinus,	A. R. 817.
C. Telesinus,	A. C. 66.
L. Fonteius Capito,	A. R. 818.
C. Julius Rufus,	A. C. 67.
C. Silius Italicus,	A. R. 819.
M. Galerius Trachalus,	A. C. 68.

GALBA, EMPEROR.

Sep. Sulpicius Galba Cæsar Augustus II.	A. R. 820.
T. Vinius Rufinus,	A. C. 69.

OTHO, EMPEROR.

VITELLIUS, EMPEROR.

VESPASIAN, EMPEROR.

Vespasianus Augustus II.	A. R. 821.
Tits Cæsar,	A. C. 70.
Vespasianus Augustus III.	A. R. 822.
M. Cocceius Nerva,	A. C. 71.
Vespasianus	

Vespasianus Augustus IV.	A. R. 823.
Titus Cæsar II.	A. C. 72.
Domitianus Cæsar II.	A. R. 824.
Valerius Messalinus.	A. C. 73.
Vespasianus Augustus V.	A. R. 825.
Titus Cæsar III.	A. C. 74.
Vespasianus Augustus VI.	A. R. 826.
Titus Cæsar IV.	A. C. 75.
Vespasianus Augustus VII.	A. R. 827.
Titus Cæsar V.	A. C. 76.
Vespasianus Augustus VIII.	A. R. 828.
Titus Cæsar VI.	A. C. 77.
L. Ceionius Commodus.	A. R. 829.
D. Novius Priscus.	A. C. 78.
Vespasianus Augustus IX.	A. R. 830.
Titus Cæsar VII.	A. C. 79.

TITUS, EMPEROR.

Titus Augustus VIII.	A. R. 831.
Domitianus Cæsar VII.	A. C. 80.
Sex. Flavius Silvanus.	A. R. 832.
T. Annius Verus Pollio.	A. C. 81.

DOMITIAN, EMPEROR.

Domitianus Augustus VIII.	A. R. 833.
T. Flavius Sabinus.	A. C. 82.
Domitianus Augustus IX.	A. R. 834.
Q. Petilius Rufus.	A. C. 83.
Domitianus Augustus X.	A. R. 835.
— Sabinus.	A. C. 84.
Domitianus Augustus XI.	A. R. 836.
— Fulvius.	A. C. 85.
Domitianus Augustus XII.	A. R. 837.
Ser. Cornelius Dolabella.	A. C. 86.
Domitianus Augustus XIII.	A. R. 838.
— Saturninus.	A. C. 87.
Domitianus Augustus XIV.	A. R. 839.
L. Minucius Rufus.	A. C. 88.
— Fulvius II.	A. R. 840.
— Atratinus.	A. C. 89.
Domitianus Augustus XV.	A. R. 841.
M. Cocceius Nerva II.	A. C. 90.
M. Ulpius Trajanus.	A. R. 842.
— Acilius Glabrio.	A. C. 91.
Domitianus Augustus XVI.	A. R. 843.
Q. Volusius Saturninus.	A. C. 92.
— Pompeius Collega.	A. R. 844.
— Priscus.	A. C. 93.
— Asprenat.	A. R. 845.
— Lateranus.	A. C. 94.
Domitianus	

Domitianus Augustus XVII.	A. R. 846.
—— Flavius Clemens,	A. C. 95.
C. Fulvius Valens,	A. R. 847.
C. Antistius Vetus,	A. C. 96.

NERVA, EMPEROR.

Nerva Augustus III.	A. R. 849.
L. Virginius Rufus III.	A. C. 97.
Nerva Augustus IV.	A. R. 849.
Trajanus Caesar II.	A. C. 98.

TRAJAN, EMPEROR.

A. Cornelius Palma,	A. R. 850.
C. Sosius Senecio,	A. C. 99.
Trajanus Augustus III.	A. R. 851.
M. Julius Fronto,	A. C. 100.
Trajanus Augustus IV.	A. R. 852.
Sex. Articulcius Pætus,	A. C. 101.
—— Suranus,	A. R. 853.
L. Licinius Sura,	A. C. 102.
Trajanus Augustus V.	A. R. 854.
L. Maximus,	A. C. 103.
L. Licinius Sura II.	A. R. 855.
—— Marcellus,	A. C. 104.
Ti. Julius Candidus II.	A. R. 856.
A. Julius Quadratus,	A. C. 105.
—— Commodus,	A. R. 857.
—— Cerealis,	A. C. 106.
L. Licinius Sura III.	A. R. 858.
C. Sosius Senecio,	A. C. 107.
Ap. Annus Trebonianus Gallus,	A. R. 859.
M. Acilius Metellus Bradua,	A. C. 108.
A. Cornelius Palma II.	A. R. 860.
—— Tullus,	A. C. 109.
Priscianus or Crispinus,	A. R. 861.
—— Orfitus,	A. C. 110.
C. Calpurnius Piso,	A. R. 862.
M. Vettius Bolanus,	A. C. 111.
Trajanus Augustus VI.	A. R. 863.
T. Sextius Africanus,	A. C. 112.
L. Publilius Celsus II.	A. R. 864.
C. Clodius Crispinus,	A. C. 113.
Q. Ninnius Hasta,	A. R. 865.
P. Manlius Vopiscus,	A. C. 114.
L. Vipstanus Messala,	A. R. 866.
M. Virgilianus Peditus,	A. C. 115.
L. Ælius Lamia,	A. R. 867.
—— Ælianus Veter,	A. C. 116.
—— Quintius Niger,	A. R. 868.
C. Vipstanus Apronianus,	A. C. 117.

ADRIAN, EMPEROR.

Imp. Adrianus Augustus II.	A. R. 869.
Fuscus Salinator,	A. C. 118.
Imp. Adrianus Augustus III.	A. R. 870.
—— Rusticus,	A. C. 119.
L. Catilius Severus II.	A. R. 871.
T. Aurelius Fuscus,	A. C. 120.
M. Annii Verus II.	A. R. 872.
—— Augur,	A. C. 121.
—— Acilius Aviola,	A. R. 873.
—— Corellius Pansa,	A. C. 122.
Q. Arrius Pætinus,	A. R. 874.
C. Ventidius Apronianus,	A. C. 123.
Man. Acilius Glabrio,	A. R. 875.
C. Bellicius Torquatus,	A. C. 124.
P. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus II.	A. R. 876.
—— Vettius Aquilius,	A. C. 125.
M. Annii Verus III.	A. R. 877.
L. Varius Ambibulus,	A. C. 126.
—— Titianus, or perhaps Tatianus,	A. R. 878.
—— Gallicanus,	A. C. 127.
—— Torquatus Asprenas,	A. R. 879.
—— Annii Libo,	A. C. 128.
P. Juvencius Celsus II.	A. R. 880.
Q. Julius Balbus,	A. C. 129.
Q. Fabius Catullinus,	A. R. 881.
M. Flavius Aper,	A. C. 130.
Ser. Octavius Lænas Pontianus,	A. R. 882.
M. Antonius Rufinus,	A. C. 131.
—— Augurinus,	A. R. 883.
—— Sergianus,	A. C. 132.
—— Hiberus,	A. R. 884.
—— Sisenna,	A. C. 133.
C. Julius Servianus III.	A. R. 885.
C. Vibius Varus,	A. C. 134.
—— Pontianus,	A. R. 886.
—— Atilianus,	A. C. 135.
Ceionius Commodus,	A. R. 887.
Sex. Vetulenus Civica Pompejanus,	A. C. 136.
L. Ælius Verus Cæsar II.	A. R. 888.
P. Cælius Balbinus,	A. C. 137.
—— Camerinus,	A. R. 889.
—— Nigar,	A. C. 138.

TITUS ANTONINUS, EMPEROR.

T. Antoninus Augustus II.	A. R. 890.
C. Bruttii Præsens II.	A. C. 139.
T. Antoninus Augustus III.	A. R. 891.
M. Aurelius Cæsar,	A. C. 140.
	M. Peducaeus

M. Peducaeus Syloga Priscinus,	A. R. 892.
T. Hoenius Severus,	A. C. 141.
L. Cuspius Rufinus,	A. R. 893.
L. Staius Quadratus,	A. C. 142.
C. Bellicius Torquatus,	A. R. 894.
Ti. Claudius Herodes Atticus,	A. C. 143.
—— Avitus,	A. R. 895.
—— Maximus,	A. C. 144.
T. Antoninus Augustus IV.	A. R. 896.
M. Aurelius Cæsar II.	A. C. 145.
Sex. Erucius Clerus II.	A. R. 897.
Cn. Claudius Severus,	A. C. 146.
—— Largus,	A. R. 898.
—— Messalinus,	A. C. 147.
—— Torquatus,	A. R. 899.
—— Julianus,	A. C. 148.
Ser. Scipio Orfitus,	A. R. 900.
Q. Nonius Priscus,	A. C. 149.
—— Glabrio Gallicanus,	A. R. 901.
—— Vetus,	A. C. 150.
—— Quintilius Condianus,	A. R. 902.
—— Quintilius Maximus,	A. C. 151.
Sex. Junius Glabrio,	A. R. 903.
C. Omolus Verianus,	A. C. 152.
C. Bruttius Præsens,	A. R. 904.
A. Junius Rufinus,	A. C. 153.
L. Aurelius Commodus,	A. R. 905.
T. Sextius Lateranus,	A. C. 154.
C. Julius Severus,	A. R. 906.
M. Mannus Sabinianus,	A. C. 155.
M. Ceionius Silvanus,	A. R. 907.
C. Serius Augurinus,	A. C. 156.
—— Barbarus,	A. R. 908.
—— Regulus,	A. C. 157.
—— Tertullus,	A. R. 909.
—— Sacerdos,	A. C. 158.
—— Plautius Quintillus,	A. R. 910.
M. Staius Priscus,	A. C. 159.
Appius Annius Bradua,	A. R. 911.
T. Vibius Barus,	A. C. 160.
M. Aurelius Cæsar III.	A. R. 912.
L. Aurelius Commodus II.	A. C. 161.

MARCUS AURELIUS, EMPEROR.

Q. Junius Rusticus,	A. R. 913.
C. Vettius Aquilinus,	A. C. 162.
—— Lælianus,	A. R. 914.
—— Pastor,	A. C. 163.
M. Nonius Marcellus,	A. R. 915.
—— Celsus,	A. C. 164.
	M. Gavius

M. Gavius Orfitus,	A. R. 916.
L. Arrius Pudens,	A. C. 165.
— Servilius Pudens,	A. R. 917.
L. Fufidius Pollio,	A. C. 166.
L. Aurelius Verus Augustus III.	A. R. 918.
— Quadratus,	A. C. 164.
— Apronianus II.	A. R. 919.
— Paulus II.	A. C. 168.
Q. Sosius Priscus,	A. R. 920.
P. Cælius Apollinaris,	A. C. 169.
— M. Cornelius Cethegus,	A. R. 921.
C. Erucius Clarus,	A. C. 170.
L. Septimius Severus II.	A. R. 922.
L. Alfidius Herennianus,	A. C. 171.
— Maximus,	A. R. 923.
— Orfitus,	A. C. 172.
M. Aurelius Severus II.	A. R. 924.
T. Claudius Pompeianus,	A. C. 173.
— Gallus,	A. R. 925.
— Flaccus,	A. C. 174.
— Piso,	A. R. 926.
— Julianus,	A. C. 175.
T. Vitrasius Pollio II.	A. R. 927.
M. Flavius Aper II.	A. C. 176.
L. Aurelius Commodus Cæsar,	A. R. 928.
— Quintillus,	A. C. 177.
— Gavius Orfitus,	A. R. 929.
— Julianus Rufus.	A. C. 178.
Commodus Augustus II.	A. R. 930.
Ti. Annius Aurelius Verus II.	A. C. 179.
L. Fulvius Bruttius Præsens II.	A. R. 931.
Sex. Quintillus Condianus,	A. C. 180.

COMMODOUS, EMPEROR.

Commodus Augustus III.	A. R. 932.
— Burrus,	A. C. 181.
— Mamertinus,	A. R. 933.
— Rufus,	A. C. 182.
Commodus Augustus IV.	A. R. 934.
M. Aufidius Victorinus II.	A. C. 183.
M. Eggus Marullus,	A. R. 935.
Cn. Papius Ælianus,	A. C. 184.
— Maternus,	A. R. 936.
— Bradua,	A. C. 185.
Commodus Augustus V.	A. R. 937.
M. Acilius Glabrio II.	A. C. 186.
— Crispinus,	A. R. 938.
— Ælianus,	A. C. 187.
V. Allius Fuscianus II.	A. R. 939.
— Dullius Silanus,	A. C. 188.

Duo

Duo Silani,	A. R. 940.
Commodus Augustus VI.	A. C. 189.
Petronius Septimianus,	A. R. 941.
— Cassius Andronianus,	A. C. 190.
— Mauricius Bradua,	A. R. 942.
Commodus Augustus VII.	A. C. 191.
P. Helvius Pertinax II.	A. R. 943.
	A. C. 192.

PERTINAX, EMPEROR.

Q. Sosius Falco,	A. R. 944.
C. Julius Etucius Clarus,	A. C. 193.

DIDIUS JULIANUS, EMPEROR.

SEVERUS, EMPEROR.

L. Septimius Severus Augustus II.	A. R. 945.
D. Clodius Albinus Cæsar II.	A. C. 194.
— Scapula Tertullus,	A. R. 946.
— Tineius Clemens,	A. C. 195.
Cn. Domitius Dexter II.	A. R. 947.
L. Valerius Messala Thrasea Priscus,	A. C. 196.
— Lateranus,	A. R. 948.
— Rufinus,	A. C. 197.
Ti. Saturninus,	A. R. 949.
C. Gallus,	A. C. 198.
P. Cornelius Annullinus II.	A. R. 950.
M. Aufidius Fronto,	A. C. 199.
Ti. Claudius Severus II.	A. R. 951.
C. Aufidius Victorinus,	A. C. 200.
L. Annius Fabianus,	A. R. 952.
M. Nonius Mucianus,	A. C. 201.
L. Septimius Severus,	A. R. 953.
M. Aurelius Antoninus, } Augg.	A. C. 202.
— Septimius Geta,	A. R. 954.
— Fulvius Plautianus,	A. C. 203.
L. Fabius Septimius Cilo II.	A. R. 955.
— Libo,	A. C. 204.
M. Antoninus Augustus II.	A. R. 956.
P. Septimius Geta Cæsar,	A. C. 205.
— Nummius Albinus,	A. R. 957.
— Fulvius Æmilianus,	A. C. 206.
— Aper,	A. R. 958.
— Maximus,	A. C. 207.
M. Antoninus Augustus III.	A. R. 959.
P. Septimius Geta Cæsar II.	A. C. 208.
— Pompeianus,	A. R. 960.
— Avitus,	A. C. 209.
Man. Acilius Faustinus,	A. R. 961.
— Triarus Rufinus,	A. C. 210.
— Gentianus,	A. R. 962.
— Bassus,	A. C. 211.

CARACALLA, EMPEROR.

C. Julius Asper,	A. R. 963.
— Julius Asper,	A. C. 212.
M. Aurelius Antoninus Augustus IV.	A. R. 694.
D. Caelius Balbinus II.	A. C. 213.
———— Messala,	A. R. 965.
———— Sabinus,	A. C. 214.
———— Lætus II.	A. R. 966.
———— Cerealis,	A. C. 215.
C. Atius Sabinus II.	A. R. 967.
— Cornelius Anullinus,	A. C. 216.
C. Bruttius Præsens,	A. R. 968.
T. Messius Extricatus,	A. C. 217.

MACRINUS, EMPEROR.

M. Opelius Marinus Augustus II.	A. R. 969.
———— Adventus.	A. C. 218.

HELIOGABALUS, EMPEROR,

M. Aurelius Antoninus II.	A. R. 970.
———— Sacerdos	A. C. 219.
M. Aurelius Antoninus III.	A. R. 971.
Eutythianus Comazon,	A. C. 220.
Gratus Sabinianus,	A. R. 972.
Seleucus,	A. C. 221.
M. Aurelius Antoninus Augustus IV.	A. R. 973.
M. Aurelius Alexander Cæsar,	A. C. 222.

ALEXANDER SEVERUS, EMPEROR

J. Marius Maximus II.	A. R. 974.
L. Roscius Ælianus.	A. C. 223.
— Julianus II.	A. R. 975.
— Crispinus,	A. C. 224.
— Fuscus II.	A. R. 976.
— Dexter,	A. C. 225.
M. Aurelius Alexander Augustus II.	A. R. 977.
— Marcellus,	A. C. 226.
M. Nummius Albinus,	A. R. 978.
— Maximus,	A. C. 227.
Ti. Manilius Modestus,	A. R. 979.
Ser. Calpurnius Probus,	A. C. 228.
M. Aurelius Alexander Augustus III.	A. R. 980.
Cassius Cocceianus Dio II.	A. C. 229.
L. Virius Agricola,	A. R. 981.
Ex. Catus Clementinus,	A. C. 230.
— Pompeianus,	A. R. 982.
— Pelignianus,	A. R. 231.
— Lupus,	A. R. 983.
— Maximus,	A. C. 232.
— Maximus	

--- Maximus,	A. R. 984.
--- Paternus,	A. C. 233.
--- Maximus,	A. R. 985.
--- Urbanus,	A. C. 234.
--- Severus,	A. R. 986.
--- Quintianus,	A. C. 235.

MAXIMIN, EMPEROR.

C. Julius Verus Maximinus Augustus,	A. R. 987.
--- Africanus,	A. C. 236.
--- Perpetuus,	A. R. 988.
--- Cornelianus,	A. C. 237.

The two GORDIANS, EMPERORS.

MAXIMUS and BALBINUS, EMPERORS.

Annius Pius, or Ulpius,	A. R. 989.
--- Pontianus.	A. C. 238.

GORDIAN III. EMPEROR.

M. Antoninus Gordianus Augustus,	A. R. 990.
--- Aviola,	A. C. 239.
--- Sabinus,	A. R. 991.
--- Venustus,	A. C. 240.
--- M. Antoninus Gordianus Augustus II.	A. R. 992.
--- Pompeianus,	A. C. 241.
C. Vettius Aufidius Atticus,	A. R. 993.
C. Asinius Prætextatus,	A. C. 242.
--- Arrianus,	A. R. 994.
--- Papius,	A. C. 243.
--- Peregrinus,	A. R. 995.
--- Emilianus,	A. C. 244.

PHILIP, EMPEROR.

M. Julius Philippus Augustus,	A. R. 996.
--- Titianus,	A. C. 245.
--- Præscus,	A. R. 997.
--- Albinus,	A. C. 246.
M. Julius Philippus Augustus II.	A. R. 998.
M. Julius Severus Philippus Cæsar,	A. C. 247.
Philippus III. } Augg.	A. R. 999.
Philippus II. }	A. C. 248.
M. Æmilianus II.	A. R. 1000.
Junius Aquilinus,	A. C. 249.

DECIUS, EMPEROR.

C. Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius Augustus II.	A. R. 1001.
--- Gratus,	A. C. 250.
Decius Augustus III.	A. R. 1002.
Q. Herennius Etruscus Messius Decius Cæsar,	A. C. 251.

GALLUS, EMPEROR.

C. Vibius Trebonianus Gallus Augustus III.	A. R. 1003.
C. Volusianus Cæsar,	A. C. 252.
C. Volusianus Augustus II.	A. R. 1004.
--- Maximus,	A. C. 253.

EMILIAN, EMPEROR.

VALERIAN, EMPEROR.

P. Licinius Valerianus II.	} Augg.	A. R. 1003.
P. Licinius Gallienus,		A. C. 254.
P. Licinius Valerianus III.	} Augg.	A. R. 1006.
P. Licinius Gallienus II.		A. C. 255.
— Maximus,		A. R. 1007.
— Glabrio,		A. C. 256.
P. Licinius Valerianus IV.	} Augg.	A. R. 1008.
P. Licinius Gallienus III.		A. C. 257.
Memmius Tuscus,		A. R. 1009.
— Bassus,		A. C. 258.
— Æmilianus,		A. R. 1010.
— Bassus,		A. C. 259.
— Secularis,		A. R. 1011.
— Donatus,		A. C. 260.

GALLIENUS, EMPEROR.

Gallienus Augustus IV.	A. R. 1012.
— Volusianus,	A. C. 261.
Gallienus Augustus V.	A. R. 1013.
— Faustianus,	A. C. 262.
— Albinus,	A. R. 1014.
— Dexter,	A. C. 263.
Gallienus Augustus VI.	A. R. 1015.
— Saturninus,	A. C. 264.
Valerianus II.	A. R. 1016.
Lucillus,	A. C. 265.
Gallienus Augustus VII.	A. R. 1017.
— Sabinillus,	A. C. 266.
— Paternus,	A. R. 1018.
— Arcesilaus,	A. C. 267.
— Paternus II.	A. R. 1019.
— Marinianus,	A. C. 268.

CLAUDIUS, EMPEROR.

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

AURELIAN, EMPEROR.

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

INTERREGNUM of six months.

TACITUS

TACITUS, EMPEROR.

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

PROBUS, EMPEROR.

M. Aurelius Probus Augustus,	A. R. 1028.
M. Aurelius Paulinus,	A. C. 277.
Probus Augustus II.	A. R. 1029.
——— Lupus,	A. C. 278.
Probus Augustus III.	A. R. 1030.
——— Paternus,	A. C. 279.
——— Messala,	A. R. 1031.
——— Grätus,	A. C. 280.
Probus Augustus IV.	A. R. 1032.
——— Tiberianus,	A. C. 281.
Probus Augustus V.	A. R. 1033.
——— Victorinus,	A. C. 282.

CARUS, EMPEROR.

M. Aurelius Carus Augustus II.	A. R. 1034.
M. Aurelius Carinus Cæsar,	A. C. 283.

CARINUS AND NUMERIAN, EMPERORS.

M. Aurelius Carinus,	} Augg.	A. R. 1035.
M. Aurelius Numerianus,		A. C. 284.

CARINUS AND DIOCLETIAN, EMPERORS.

C. Valerius Diocletianus Augustus II.	A. R. 1036.
——— Aristobulus,	A. C. 285.

DIOCLETIAN sole EMPEROR.

M. Junius Maximus II.	A. R. 1037.
— Vettius Aquilinus,	A. C. 286.

DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIN, EMPERORS.

C. Valerius Diocletianus III.	} Augg.	A. R. 1038.
M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus,		A. C. 287.
Maximianus Augustus II.		A. R. 1039.
——— Januarius,		A. C. 288.
——— Bassus,		A. R. 1040.
——— Quintianus,		A. C. 289.
Diocletianus IV. } Augg.		A. R. 1041.
Maximianus III. } Augg.		A. C. 290.
——— Tiberianus,		A. R. 1042.
——— Dio,		A. C. 291.
——— Annibalianus,		A. R. 1043.
——— Asclepiodotus,		A. C. 292.
Diocletianus V. } Augg.		A. R. 1044.
Maximianus IV. } Augg.		A. C. 293.

Flavius Valerius Constantius,	} Cæss.	A. R. 1045.
Galerius Valerius Maximianus,		A. C. 294.
—— Fuscus,		A. R. 1046.
—— Anulinus,		A. C. 295.
Diocletianus Augustus VI.		A. R. 1047.
Constantius Cæsar II.		A. C. 296.
Maximianus Augustus V.		A. R. 1048.
Galerius Cæsar II.		A. C. 297.
Anicius Faustus II.		A. R. 1049.
Severus Gallus,		A. C. 298.
Diocletianus VII.	} Augg.	A. R. 1050.
Maximianus VI.		A. C. 299.
Constantius III.	} Cæss.	A. R. 1051.
Galerius III.		A. C. 300.
—— Titianus II.		A. R. 1052.
—— Nepotianus,		A. C. 301.
Constantius IV.	} Cæss.	A. R. 1053.
Galerius IV.		A. C. 302.
Diocletianus VIII.	} Augg.	A. R. 1054.
Maximianus VII.		A. C. 303.
Diocletianus IX.	} Augg.	A. R. 1055.
Maximianus VIII.		A. C. 304.
Constantius V.	} Cæss.	A. R. 1056.
Galerius V.		A. C. 305.

CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS, EMPEROR.

Constantius VI.	} Augg.	A. R. 1057.
Galerius VI.		A. C. 306.

CONSTANTINE, EMPEROR.

M. Aurelius Severus Augustus,	A. R. 1058.
Maximinus Cæsar,	A. C. 307.

At Rome, where Maxentius reigned,

Maximianus Herculius Augustus IX.		
Maximinus Cæsar,		
Maximianus Herculius X.	} Augg.	A. R. 1059.
Galerius VII.		A. C. 308.

At Rome,

No Consuls till the 20th of April. From that day,

Maxentus Augustus,	
Romulus Cæsar,	
Licinius Augustus,	A. R. 1060.
	A. C. 309.

At Rome,

Maxentus Augustus II.	
Romulus Cæsar II.	
Andronicus,	A. R. 1061.
Probus,	A. C. 310.

LIST OF THE CONSULS.

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At Rome,

Maxentius Augustus III.		
Galerius VIII. } Augg.		A. R. 1062.
Maximinus II. }		A. C. 311.

At Rome, from the month of September only,

Rufinus,		Eusebius,	
Constantinus II. } Augg.			A. R. 1063.
Licinius II. }			A. C. 312.

At Rome.

Maxentius Augustus IV.			
Constantinus III. } Augg.			A. R. 1064.
Licinius III. }			A. C. 313.
Volusianus II.			A. R. 1065.
Annianus,			A. C. 314.
Constantinus IV. } Augg.			A. R. 1066.
Licinius IV. }			A. C. 315.
Sabinus,			A. R. 1067.
Rufinus,			A. C. 316.
Gallicanus,			A. R. 1068.
Bassus,			A. C. 317.
Licinius Augustus V.			A. R. 1069.
Crispus Cæsar,			A. C. 318.
Constantinus Augustus V.			A. R. 1070.
Licinius Cæsar,			A. C. 319.
Constantinus Augustus VI.			A. R. 1071.
Constantinus Cæsar,			A. C. 320.
Crispus III. } Cæss.			A. R. 1072.
Constantinus II. }			A. C. 321.
Petronius Probianus,			A. R. 1073.
Anicius Julianus,			A. C. 322.
Severus,			A. R. 1074.
Rufinus,			A. C. 323.
Crispus III. } Cæss.			A. R. 1075.
Constantinus III. }			A. C. 324.
Paulinus,			A. R. 1076.
Julianus,			A. C. 325.
Constantinus Augustus VII.			A. R. 1077.
Constantius Cæsar,			A. C. 326.
Constantius,			A. R. 1078.
Maximus,			A. C. 327.
Januarius,			A. R. 1079.
Justus,			A. C. 328.
Constantinus Augustus VIII.			A. R. 1080.
Constantinus Cæsar IV.			A. C. 329.
Gallicanus,			A. R. 1081.
Symmachus,			A. C. 330.
Bassus,			A. R. 1082.
Ablavius,			A. C. 331.
			Pacatianus,

LIST OF THE CONSULS.

Pacatianus,	A. R. 1083.
Hilarianus,	A. C. 332.
Dalmatius,	A. R. 1084.
Xenophilus,	A. C. 333.
Optatus,	A. R. 1085.
Anicius Paulinus,	A. C. 334.
Flavius Julius Constantius,	A. R. 1086.
Rufius Albinus,	A. C. 335.
Nepotianus,	A. R. 1087.
Facundus,	A. C. 336.
Felicianus,	A. R. 1088.
Titianus,	A. C. 337.

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